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JERUSALEM.

FROM THE MOUNT OF OLIVES.

39560

Fairbairn's

IMPERIAL STANDARD BIBLE ENCYCLOPEDIA

Historical, Biographical
Geographical and Doctrinal

EDITED BY

PATRICK FAIRBAIRN, D.D.

Introduction by J. C. RYLE, D.D.
and C. H. WALLER, M.A.

VOLUME THREE

Gentiles - Juttah

ZONDERVAN PUBLISHING HOUSE
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VOL. III

G.

GENTILES, strictly *nations* or *peoples*, but in Hebrew phraseology occupying relatively the same place that *barbarians* did with the Greeks, only that the distinction in the one case had respect more to religious, in the other to civil and political considerations. Gentiles were all the world beside the Jews, just as the barbarians were all the world beside the Greeks. What rendered the Jews, however, a distinct and honoured class, was simply their election of God to the place of his peculiar people, by which they became the recognized depositories of his truth, and the consecrated channels of his working among men. Other nations might well enough surpass them in numbers, in extent of territory, in height of civilization, or variety of resources; nothing was implied in respect to such things; but in nearness to God, and those honours and advantages which are the more proper signs of his favour and blessing, the Gentiles, even in their most advanced state, stood at an immense distance from the Jews. Still, however, the distinction was only relative and temporary. Believing Gentiles in no age were excluded from sharing in the benefits conferred upon the Jews, when they showed themselves willing to enter into the bond of the covenant. And in the very terms of the covenant, as originally made with Abraham, and ultimately confirmed with Jacob, it was implied that the distinction was only for a time, that the good it more especially contemplated was for the Gentile as well as for the Jew, and that the Jew could only fulfil his calling by being made a blessing to the Gentile. Practically this came to be in a great measure lost sight of, and the relation between the two parties was chiefly known as one of mutual repugnance and antagonism—as if the interest of the one could only stand with the depression or downfall of the other. In this misunderstanding and perversion the Jews were, of course, chiefly to blame, as they alone had the means of fully apprehending the mind of God on the subject, and giving due expression to it; and their carnal folly and infatuation drew along with it a fearful retribution, especially at the last, when, refusing to do the part it behoved them to do to the Gentiles, the Jews as a people were cast off, and the Gentiles brought into their place. By this relative exchange of places the Gentiles are warned to remember by what tenure they hold their position, and are also admonished to do with all zeal and fidelity for the Jews what the Jews have been so severely punished for refusing to do for them, Ro. xi.

In the English version of the New Testatment the word Gentiles is used to translate not only the Greek ἔθνη (nations), but often also to translate Ἕλληνες or Greeks, as in Jn. vii. 35; Ro. iii. 9. The latter word is indeed sometimes literally translated, but not so often as in its other sense. The reason why Greek came to be synonymous with Gentile must be sought for in the wide spread of the Greek language, and its general use in the known world at the time of the apostles.

GENTILES, COURT OF THE. *See* TEMPLE.

GENU'BATH [*theft*, if a Hebrew word, but possibly of Egyptian origin], the name of the son of Hadad, born to him in Egypt of his Egyptian wife, 1 Ki. xi. 20. The father left Egypt in order to prosecute his hostile designs against Solomon, but nothing is known of Genubath except that he was weaned by Tahpenes, the queen of Egypt, and brought up in the royal household, as if he had been a son of Pharaoh.

GE'RA [meaning unknown], is given at Ge. xlvi. 21 as one of the sons of Benjamin. In the fresh table of Benjamin's offspring, given at Nu. xxvi. 38, seq., Gera is not mentioned, which probably arose from the respect there evidently had to families, so that the descendants of Gera would be included among the Belaites. Again, in the table found at 1 Ch. viii. 1–5, there are two Geras, the second being probably a corruption in the text, and both sons of Bela, the eldest son of Benjamin. It is probable that Gera was actually the son of Bela, and the grandson of Benjamin, and that in Genesis he is reckoned among the sons of Benjamin, as having ultimately become the head of a family of that tribe. Others seem to be mentioned there on the same account, not as being actually the immediate sons of Benjamin.

GE'RAH, the smallest Hebrew coin, the twentieth part of a shekel, equal to about three halfpence of our money. (*See* WEIGHTS.)

GE'RAR [probably *place of sojourn, lodging*], a

Philistine town of great antiquity. It occurs in the history both of Abraham and of Isaac, Ge. xxi. xxvi., and was even then the seat of a chieftain or king, who bore the name of Abimelech. It was in the reign of this king that Abraham went to dwell in Gerar, and probably his son Isaac was born here. It lay between Kadesh and Shur, and consequently towards the extreme south-west of the land of Canaan. This also appears from the proximity in which it lay to Beersheba, Ge.xxvi.20-23. That it was in those early times a more than usually fertile region, or somehow had command of resources which were not elsewhere enjoyed in the neighbourhood, may be inferred from its having been resorted to both by Abraham and Isaac in a time of famine. When Isaac went to the place we find an Abimelech still king, but he can hardly have been the same as the Abimelech mentioned in Abraham's time, the interval being so great. Probably he was a son, or the name may have been somewhat in the nature of a title. Gerar appears also to have been in existence in the comparatively later periods of Israelitish history, being mentioned in the wars of Asa, 2 Ch. xiv. 14. But it must have relatively decreased in importance, as it never occurs again, nor is it once mentioned in the history of the warlike operations that were carried on betwixt the Israelites and the Philistines after the period of the conquest. In the *Onomasticon* of Eusebius and Jerome it is placed 25 Roman miles to the south of Eleutheropolis. Robinson and most modern travellers speak of having been unable to find any traces of it. But Mr. Williams (Holy City, i. app. 464), on his way from Gaza to Khalasa, came in the *Wady-Gaza* to what was called *Joorf-el-Gerar*, the *rapid of Gerar*, and found near this certain ruins, which he took to be those of the ancient Gerar. It may be so, but the information seems rather scanty for founding any definite conclusion upon. The ruins are quite unimportant.

GER'ASA is not found in the English Bible, but, as already mentioned under GADARA, the "country of the Gerasenes," is, according to the probably correct reading in Mark and Luke, given as the scene of one of the most remarkable cures wrought by our Lord from demoniacal possessions, Mar. v. 1; Lu. v. 26. There was a city of the name of Gerasa which attained to considerable note a century or two after the Christian era, and of which important remains still exist. It has been thought that the name of this place came in consequence to be substituted for that of Gadara, making the country of the Gerasenes, instead of the country of the Gadarenes. The chief objection to this is that Gerasa lay altogether away from the immediate neighbourhood of the Lake of Galilee—about 35 miles south-east even from its southern extremity. Still as it was a place of importance, it may have given its name to a considerable district, and thus may have embraced Gadara and the territory on the east side of the lake. It is mentioned by Josephus as a place of some note before the Christian era, though its most flourishing period was after that time, its finest buildings belonging to the second and third centuries. It now bears the name of *Jerash*, and is a mere scene of ruins. It is traversed by a stream running through a shallow valley, on the slopes of which it is built. There are two main streets crossing each other at right angles, and lined with columns in a double row. It is surrounded by a wall about three miles in length, a considerable part of which is still in a good state of preservation. Among the ruins are two theatres and two grand temples, one of them it would seem dedicated to the sun, like that at Palmyra. There are also five or six temples of less importance scattered about, and a large oval forum. The temples and theatres are built of marble. There are also two bridges crossing the stream, two baths, and outside the city wall a large circus or place for the exhibition of gladiatorial water fights. Of the four city gateways three are pretty well preserved and are highly ornamental. Altogether those ruins are the finest and most extensive east of the Jordan.

Another view may be mentioned. The remains of a town have been discovered by Dr. Thomson, the American missionary, on the eastern shore of the Lake of Galilee, nearly opposite Capernaum, to which the Arabs give the name of Gersa or Chersa. This he would identify with the ancient Gergesa. "It is," he says, "within a few rods of the shore, and an immense mountain rises directly above it, in which are ancient tombs, out of which the two men possessed of the devils may have issued to meet Jesus. The lake (he further adds) is so near the base of the mountain, that the swine, rushing madly down it, could not stop, but would be hurried on into the water and drowned" (The Land and the Book). It is possible that "the country of the Gerasenes," or Gergesenes, may, as Dr. Thomson thinks, have been the original reading in all the three evangelists, the reference being to this town Gersa or Chersa.

GERGESENES. *See* GADARA.

GERIZIM. *See* EBAL.

GER'SHOM [*stranger-there*]. 1. The name Moses gave to his eldest son, who was born to him in Midian, indicating how deeply the circumstance of his expulsion from Egypt and his alienation from his brethren had gone to his heart, Ex. ii. 22. Like his brother Eliezer, Gershom became the head of one of the family divisions into which the tribe of Levi was distributed; but the honours of the priesthood belonged exclusively to the sons of Aaron. Nothing is recorded of Gershom's personal history; but in Ju. xvii. and xviii. we find some interesting particulars of a Jonathan who is apparently a son of his. *See* JONATHAN.

2. GERSHOM. A priest at the period of the return from Babylon, and representative of the family of Phinehas, Ezr. viii. 2.

GER'SHON [*expulsion*], the eldest son of Levi, who was born in Canaan, before the family of Jacob descended into Egypt, Ge. xlvi. 11. No reason is given why such a name should have been chosen. In the march through the wilderness the Gershonites had the charge assigned them of the vails and curtains of the tabernacle, Nu. iii. 25. The descendants bore the name of Gershonites. They are mentioned in several places, as for example in 1 Ch. xxiii., in connection with the arrangements made by David for the permanent services of the Lord.

GE'SHEM [*carcase*], the name of an inveterate enemy of the Jews in the time of Nehemiah, called an Arabian, Ne. ii. 19; vi. 1. He took part with Sanballat and Tobiah in endeavouring, first to obstruct the efforts of Nehemiah to repair the state of Jerusalem, and then to plot against his life. But in both respects their designs were frustrated. In Ne. vi. 6 the name Gashmu occurs, which is a mere variation of this.

GE'SHUR [*bridge*], a place or district first associated with Aram or Syria, as among the conquests of Jair, the son of Manasseh. After stating that he had three and twenty cities in the land of Gilead, it is said, Jair took "Geshur and Aram, with the towns of Jair, from them, with Kenath, and the towns thereof, threescore cities," 1 Ch. ii. 23. While these places were taken, they were held only as subject territories, still to a great extent occupied by their original inhabitants. For it is expressly stated in Jos. xiii. 13, that notwithstanding that the land of Gilead, and the border of the Geshurites and the Maachathites, and all Bashan, had been subdued, yet "the children of Israel expelled not the Geshurites, nor the Maachathites; but the Geshurites and the Maachathites dwell among the Israelites until this day." It is plain, however, from these notices, that Geshur lay in that portion of Syria which was connected with or adjoined to the land of Gilead, and that the conquered but not expelled Geshurites probably dwelt in the rocky fastnesses of Argob. This region is supposed to be the same with what is now called the Lejah, and is remarkable for its singularly wild and rugged scenery. Burckhardt says, "In the interior parts of the Lejah the rocks are in many places cleft asunder, so that the whole hill appears shivered, and in the act of falling down," &c. And Porter, after quoting Burckhardt, says, "No description can approach the reality. One cannot repress a shudder when he finds himself in such a den, surrounded by armed hordes, on whose faces the country seems to have stamped its own savage aspect. Ibrahim Pasha, flushed with victory, and maddened by the obstinacy of a handful of Druses, attempted to follow them into this stronghold; but scarcely a soldier who entered returned. Every nook concealed an enemy. . . . The Lejah has for ages been a sanctuary for outlaws, and not unfrequently a refuge for the oppressed" (Handbook for Syria and Palestine, p. 504).

It was the king of this wild and rocky district, Talmai king of Geshur, whose daughter Maachah was taken by David for one of his wives, 2 Sa. iii. 3. She was probably a person of superior beauty, as she became the mother of the two handsomest of David's children, Absalom and Tamar. How David should have thought of getting a wife from such a quarter, or what prior link of connection between him and the king of Geshur might have led to such a result, is left unnoticed in the history. But possibly the Geshurites, who are mentioned among the tribes against whom David made incursions while he dwelt in Ziklag, 1 Sa. xxvii. 8, and who, from the name being once found in connection with the Philistines, Jos. xiii. 3, are generally supposed to have been a different tribe from the other, may after all have been the same. The Geshurites, very probably, from their fastnesses in Argob were wont to sally forth, like the Amalekites, in occasional *raids* upon the districts to the south and east of Palestine, without having any settled habitations there; and David might justly regard them (though located at some distance), equally with the Amalekites who are mentioned along with them, as fair subjects for making reprisals upon. In that case he would be brought into close contact with Talmai, first, indeed, as occupying a hostile relation to him, but not unnaturally afterwards as wishing to form with him a bond of alliance. Amid the troubles and difficulties which encompassed David's access to the throne, a marriage into the family of the king of Geshur might seem to afford a prospect not to be slighted of strengthening his position. As it ultimately proved, this alliance became the source of one of his greatest dangers, in giving birth to the fascinating, but restless and aspiring Absalom. Any temporary advantage David might derive from being married to the daughter of such a king, was nothing compared with the misfortune of having such a son. And in fleeing, as Absalom did, after committing the outrage on his brother Amnon, to the court of his maternal grandfather at Geshur, 2 Sa. xiii. 37, one can easily understand how secure a refuge he might find there, while he required to be in concealment, but at the same time how unlikely it was his ambition could remain long satisfied with its dreary aspect and dreadful seclusion.

GETHSEM'ANE [probably compounded of גַּת, *press*, שֶׁמֶן, *oil, oil-press*], a place where oil from the olives growing in the neighbourhood was wont to be made; but in gospel history the place which has been rendered for ever sacred and memorable by the last sufferings of our Lord. The descriptions given by the evangelists of this spot are singularly brief and general. With St. Matthew it is merely "a place called Gethsemane;" so also St. Mark; in St. Luke it is "he went, as he was wont, to the Mount of Olives." St. John is the most specific, who says, "Jesus went forth with his disciples over the brook Kedron, where was a garden, into the which he entered with his disciples." Not even here, however, is the locality closely defined; and putting all together, we learn no more from the sacred penmen, than that Gethsemane was a garden—by which is probably to be understood a sort of orchard—on the farther side of the brook Kedron, and somewhere about the foot of the Mount of Olives. The traditionary site—fixed on, it is supposed, at the visit of Helena, the mother of Constantine, in A.D. 326—places it a very little beyond the Kedron (145 feet), and quite near to the church of the Virgin Mary, alleged to have been built over her tomb. Maundrell describes it in his day (1697) as "an even plot of ground, not above fifty-seven yards square, lying between the foot of mount Olivet and the brook Kedron. It is well planted with olive trees, and those of so old a growth that they are believed to be the same that stood there in our blessed Saviour's time, in virtue of which persuasion the olives, and olive stones, and oil which they produce become an excellent commodity in Spain." That the antiquity of the olives was so very great, Maundrell could not believe, because of what is related in Josephus (Wars, vii. 15), that Titus cut down all the trees within a hundred furlongs of Jerusalem, to supply himself with materials for prosecuting the siege. There can, indeed, be no certainty as to the precise age of the trees; but it is admitted by all travellers, that the eight which still stand upon the spot in question bear the marks of a venerable antiquity—having gnarled trunks and a thin foliage. Some years ago the plot of ground was bought by the Latin church; and having been inclosed by a wall, the interior is laid out in walks and flower-beds after the fashion of a modern European garden—a kind of garnishing which cannot be regarded as an improvement. The Armenian or Greek church, however, denies that this is the actual site, and has fixed upon another as the proper one, at some little distance to the north of it. It is doubtful if either is the actual scene of our

Lord's agony. The Latin site, in particular, is so near to the city, and so close upon the thoroughfare which must have been connected with the bridge and roads in the immediate neighbourhood, that it seems to have been incapable of affording the secresy indispensable to such a scene. Even the Armenian or Greek site appears too near for the purpose; and some place probably several hundred yards farther up the vale, and to the north-east of the church of St. Mary, is thought by the more judicious explorers to answer better to the requirements of the evangelical narrative (So, for example, Robinson, Thomson, partly also Stanley, Buchanan, &c.) It is plain, however, that the materials are wanting for enabling any one to decide with absolute certainty upon the precise spot.

GE'ZER, or GAZER [*cut-off part*, probably *isolated* or *precipitous*], the name of one of the royal cities of the Canaanites, belonging to what afterwards became the territory of Ephraim, and somewhere in its western border, Jos. xvi. 3. It was afterwards assigned to the Levites, although the ancient inhabitants were not expelled from it, Jos. x. 33; xvi. 10; Ju. i. 29. In process of time the Israelites got entire possession of it, and it is mentioned among the places which were rebuilt and fortified by Solomon, 1 Ki. ix. 15, 16; but this was only after it had been taken by Pharaoh king of Egypt, and its former occupants put to the sword. Pharaoh gave it as part of his daughter's dowry on her marriage to Solomon. It is once or twice coupled with Beth-horon, in such a way as to indicate that the places were not far distant; but the exact site of Gezer remains unknown.

GEZ'RITES, according to the Masorite correction and the English text, but more properly GIZRITES, were a tribe dwelling somewhere in the extreme south of the territory of Judah, and mentioned among those who suffered from the incursions of David, while he dwelt in the country of the Philistines, 1 Sa. xxvii. 8. Nothing further is known of them. Some would identify the name with Gerizim, but without any proper foundation.

GHOST, the English form of the German *geist*, or spirit; seldom used now in a religious sense except as the designation of the third person in the Trinity—*the Holy Ghost*. (*See* HOLY GHOST.)

GIANTS. There are two words in Hebrew which are rendered by this term in English—נְפִלִים (*nephilim*), and רְפָאִים (*rephaim*).

1. The *nephilim* are first mentioned in the antediluvian period of the world's history, and in connection with the deeds of violence which were the immediate precursors of the divine judgment. "The nephilim (giants) were in the earth in those days; and also after that, when the sons of God came in unto the daughters of men, and they brought forth to them, the same (became) the mighty men which were from of old, men of renown," Ge. vi. 4. All the ancients concur in understanding by *nephilim* here giants, although the etymology of the word is somewhat doubtful. It is, however, most commonly derived from the causal form of the verb, נָפַל (*naphal*), *to fall*, hence to make to fall, *to fell, fellers*—persons whose gigantic strength, coupled with their fierce dispositions, caused every one to fall before them. Those who understand by the sons of God in the passage just quoted the angels (such as in the present day Delitzsch, Hofmann, Stier, Kurtz), regard the gigantic race whose heaven-daring exploits brought on the deluge, as the offspring of the unnatural alliance between the angelic and human natures; so that the *nephilim* who are said to have existed in those days are only more particularly described by what follows respecting the alliances in question. This, however, is an opinion pressed into the text, rather than required by the sense of the words. Whatever might be the nature of the connections formed between the sons of God and the daughters of men (for which see SONS OF GOD), the heroes that sprung from them appear to be distinguished from the *nephilim*, who are mentioned as a class cognate to the other, yet rather superadditional and distinct than properly identical. And in proof of the *nephilim* being simply a race of men, not hybrids of a lower and higher sphere, though a race of gigantic proportions, we have the same word applied to a class of persons who lived after the deluge, and formed part of the original population of Palestine. The spies who brought back an evil report of the land of Canaan, gave it as the climax of the difficulties it presented to their enterprise, "And there we saw the *nephilim*, sons of Anak, who are of the *nephilim*, and we were in our own eyes as grasshoppers, and so were we in their eyes," Nu. xiii. 33. To say with some of the authors above referred to, that the Anakim merely gave themselves out to be descendants of those semi-angelic semi-human beings, who bore the name of *nephilim* before the flood, and that the Israelitish spies foolishly accredited the pretension, is again to press an opinion into the text which is rather sought for than actually found there. The whole that can be legitimately gathered from the words is, that in the mind and judgment of the Israelitish spies, sons of Anak were of the giant class denominated *nephilim*: and if this may not in the circumstances be deemed absolutely conclusive evidence, it still is the testimony of some of the leading members of the community of Israel, and is the best we are acquainted with.

The word *nephilim* never occurs again in Old Testament scripture; but the sons of Anak, or the Anakim, with whom the spies identified them, are occasionally noticed as a tall and powerful race, dwelling—though only it would appear in a few families—about Hebron and some other places toward the south of the land of Canaan at the period of the conquest, De. ii. 10, 21; ix. 2; Jos. xi. 21. And the whole that the testimony of Scripture amounts to, as regards giants in this most distinctive sense, and in connection with this somewhat peculiar name, is, that they existed to a certain extent before the flood, having a share in the flagitious proceedings that precipitated the deluge; and that they again appeared, or were held by common report to have appeared, in the giant race of the Anakim (the *long-necked*, as the name imports), who were found by the Israelites in the south of Canaan, and by them nearly extirpated. All else regarding them is but supposition or conjecture.

2. The other word identified with giants in Old Testament scripture, *rephaim*, seems to have been originally a proper name, and it has even been matter of doubt whether it was ever used otherwise. In Ge. xiv. 5; xv. 20, the Rephaim are mentioned as a distinct race, or tribe, holding possessions, along with other tribes, in the land of Canaan. At the period of the conquest, Og king of Bashan is said to have remained alone (probably meaning to the east of Jordan) of the remnant of

the *Rephaim*, De. iii. 11; and then, in proof of this connection with the Rephaim, mention is immediately made of his enormous bedstead, which was nine cubits long and four broad. The word was hence very naturally taken in a general sense for *giants;* and the Septuagint, though not in this passage of Deuteronomy, yet in those of Genesis, and also where the word occurs in Joshua, render it by the common word for giants (γιγάντες). But the descendants of the Philistine giants, who are elsewhere associated with the Anakim, were also called Rephaim, 2 Sa. xxi. 15-22; and so also were some, probably of the same stock, who dwelt about Mount Ephraim, Jos. xvii. 15. In these latter cases, the word is probably used much as a general designation for giants, yet not without respect to their family connection with an ancient race, from which they inherited their vast proportions and their martial prowess. The name originally of a tribe that were peculiarly distinguished for such properties, the word came in the course of time to be applied to those who were remarkable for the properties, whether they were descended from that tribe or from some other similarly distinguished.

Beside the Anakim and Rephaim, as originally distinct tribes or families that were accounted giants, we are told also of two others that belonged substantially to the same class—the Emim and the Zamzummin, De. ii. 10, 20. Tallness and strength are predicated of these families, such as assimilated them to the Anakim; so that they were also classed with the giant races.

Very little specific information is given us, either of the races that thus distinctively bore the name of giants, or of any individuals of their number. We know that they exceeded in stature and in robustness of frame the tribes or families that dwelt around them; but distinctions of this sort are always relative; and possibly the actual size and bodily strength of the giants of Scripture did not surpass what is often found in individuals, and even in whole families in modern times. Qualities of this description, it is well known, like others of a merely physical nature, are capable of being propagated from parent to child, and even of being nurtured by proper care and precautions into higher and higher degrees of eminence. And in those rude and comparatively unsettled times, when so much depended upon personal strength and valour, and might so often proved itself to be identical with right, there was the greatest inducement for those who possessed such properties in any marked degree to cultivate them to the uttermost, and render them as far as possible a hereditary distinction. In addition to the security furnished by the properties themselves, the very name they acquired for their possessors was itself a defence. But it could only be so, while the ruder stages of society lasted. As art, and skill, and mental resources of all kinds increase, mere animal strength and corporeal stature come to be relatively of less avail. And so, it was only in the infancy of the world that the simply giant-races could maintain the ascendency; and to that period accordingly the traditions connected with them properly belong. *Their* power and prestige necessarily gave way before the advance of knowledge and civilization; and nothing could more clearly show the inferiority of the one, as compared with the other, ground of stability and might, than the gradual decay and ultimate disappearance of the giant races that anciently hung around the borders of Canaan, and for a time spread far and wide the terror of their name. The settlement even of imperfectly organized communities reduced them to comparative insignificance; and the establishment afterwards by God of a commonwealth founded in truth and righteousness, left them ere long without a name or a possession in the land.

GIB'BETHON [*lofty place*], a town originally of the Philistines, but afterwards assigned to the tribe of Dan, Jos. xix. 14. So late as the times of Nadab and Baasha, it still belonged to the Philistines; and it was while engaged there in a vigorous siege, that Baasha, one of Nadab's officers, smote his master, and took possession of the throne, 1 Ki. xv. 27; xvi. 15. Nothing is known of its exact site.

GIB'EAH [*hill*]. 1. Of the places that bore this name, the most noted was called Gibeah of Benjamin, sometimes also Gibeah of Saul, 1 Sa. xi. 4; xiii. 2. It was the birth-place of Saul, and continued to be his residence after he became king, 1 Sa. x. 26; xxiii. 19; xxvi. 1. It was doubtless on this account that it was chosen as the scene of that mournful tragedy, in which seven of Saul's sons were executed together, at the suit of the Gibeonites, for wrongs inflicted upon them by Saul's bloody house, and which drew forth a singularly touching manifestation of maternal tenderness on the part of Rizpah, the mother of two of the victims, 2 Sa. xxi. Stanley (p. 217) would rather identify this transaction with Gibeon, from its being said that the seven men were "hung in the hill before the Lord;" which seems to indicate the immediate neighbourhood of the tabernacle then standing at Gibeon. But the expression might be used with reference to the Lord's judgment in the matter: it was done as in his presence, because of the respect it had to his manifested displeasure. Gibeah had been also the scene of tragedies of a still more mournful and distressing nature at an earlier period—first in respect to the atrocity perpetrated upon the concubine of the Levite, who, on his way to Mount Ephraim, tarried there for the night; and then in respect to the bloody and destructive war which ensued between Benjamin and the other tribes, Ju. xix.-xxi. The account of the affair forms one of the darkest spots in the records of Israelitish history; and not only Gibeah, but the whole tribe of Benjamin, came by it to the very brink of destruction. By the time of Saul, however, Gibeah must have again attained to considerable prosperity and importance.

The comparative nearness of Gibeah to Jerusalem, and the notices respecting it in ancient writers, as well as Scripture, have left little doubt as to the precise hill on which it was situated. It is now called Tuleil-el-Fûl, the *hill of the Beans*. It is distinctly seen from Jerusalem, and lies nearly right north from it, at the distance of four or five miles, on the way to Ramah and Bethel. No remains, however, exist of the ancient city, unless a confused heap of earth and stones can be called such. Even in Jerome's day the city had become a ruin; for when giving a narrative of Paula's journey, and noticing that she stopped at Gabaa, and called to mind its ancient crime, and the concubine cut in pieces, he states that it was then levelled to the ground (Ep. 108, ad Eustoc.) The hill is so situated as to command extensive views of the surrounding country, especially in the direction of the Dead Sea and the mountains on its farther side.

2. GIBEAH, a town in Mount Ephraim, where

the high-priest Eleazar, son of Aaron, was buried by Phinehas his son, Jos. xxiv. 33. Our English version, however, translates Gibeah there, and says Eleazar "was buried in a hill." There was possibly no town on it at that time; but by and by there certainly appears to have been a town bearing the name; and in the *Onomasticon* it is set down as at five Roman miles from Gophna, on the road to Shechem. Dr. Robinson supposed it to have been in the Wady-el-Jib—a narrow valley about half-way between Shechem and Jerusalem. It was probably the same with what was called Gibeah in the field, Ju. xxiv. 31.

3. GIBEAH. There appears to have been a town of this name in Judah, though only mentioned once, and with no indication of its precise locality, Jos. xv. 57. It is supposed to have been the same with the Gabbaatha of Eusebius and Jerome, which they place at twelve miles on the way to Eleutheropolis.

GIB'EON [*pertaining to a height*], one of the ancient royal cities of the Canaanites; a "great city" of the Hivites, who at an early stage of Joshua's conquests entered into a stratagem to get terms of peace for themselves. Taking old clothes on their persons, and bread dry and mouldy in their bags, they professed to come from a far country, and having heard by report of the wonderful things done by Israel, they sought an alliance with them. So craftily did the Gibeonites play their part, that the chiefs of the congregation of Israel had agreed to the proposal before they had any suspicion of the artifice used on the occasion. It was also resolved that the covenant entered into should be religiously preserved; but that to mark the sense entertained of the conduct of the Gibeonites, a perpetual service should be laid upon them; they were to be hewers of wood and drawers of water for the tabernacle of the Lord for ever, Jos. ix. Gibeon fell afterwards to the lot of Benjamin, and stood a little to the west of Gibeah, about eight or ten miles from Jerusalem. It was also made a Levitical city; and the tabernacle was transferred thither from Nob after the slaughter of the priests, and remained for a considerable time, though without the ark, which was brought by David to Jerusalem, and placed first in a new tabernacle, and ultimately in the temple, 1 Ch. xvi. 39; 2 Ch. i. 3, 4. Solomon, at the commencement of his reign, went to Gibeon and sacrificed a thousand burnt-offerings; where also in a dream by night he received from God an assurance of the great wisdom and prosperity that were to be given to him. We have no subsequent notice of Gibeon in Israelitish history; and almost the only earlier one we have, beside those already mentioned, is what is stated of the engagement by twelve chosen champions on each side, between the men of David and Abner, who all fell, each by the hand of his fellow. It was by the "Pool of Gibeon," of which remains are still said to appear, that the conflict took place, 2 Sa. ii.

Gibeon was a place of some importance from its being the key to the pass of Beth-horon; and it probably continued during all the better times of Israelitish history to be well fortified. It has been identified with the village *El-Jîb*. "This village stands on the top of a little isolated hill, composed of horizontal layers of limestone, here and there forming regular steps, in some places steep and difficult of access, and everywhere capable of being strongly fortified. Round it is spread out one of the finest and richest plains in central Palestine, meadow-like in its smoothness and verdure, dotted near the village with vineyards and olive-groves, and sending out branches like the rays of a star-fish among the rocky acclivities that encircle it. The houses of *El-Jîb* are scattered irregularly over the broad summit of the hill, whose sides, where not too steep, are covered with trees and terraced vineyards. They are almost all, in whole or in part, ancient, but in a sadly dilapidated state. One massive building still stands among them, and was probably a kind of citadel. The lower rooms are vaulted, the arches being semicircular, and of admirable workmanship. On the western side of the hill, at the foot of a low cliff, is a fine fountain, springing up in a cave excavated in the rock so as to form a large subterranean reservoir. Not far below it, among the venerable olive-trees, are the remains of an open reservoir, similar to the large one at Hebron" (Porter's Syria and Palestine, p. 225).

GIB'EONITES, the remnants of the ancient inhabitants of Gibeon, have acquired an unhappy notoriety from an incidental notice recorded of them in the history of the times of David. Saul, it is said, in his zeal to the children of Israel and Judah, had sought to slay them, and had put many of them to death, though he did not succeed in utterly destroying them, 2 Sa. xxi. 2, violating, while he did so, the covenant and oath given to their forefathers at the time of the conquest. It was in all probability in the latter days of Saul that this atrocity was perpetrated, when being forsaken of God and given up to the morbid and tortuous workings of an evil spirit, his zeal took the most arbitrary and capricious directions. And it might be partly on this account that the reign of Saul was allowed to close without any special account being taken of the crime, or any peculiar visitation of judgment being sent to chastise it. But other reasons must have led to its being called into remembrance and made the ground of a protracted famine, as it was, in the latter days of David's administration; this plainly implied that David's house and people needed to have their attention solemnly called to the matter, and had to receive from it a warning against incurring similar judgments in the time to come. Suffering under the rebuke of a three years' famine, David inquired of the Lord, and found that it was "for Saul and his bloody house, because he slew the Gibeonites." On learning this, David left it to the Gibeonites themselves to say what they would regard as a proper satisfaction; and they demanded that seven sons of the man who had consumed them, and who had even meditated their complete extermination, should be publicly executed. David acceded to their request; and it is said "the Lord was intreated for the land," ver. 14. There is not the slightest evidence for the allegation which has been sometimes made against David, that he purposely contrived or greedily fell in with this device, in order to weaken the house of Saul, and place it under a darker stigma. On the contrary, David's conduct throughout to that house was in the highest degree generous and noble; and at the very time when this fresh public calamity befell it, he took occasion to have the bones of Saul and Jonathan, along with the bones of the seven now publicly hanged, gathered together and honourably buried in the sepulchre of Kish. This was not like the procedure of a man who had a grudge to satisfy against the fallen, and secretly rejoiced over their deeper prostration. Indeed, David had no longer any need to be afraid of the house of Saul; the foes of his kingdom (as the re-

bellion of Absalom had too clearly shown) were to be found nearer home; they were those of his own house. And on this very account both he and they required to be admonished, by every available means of instruction, of the righteousness that ever characterizes God's administration, and which ought in a measure to be found also in that of the earthly kingdom which more peculiarly represented it. If the latter failed in this respect, judgment must infallibly come, and it might even go down from one generation to another as a descending and entailed curse; for though passing into different hands, the kingdom in Israel, as imaging the character and government of God, was still in a sense one. It was especially for the purpose of teaching these truths, and by solemn transactions in history impressing them deeply on the mind, that the circumstances now referred to were appointed by God. All must know, and in particular the reigning house in Israel must know, that God required faithfulness to covenant-engagements, and that if they violated these, their own measure must be meted back to them. This is the general principle and design of what took place—both in perfect unison with the divine plan, and if we knew the circumstances more fully, even the details might admit of a reasonable explanation.

GIB'LITES, who plainly belonged to the Phœnician territory, are understood to have been the people of Byblus, a city of the Phœnicians between Tripoli and Berytus. The Hebrews seem to have called it Gebal. "The land of the Giblites" is coupled with "all Lebanon," as together belonging to the territory of the Israelites on the northern side. And in connection with the shipping and merchandise of Tyre, the prophet Ezekiel mentions "the ancients of Gebal," as furnishing calkers, or perhaps generally ship-carpenters, Eze. xxvii. 9. The Giblites are not mentioned in immediate connection with the affairs of Israel; if they did come into direct contact with these, it must have been for evil and not for good. For Byblus was the seat of the worship of the Syrian Tammuz or Adonis—a worship which certainly found its way, among other corruptions, into the later idolatries of the Jewish people, Eze. viii. 14; but whether directly from Byblus, or from other parts of Phœnicia, we have no means of ascertaining.

GID'EON [*cutter down, destroyer;* called also from an action in his life, Jerubbaal, *i.e. Baal-striver*, one who contends or pleads against Baal], the fifth in order of the men whom the Lord successively raised up to deliver and judge Israel. He was the son of Joash, the least, as he himself said, meaning thereby perhaps the youngest, in his father's house, Ju. vi. 15. The house was of the tribe of Manasseh, and Joash himself with his family dwelt at Ophrah; but whether this lay in the territory of Manasseh to the east of Jordan, in the land of Gilead, or in that to the west, has not been conclusively determined. As, however, the chief scene of Gideon's great exploit with the Midianites was manifestly on the west of Jordan, and his future residence also on the same side, somewhere in the neighbourhood of Shechem, the probabilities undoubtedly are in favour of the supposition that both Ophrah and the family of Gideon belonged to the western division of Manasseh. Mount Gilead, indeed, is named in connection with the movement of Gideon against Midian, but probably only as the first place of rendezvous for his army, Ju. vii. 3. For the sake of security he might be obliged to assemble the people on the mountainous lands to the east of Jordan. Stanley (Sinai and Palestine, p. 342) and others, without any authority from MSS., would substitute Gilboa for Gilead in the passage referred to. This is otherwise objectionable, as one does not see how thousands from Asher, Naphtali, about and beyond Esdraelon, could have been able to meet on Gilboa, with the Midianite host lying between.

Gideon appeared on the theatre of affairs in a time of general backsliding, and when great oppression was exercised over Israel by the Midianites. So completely had this warlike Arabian race recovered from the terrible slaughter they sustained at the hand of the Israelites, shortly before the death of Moses, Nu. xxxi., that now, probably about 200 years later, they had come up in prodigious force and numbers, so as entirely to overpower the children of Israel. For the better accomplishment of their purpose, they had entered into a league with the Amalekites and other tribes of the desert; and the united bands at last overspread the territory of Canaan with hordes of cattle and multitudes of camels, to an extent which threatened to consume the whole produce of the land. The people of Israel fled wherever they could into dens, and caves, and strongholds; they durst scarcely venture into the light of day, even to provide themselves with the means necessary for their support; and the valiant Gideon, when thrashing wheat for his family, had to carry on his operations beside the wine-press, instead of on the open thrashing-floor, in order to escape the notice of the Midianites. Such was the position and such the employment in which he was found by the angel of the Lord, who appeared to him and said, "Jehovah is with thee, thou mighty man of valour." It was a startling address, and one that seemed rather like a bitter irony, when viewed in connection with the existing state of affairs, than the words of soberness and truth. Therefore Gideon replied, "Oh! my Lord, if Jehovah be with us, why then is all this befallen us? and where be all the miracles which our fathers told us of, saying, Did not Jehovah bring us up from Egypt? But now Jehovah hath forsaken us, and delivered us into the hands of the Midianites." The desponding tone of the reply was not unnatural in the circumstances, and what followed was designed to reassure his mind, and brace him with energy and fortitude for the occasion. Jehovah, it is said—for instead of the angel of Jehovah, as formerly, it is now Jehovah himself—"Jehovah looked upon him, and said, Go in this thy might, and thou shalt save Israel from the hand of the Midianites; have not I sent thee?" Gideon still expressed his fear of the result, mentioning his own comparative insignificance, and that of his father's family, but was again met with a word of encouragement, "Surely I will be with thee, and thou shalt smite the Midianites as one man."

Gideon's heart now began to take courage; but to make him sure that it really was a divine messenger he was dealing with, and that the commission he had received was from the Lord, he requested a sign from heaven; and it was given him in connection with an offering, which he was allowed to present, of a kid and some unleavened cakes. These the angel touched with the tip of his staff, and a fire presently rose out of the rock and consumed them. Immediately the angel himself disappeared, though not till he had by a word of peace quieted the mind of Gideon, which had become agitated by the thought of having seen the face of the Lord.

And now, as a preparation for the work of deliverance to which he was called, and to make it evident in whose name and might he was going to undertake it, he proceeded to do the part of a practical reformer in his father's house. The family of Joash also had fallen under the prevailing spirit of idolatry; images of Baal and Asherah (improperly translated *grove* in ch. vi. 25, 28) were standing on his father's property; and these, in obedience to a vision granted him during the ensuing night, Gideon cut down, and in their stead reared an altar to Jehovah, and offered on it a burnt-sacrifice. So strong was the spirit of idolatry in his father's household, and among the people of Ophrah generally, that he felt it necessary to accomplish this work of reform and sacrifice, with the help of a few chosen men, during the dead of night; and on the morrow, when they knew who had done it, they demanded of Joash the life of his son. But Joash, who had probably learned from Gideon the instruction on which he acted, refused to interfere; he boldly challenged them to take up the cause of Baal, and even called upon Baal to show his power, if he had any, by avenging it himself. This seems to have had the desired effect. Joash called his son Jerubbaal (Baal-striver), and was content to leave it to the decisions of Providence whether Gideon or Baal was to prevail in the conflict.

The matter was not long in coming to an issue. The Midianites and Amalekites, in a mighty host, had pitched in the splendid valley of Esdraelon, intending, no doubt, as heretofore, to feast themselves at pleasure on the fat of the land. But "the Spirit of the Lord came on Gideon," and he blew the trumpet through Abiezer first, then throughout Manasseh, Asher, and Naphtali; and presently thousands responded to the call, and gathered themselves around him. It might have seemed as if this were enough, and that he might now proceed with a dauntless spirit to the conflict with the enemy. But the weakness and backsliding of the past still lingered in the soul of Gideon, and like an ill-omened apparition, rose up and shook his resolution when the moment for action arrived. He again, therefore, cast himself on the mercy of God, and craved, in addition to former assurances, a double sign—first, that dew might fall on a fleece while the earth around remained dry, and next, that the earth might be wetted with dew while none fell upon the fleece. Both signs were granted; so that Gideon could no longer doubt he had the direction and support of Heaven on his side. But having thus tried God, he had himself in turn to be tried. Situated as Israel at the time was, too much appearance of preparation for the coming struggle was as much to be deprecated and feared as too little—more, indeed, as regarded the spiritual interests at stake. It was not simply victory that they needed, but such a victory as would display the finger of Jehovah, and so magnify his power in their eyes as to shame them out of their false confidence in Baal. Therefore, since so many had assembled around the standard of Gideon, lest they should vaunt themselves, and imagine that their own hand might achieve for them a victory, Gideon was put upon measures that should reduce his effective force to a very limited number. He was first of all to proclaim that whosoever was of a fearful spirit should return; and two-thirds of the numbers who had rallied around him took advantage of the liberty which this proclamation gave them: twenty-two thousand left, and only ten remained. But even this force appeared much too great, and by another, apparently somewhat arbitrary test, it was reduced from thousands to hundreds. Gideon was ordered to bring them down to the water (what water we are not told, and it is vain to conjecture), and to separate those who lapped of the water with the tongue, as a dog lappeth, from those who bent down on their knees to drink. The lapping is more particularly explained by the persons who took that method being said to put their hand to their mouth, ch. vii. 6. There were only three hundred of them who did so; and the Lord said to Gideon, "By the three hundred men that lapped will I save you, and deliver the Midianites into thine hand." It was but a slight circumstance that marked the difference between them and the others; but still it indicated a specific quality; they were the persons that took the more expeditious method of quenching their thirst, and thereby gave proof of a nimbleness and alacrity which bespoke a fitness for executing quick movements in attacking or pursuing an enemy. This affords a perfectly sufficient and natural explanation, and there is no need for resorting, as many do, to peculiar usages in the East, and no one who knows anything of the manners of people in rural and highland districts, can need to be told how common it is for them, when wishing to get a hasty refreshment at a running stream, to lift the water to their mouths in the palm of their hand, instead of leisurely bending down, or laying themselves along to get a fuller draught.

The three hundred men, therefore, were given to Gideon as a select band, with which he was to put to flight the congregated force of Midian and Amalek. The rest were not sent home, but kept in their tents, to be ready when occasion called for them. The three hundred were divided into three companies, and each, in addition to their swords, supplied with a trumpet, and an earthen pitcher containing a lamp. The pitcher merely served to conceal the lamp, till it was necessary that this should be exhibited. It was arranged that in the dead of night they were to approach the enemy at three different points, and at one and the same moment, all following the example set by Gideon himself, were to break their pitchers, hold up their lamps in the one hand, and blow with their trumpets in the other—so as to create the impression of their being but the advance-guard of an immense attacking force. The manœuvre, employed as it was under the divine sanction, and after an encouraging visit paid to the Midianitish camp in the earlier part of the night by Gideon and his servant, had the desired effect; the enemy were struck with a sudden panic, and thrown into inextricable confusion, when thus they perceived so many lights flashing on them, and heard so many trumpets, accompanied by the loud war-cry, "The sword of the Lord (Jehovah) and of Gideon." They fell by the sword, not merely of Gideon and his valiant little band, but also of one another, not being able in the terror of the moment and the darkness of night to distinguish friend from foe. And thus a dreadful slaughter and discomfiture ensued, which was followed up on the next and following days by a general rising of the people in the surrounding districts, who proved of great service in consummating the triumph, however disinclined they might be to face the enemy in his strength. No fewer than 120,000, it is said, fell in the conflict, Ju. viii. 10, beside what might afterwards be slain of the 15,000 that

escaped, in the first instance, with Zeba and Zalmunna, but were overtaken, and in a subsequent battle defeated by Gideon. "Thus," as the sacred historian remarks, "was Midian subdued before the children of Israel, so that they lifted up their heads no more," Ju. viii. 28. They never regained sufficient strength from the disaster to assume an attitude of hostility against Israel; and the references made in later writings to the victory of Gideon point to it as emphatically a day of Jehovah's right hand, in which he completely prostrated the strength of a most powerful enemy, Is. ix. 4; x. 26; Hab. iii. 7; Ps. lxxxiii. 9. There were, however, certain abatements to the honours of the day. The Ephraimites were displeased at not having been called at the first by Gideon to take part in the enterprise, and were only quieted by his according to them the praise of having done more at the end for the common cause, than he did at the beginning, Ju. viii. 1-3. They should, in truth, have needed no such soothing compliment, but should rather in thoughtful silence have marked how peculiarly the hand of God had ordered as well the circumstances that preceded as those that accompanied the conflict. The men of Succoth offended in a different way; they acted a cowardly part to the last, and refused to supply Gideon and his party with a few loaves of bread, when faint with pursuing Zeba and Zalmunna, the two kings of Midian, who had managed to escape. Succoth lay to the east of Jordan, at no great distance from the border of the Midianitish territory; and the men of the place, no doubt, thought that in their case discretion was the better part of valour; that it was too much to ask them openly to befriend a pursuing force, so long as such powerful neighbours as Zeba and Zalmunna were still alive; nor would it seem at all likely to them that much success could attend Gideon's army, in their attempt to carry the war into the native country of the Midianites. In this case, however, as so often happens in great emergencies, worldly wisdom proved a poor substitute for a humble and reliant faith; and by the chastisement inflicted on the men of Succoth on Gideon's return, they were taught a salutary lesson, which, it may be hoped, was not without permanent advantage to them, Ju. viii. 13-16.

The results of the victory wrought by God through the instrumentality of Gideon were not such, at least in a spiritual respect, as might have been expected. External rest followed, and lasted, it is said, for forty years, to the close of Gideon's lifetime. But the spirit of idolatry was far from being subdued, and even in Gideon's own household sprung into efflorescence during that period of outward peace and prosperity. Gideon himself behaved nobly, having refused to take the place of supreme ruler or king, when requested by the people; he said, No, "neither I nor my son shall rule over you; Jehovah shall rule over you," Ju. viii. 23. He would have no personal recompense for the services he had rendered his people, except that every one would give him the ear-rings of his prey; and even this, though amounting to 1700 shekels weight of gold, he would not appropriate to his private use, but turned it into the form of an ephod—the more distinctive part of the priest's attire—and placed it in the town of Ophrah. He obviously meant it to serve as a sacred memorial of the Lord's goodness, and to point men's attentions away from himself, as the mere instrument, to Jehovah, by whose grace, and counsel, and might the work of deliverance had really been won. But the gross spirit of the times in great measure defeated this object. The golden ephod "became a snare to Gideon and to his house;" it was turned into a sort of idol. Success had also marred the simplicity of Gideon's manners, and by degrees introduced looseness and disorder into his family. He took to himself many wives and concubines, who brought him indeed a numerous offspring, there being no fewer than seventy sons; but it inevitably brought also the usual attendants of polygamy, a brood of domestic jealousies, corruptions, and miseries. The moral influence of the family ceased apparently even before Gideon himself had finished his career; for as soon as he was gone, the men of his very place and neighbourhood were ripe for a general movement in favour of idolatry, and they agreed together to make Baal-berith, that is, Baal of the covenant, their God, Ju. viii. 33. The state of the case seems to have been, that they concurred in setting up an idol to worship, and erecting an idol temple; hence, in reference to the Shechemites, we read of the house of their god Berith, Ju. ix. 46. It implied that the Israelites made a compromise with the surrounding heathenism; the object of their common worship was to be a Baal, but Baal of the covenant; not, therefore, absolutely and formally different from Jehovah, but Jehovah under a special name and character, consequently worshipped in a manner that he could not regard. Can we wonder, after such a defection, that the spirit of evil should break out, as it so soon did, with the violence of a whirlwind, in Gideon's house and among the people of Abiezer? The family, on which the sun of divine favour had for a time shone so brightly, became in the next generation a plague and a ruin, itself receiving into its bosom the vials of heaven's wrath, and in its calamitous course becoming the occasion of involving multitudes around it in the same! A most striking proof in its history both how righteousness exalts, and how sin becomes the ruin of any people!

GIER-EAGLE [רָחָם, *racham*, רָחָמָה, *rachamah*]. This word occurs only in the enumeration of birds prohibited by the law of Moses as unclean; in the former form in Le. xi. 18, in the latter in De. xiv. 17. The LXX. have rendered it "swan" (κύκνος) in the former case, and "hawk" (ἱέραξ) in the latter. The Hebrew word ordinarily signifies bowels or compassion, and commentators have sought to establish an identity with one species or another founded on the distinctive habits of the bird, but with little success. The writer of the notes in the *Pictorial Bible* accepts the first meaning of the LXX.; Boothroyd and Taylor, in Calmet, will have the kingfisher to be intended.

Bruce, however, has sufficiently shown that the bird must be the Egyptian vulture—*Neophron percnopterus*, which is abundant in the East, and is popularly called Pharaoh's chicken. But it is also well known by the name *rachamah*, which is literally the old Hebrew appellation. The traveller just cited considers that this name, alluding to the signification mentioned above, commemorates the fact that this vulture was sacred to Isis, and considered an emblem of parental affection. At present the bird, though horribly filthy and obscene in its habits, is held in such esteem in Egypt, that a penalty attaches to any one who kills it near the great cities. This probably is only for its usefulness as a scavenger. The *Neophron* enjoys a wide geographical range, since it occurs over the whole of Asia, Europe,

and Africa. It has even been taken in England and in Norway. It is rather a conspicuous bird; for the plumage is wholly white, except a band of black across each wing; the beak, naked face, legs and feet are yellow.

[303.] Egyptian Vulture—*Neophron percnopterus.*

The food, as with other vultures, is mainly carrion; but when this is scarce, it will prey upon snakes, lizards, and frogs. [P. H. G.]

GI'HON [*what breaks* or *issues forth*], 1. originally occurs as the name of one of the four rivers of paradise, and which is described as thereafter compassing the whole land of Ethiopia, Ge. ii. 13. Various efforts have been made to identify it with some known river on the present surface of the globe, but with no success. (*See* EDEN.)

2. GIHON, the name of a fountain near Jerusalem, beside which Solomon received his anointing to the kingdom, 1 Ki. i. 23, 38. (*See* JERUSALEM AND ITS ENVIRONS.)

GIL'BOA [*bubbling fountain*], known only as the name of a mountain ridge, though the etymology of the word seems to point to some spring, remarkable for its bubbling waters; and it is possible that from some such spring the mountain derived its name. And there is a large spring at the northern base of what is still regarded as Gilboa, called 'Ain Julûd, supposed to be the same with "the fountain of Jezreel," beside which Saul pitched with his army before the memorable battle in which he fell, 1 Sa. xxix. 1. Gilboa, however, is not so properly a mountain in the ordinary sense as a range of hills, bounding the fertile plain of Esdraelon on the north-east. "They are not particularly interesting in their general contour. They rise to no great height, and present but a small appearance either of natural pasturage or culture. Large bare patches and scarps of the common cretaceous rock of the country are more conspicuous on them, than any clothing of verdure which they wear" (Wilson, Lands of the Bible, ii. p. 85). What has chiefly invested Gilboa with interest is the victory gained there over Saul by the Philistines, and the pathetic lamentation by David over Saul himself and his son Jonathan. In that lamentation, it will also be observed, Gilboa is spoken of, not as a single mountain, but as a group or succession of heights—"mountains of Gilboa;" and another touch of truth may be perceived, as Mr. Stanley has remarked, in the poetical wish, that henceforth there might be no rain nor dew upon them, nor *fields of offerings*—suggested doubtless by the aspect of the "bare, bleak, and jagged ridge, with its one green strip of table-land, where probably the last struggle was fought—the more bare and bleak from its unusual contrast with the fertile plain from which it springs."

GIL'EAD [properly, *a hard, rocky region*, but by a slight change in the punctuation, *Galeed*, it might signify *heap of witness*, the name given by Jacob to the heap of stones erected by him on a memorable occasion, Ge. xxi. 47], 1. a district east of the Jordan, which included the towns of Ramoth, Jazer, and Jabesh. Its limits cannot be, and probably never were, strictly defined, and the name seems sometimes to have been applied to the whole Transjordanic country, Nu. xxxii. 29; Ju. xx. 1. Its mountains are to be seen from nearly all the hills and table-lands of western Palestine, and seem to form an unbroken ridge bounding the view to the eastward. To the pilgrim at the sacred sites, and the traveller in the Holy Land, they are the limits of his knowledge, as the Mediterranean was to the Jews, as the Atlantic was to Europe in the middle ages, as the Libyan hills are to the voyager on the Nile. But on approaching them the unbroken appearance of their outline vanishes, and when their summits (2000 or 3000 feet above the Jordan valley) are reached, there opens out "a wide table-land tossed about in wild confusion of undulating downs, clothed with rich grass and with magnificent forests of sycamore, beech, terebinth, ilex, and enormous fig-trees. These downs are broken by three deep defiles, through which there fall into the Jordan the three rivers of the Jarmuk, the Jabbok, and the Arnon" (the latter however is south of the limits of Gilead as generally understood). "On the east they melt away into the vast red plain which, by a gradual descent, joins the level of the plain of the Haûran and of the Assyrian desert" (Stanley, Sinai and Pal. p. 314). The whole of this east country, being well adapted for pasture, was granted to the Reubenites, the Gadites, and the half tribe of Manasseh, after it had been won from Sihon king of the Amorites and Og the king of Bashan, Nu. xxi. 24, 32. Gilead in its proper sense fell partly to the lot of Gad, partly to Manasseh. Their boundary cannot be accurately laid down, further than that Gad seems to have dwelt to the south and west by the Jordan (as far north however as the Sea of Chinnereth, Jos. xiii. 27), and Manasseh to the north and east as far south as Mahanaim. The forests and pastures of Gilead seem to have kept alive in its inhabitants that wild and nomade character which was soon lost by the tribes to the west of the Jordan, while its exposure to the attacks of external enemies nurtured their warlike spirit, and its isolation from the rest of the Holy Land kept them in the background of the history of God's people. At different times two remarkable men suddenly appeared from its forests: Jephthah, the victorious captain, the performer of his rash vow; Elijah the Tishbite, the bold reprover of Ahab, the asserter of God's honour, the sole antagonist of Baal's four hundred prophets on Mount Carmel. The wildness of the region whence he came must have had a similar effect upon the western Israelites, as had his strange appearance and the accounts they heard of his miraculous nourishment by ravens, of his raising the widow's son, and of his running before Ahab's chariot from Carmel to Jezreel. In his country too was Ramoth, the frontier town, so often taken and retaken by the Syrians, and at last the scene of Ahab's death, as foretold by the prophet.

At other times Gilead comes before us for a moment as it were in the sacred history. It was the scene

of the crisis of Jacob's life, when, no longer an outcast and a slave, he returned the independent chieftain of a numerous and wealthy tribe to the land of his fathers. For here on Mount Gilead he finally parted with Laban, who had long deceived and oppressed him, and had pursued him hither from Padan-Aram. At Mahanaim he overlooked the inheritance of his descendants, and meditated on his changed fortunes: "With my staff I passed over this Jordan, and now I am become two bands." Here also the angels of God met him, sent no doubt as a support in his trial, and as an earnest of the Almighty's protection. At Peniel took place that mysterious wrestling in prayer, when he received his new name of Israel, *the wrestler of God*, more suitable to his altered prospects than Jacob, *the supplanter;* and thus by converse with God, he prepared for the last trial of this period of his life—the dreaded meeting with Esau. At Succoth, where he built him a house, and made booths for his cattle, we trace a further step in his history—the transition from the wandering to the settled agricultural life, Ge. xxxi. xxxii. xxxiii. On another occasion we are brought back to Gilead at the time of David's sorest trial, when he fled to Mahanaim from Absalom, who was defeated and slain in the neighbouring forest of Ephraim. On two special occasions also did the Transjordanic hills afford a safe retreat to our Lord himself from his labours and dangers in Galilee and Judea. Thither he probably retired after his baptism; thither also in the interval of danger which immediately preceded the end of his earthly course, Jn. x. 39, 40. And these too were the mountains "whither, in obedience to their Master's prophetic bidding, the Christians fled from the siege of Jerusalem, and found at Pella a refuge from the calamities which befell their countrymen."

The balm of Gilead seems to have been valued for its medicinal properties from the earliest times. The Midianitish merchants to whom Joseph was sold were passing through the valley of Jezreel on their way from Gilead to Egypt, Ge. xxxvii. 17. Josephus often mentions this balm or balsam, but generally as the product of the rich plain of Jericho, for example (Antiq. xiv. 4): "Now when Pompey had pitched his camp at Jericho (where the palm-tree grows and that balsam which is an ointment of all the most precious, which upon any incision being made in the wood with a sharp stone distils out thence like a juice), he marched in the morning to Jerusalem." Dr. Thomson found in the plain of Jericho some thorn-bushes called the *zukum*, "which is like the crab apple-tree, and bears a small nut, from which a kind of liquid balsam is made, and sold by the monks as balm of Gilead so famous in ancient times," and he supposes "that the balm which Jacob sent to Joseph, Ge. xlvii. 11, and that which Jeremiah, ch. viii. 22, refers to for its medicinal qualities, were the same which the trading Ishmaelites were transporting to Egypt, and that it was some resinous extract from the forest trees of Gilead" (The Land and the Book, p. 467). [C. T. M.]

2. GILEAD. A Gilead is mentioned in Ju. vii. 3, in connection with the movements of Gideon, which must have been some place or mountain, not on the east, but on the west of Jordan, and probably in the territories of Naphtali or Zebulun. Some have supposed that *Gilead* (גִּלְעָד) is a corruption of the text for Gilboa. But the MSS. give no countenance to this; and in the present state of the evidence, the natural supposition is, that a Gilead of some sort, though otherwise unknown, existed near the scene of Gideon's operations.

3. GILEAD. Two persons are mentioned as bearing this name—a son of Machir, Nu. xxvi. 29; and the father of Jephthah, Ju. xi. 1.

GIL'GAL [*wheel, rolling*]. 1. The place, whether town, or as is more probable, open space, on which Israel made their first encampment after crossing the Jordan, Jos. iv. 19, 20. It is simply described as being "in the east corner of Jericho." It is placed by Josephus at the distance of ten stadia, or little more than a mile from Jericho, and about five times as much to the west of the Jordan (Ant. v. 1, 4, 11). It is expressly called a hill or rising-ground, Jos. v. 3; and there, resting for a little, the host of Joshua performed the rite of circumcision and partook of the passover, before they entered on the work of conquest. It was in regard to the work of circumcision that the place obtained its future name: "And the Lord said unto Joshua, This day have I rolled away the reproach of Egypt from off you. Wherefore the name of the place is called Gilgal unto this day," Jos. v. 9. It has been made a question, why the administration of circumcision should have been called rolling away the reproach of Egypt; whether the reproach had respect simply to their previous uncircumcised condition, or to their condition otherwise, as connected with and indicated by the suspension of circumcision. The latter seems decidedly the preferable view. For, in the first place, the simple fact of circumcision having ceased to be administered during the wilderness sojourn, could scarcely have been so generally known in Egypt as to become a matter of reproach there against Israel. The Egyptians had no means of knowing whether it was practised or not. Then, even if it had been known, one does not see how it should have been, as a mere fact, turned into a reproach; because there is no evidence to show that the Egyptians as a people in any way identified their national honour with the rite, nor is it certain that the practice was ever by any means universal, except among the priesthood. Origen speaks of it as confined to them (Hom. 5 in Jer.), and Clement of Alexandria merely adds those who sought admission to the mysteries (Strom. i. p. 302, ed. Sylb.) It is chiefly on a misunderstanding of the passage before us, coupled with a general statement of Herodotus (ii. 108) as to the general practice of circumcision among the Egyptians, that the absolute and stringent universality of it there has been affirmed. (See, for example, Wilkinson's Ancient Egyptians, v. 317; Kitto's Cyclopedia, art. Circumcision.) Besides, if the simple disuse of the ordinance had lain so long upon Israel as a reproach, one must say it was very needlessly borne, since it could have been removed any time during the forty years; almost anywhere they could have halted long enough for the purpose. In reality it had been done once, for when the command to circumcise was now given to Joshua, it came as an order to "circumcise them again, the second time," Jos. v. 2. The former time would doubtless be when they lay encamped around Sinai, so that the forty years of discontinuance mentioned could not be absolutely forty; the term is used in a general way for the period of the wilderness sojourn. When leaving Sinai and marching toward Canaan, the administration of the ordinance required to be suspended for a time, on account of the incessant movings to and fro. But

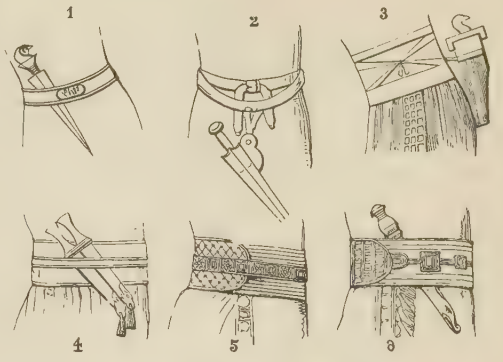
when, for their want of faith and frequent backslidings, the people were doomed to continue in the wilderness for nearly forty years longer, as this was a suspension of the covenant itself, so the ordinance, which was its more peculiar badge and seal, was fitly suspended too. Not from any external difficulty in practising it, but as a sign of their humbled and dishonoured condition, was it henceforth allowed to fall into abeyance by the lawgiver. Hence it is expressly connected here with their having disobeyed God's voice, and losing in consequence the fulfilment of the great promise of the covenant, ver. 6. This was emphatically the reproach of Egypt, viz. the reproach of having been led out of Egypt with high hopes of future aggrandisement, which had not been realized. It was precisely such a reproach which Moses dreaded, and which led him on one occasion to say, "Wherefore should the Egyptians speak and say, For mischief did he bring them out, to slay them in the mountains, and to consume them from the face of the earth?" Ex. xxxii. 12, also Nu. xiv. 13. But now that they had become again a circumcised people, by the express command of God, the partial ban was taken off; they were acknowledged by him as in the proper sense his covenant-people, in whose behalf he was ready to execute the word on which he had caused their fathers to hope. Thus, no longer should Egypt have occasion to taunt them with having been beguiled with false expectations and promises lying unfulfilled. The deed at Gilgal terminated the period of shame, and commenced a brighter era. (*See* CIRCUMCISION.)

2. GILGAL, from which Elijah and Elisha went down to Bethel, 2 Ki. ii. 2, was apparently a different place from that just noticed; for, had it been meant, the passage from the one place to the other could never have been represented as a descent, Bethel being upwards of 1000 feet above the banks of the Jordan. There must therefore have been a Gilgal somewhere in the district of Bethel, and at a higher elevation than it—of which the remains are supposed to have been found in certain ruins, bearing the name of *Jiljuleh* or *Jiljilieh*, situated a few miles to the north of the ancient Bethel (Robinson, iii. p. 47).

3. GILGAL, not far from Shechem, beside the plains of Moreh, De. xi. 30; Jos. xii. 23. This may, however, have been the same with the immediately preceding; but it is impossible to decide with certainty. The passage in Joshua speaks of the nations or peoples of Gilgal, whose king fell under the hand of Joshua; implying that it was a place of some importance at the time of the conquest, and formed a centre to several tribes in the neighbourhood.

GI'LOH, a town situated somewhere in the hill-country of Judah, and known simply as the birth-place of Ahithophel, 2 Sa. xv. 12. In Jos. xv. 51, it is mentioned along with Debir and Eshtemoh; but hitherto no traces have been found of it.

GIRDLE, an article of dress, of much importance in the East, worn both by men and women. Its general nature and use, as well as the spiritual applications made of it in Scripture, have been described under DRESS. It is enough to indicate here a few leading points. For persons in plain attire the girdle was very commonly of leather; but was also not unfrequently made of linen, and sometimes highly ornamented with embroidery, and even with gold, silver, and precious stones. Of this costlier sort presents were often made, 2 Sa. xviii. 11. Its chief use was for binding up the loose and flowing garments that were worn alike by both sexes, so as to admit of their moving with more freedom, and addressing themselves to active employment.



[304.] Ancient Girdles.
1, 3, Egyptian, from Wilkinson and Rosellini. 2, Persepolitan, from Sir R. Ker Porter. 4, 5, 6, Assyrian, from sculptures in British Museum.

Hence to gird or girdle up the loins, was a common expression for putting one's self in readiness for any service that might be required, Lu. xii. 35; 1 Pe. i. 13. Daggers were usually stuck in the girdle; but the sword was sometimes at least suspended by a belt thrown over the shoulder, as in woodcut No. 212, p. 467. Among other incidental purposes served by the girdle, it was so folded as frequently to supply the want of a scrip or purse.

The girdle of the priests had a name of its own (*abneth*), and was in various respects peculiar. (*See* PRIESTS, CLOTHING OF.)

GIR'GASHITES, one of the tribes who inhabited Canaan before the conquest of the land under Joshua. The name frequently occurs, Ge. x. 16; xv. 21; De. vii. 1; Jos. iii. 10, &c.; but always in connection with the names of other tribes; and it is altogether doubtful to what districts of the land their possessions should be assigned. They are generally associated with the neighbourhood of the Sea of Galilee; but it rests on no solid grounds. Josephus intimates that nothing was known of them in his time but the name (Ant. i. 6, 2).

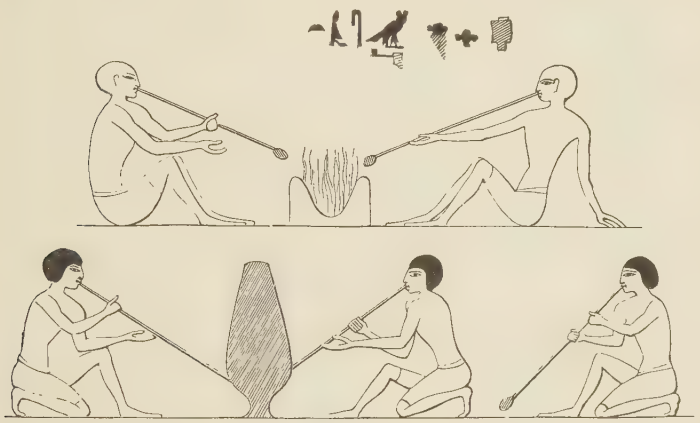
GIT'TITES, men of Gath, six hundred of whom attached themselves to David, and became part of his body-guard, 2 Sa. xv. 18, 19. It has been supposed by some, that they were the six hundred men who had followed David to Gath, 1 Sa. xxvii. 2 (*see* CHERETHITES); but it is rather against this view, that Ittai, who appears to have been their leader, is called "a stranger and an exile," ver. 20. There can be little doubt, however, that if natives of Gath, they submitted to circumcision, and became Israelites in faith and worship, though they were strangers by birth. Obed-edom is called a Gittite, 2 Sa. vi. 10; but as he was a Levite, this must have arisen, either from his having had some incidental connection with Gath, or perhaps more probably from his being a native of Gath-rimmon, a Levitical city.

GIT'TITH, a term occurring in the titles of some of the Psalms, probably the name of a particular kind of musical instrument. (*See* PSALMS.)

GLASS. There remains no longer any doubt as to the remote antiquity of the manufacture of glass. It was beyond all question one of the arts practised in ancient Egypt; and from the paintings of Beni Hassan,

executed, it is supposed, during the reign of the first Osirtisen and his immediate successors—that is, from sixteen to fourteen hundred years before the Christian era—representations have been found of the subject. The subjoined are given by Wilkinson (vol. iii. p. 89), exhibiting two sets of glass-blowers; and as the glass at the end of the blow-pipe was painted green, no doubt, as Wilkinson remarks, can exist as to the intention of the artist.

There is other evidence, however, of the antiquity of the art; for images of glazed pottery, belonging to much the same period, covered with a vitrified substance of the same quality as glass, have been discovered in the monuments; and beads and other ornaments of glass have been found, glass vases and bottles also, considered to be of a remote antiquity. Various glass articles have been exhumed from the ruins of Pompeii—though the glass, it is believed, had been of inferior quality, and adapted to few of the purposes to which it is now applied. This may have been so at Rome and in Europe generally; for it was in Egypt and Phœnicia, and more especially in Egypt, that the art was cultivated in early times, and brought in some of its branches to a very high degree of perfection. In Egypt they had the advantage, not only of an earlier application to the art, but also of a peculiar earth, which appears to have been necessary to the production of some of the more valuable and brilliant kinds of glass; hence a great part of the glass ware used at Rome about the Christian era and subsequently came from Alexandria; and the emperor Hadrian was presented by an Egyptian priest with some vases, which were reckoned so fine that they were produced only on grand occasions (Strabo, l. xvii.; Vopiscus in Vita Saturnini, c. 8). Winkelmann has given it as his opinion, that "the ancients carried the art of glass-making to a higher degree of perfection than ourselves;" and Wilkinson states respecting the Egyptians, "Such was their skill in the manufacture of glass, and in the mode of staining it of various hues, that they counterfeited with success the amethyst and other precious stones, and even arrived at an excellence in the art which their successors have been unable to retain, and which our European workmen, in spite of their improvements in other branches of this manufacture, are still unable to imitate. For not only do the colours of some Egyptian opaque glass offer the most varied devices on the exterior, distributed with the regularity of a studied design, but the same hue and the same devices pass in right lines directly through the substance; so that in whatever part it is broken, or wherever a section may chance to be made of it, the same appearance, the same colours, and the same device present themselves, without being found ever to deviate from the direction of a straight line, from the external surface to the interior" (Ancient Egypt. iii. p. 193).



[305, 306.] Glass-blowing.—Wilkinson's Ancient Egyptians.

The purposes to which the manufacture of glass was applied by the Egyptians and other ancient nations were of considerable diversity—including, beside the imitations just referred to of the precious stones, beads, figures of the gods, fancy figures of all sorts, bottles, cups, vases, jars, and occasionally even coffins. But it was rather coloured than transparent glass which was the object of study in the ancient manufacture; absolute clearness or transparency seems to have been a quality very rarely attained; and the emperor Nero is reported to have paid an extravagant price for two small drinking cups with handles, the chief excellence of which consisted in their being colourless (Encycl. Brit. art. Glass). Hence in those passages, whether in ancient classical writers or in Scripture, which speak of things being clear or shining as glass, the probability is, that it is either the mere glitter of glass when shone upon by the sun, sometimes perhaps the brilliancy of the colours emitted by it, or some other glass-like substance, such as rock-crystal, that is meant. This supposition is strengthened by the comparison in Re. iv. 4, "a sea of glass like unto crystal"—the glass representing only the smooth, polished, glancing surface, and the crystal superadding the idea of perfect transparency. Hence, glass was not applied in ancient times to windows; when these were not, as they commonly were in the East, simply open apertures by day, with wooden doors placed on them by night, a kind of semi-transparent stone, a sort of talc, called *lapis specularis*, was generally used, and continued to be so for centuries after the Christian era. Nor was glass in ancient times, so far as we know, ever applied to the production of mirrors. These were made of some sort of metal—the larger and more expensive ones of silver, and those in more common use of what is denominated brass, though it is understood to have been a compound of copper and tin, not copper and zinc, which are the real ingredients in brass. Hence the laver for the tabernacle was made of the looking-glasses which had belonged to the pious women who statedly attended upon the services of the sanctuary, Ex. xxxviii. 8. Hence also in Job the sky is spoken of as being spread out "like a molten looking-glass," ch. xxxvii. 18. And in 1 Co. xiii. 12—"for now we see through a glass darkly (*ἐν αἰνίγματι*, in a mystery)"—though nothing is implied as to the substance composing the glass, yet it seems best to understand the apostle as speaking of glass in the same sense as where the word is elsewhere used, 2 Co. iii. 18; Ja. i. 23, &c., that is, of glass in the sense of mirror, reflecting, though somewhat dimly and imperfectly (more so in ancient times than now), the objects exhibited in

it. To the eye of the spectator such objects appear to be seen *through* the glass, on its farther side, and with a degree of darkness or mystery corresponding to the imperfection of the instrument employed. God's Word is a mirror of this sort in respect to spiritual and divine things, in which and through which, as it were, the eye of faith can apprehend them, yet imperfectly, as in the far distance and amid a haze of dimness and obscurity. This is the only meaning of the passage that appears to be justified by the state of ancient art. Wetstein and Schöttgen have sought to establish another meaning by such rabbinical utterances as the following: "All the prophets saw through a dark glass, Moses through a bright glass"—which, if it have reference to window-glass, or any substance used instead, must have contemplated a state of things long posterior to the gospel age. The other interpretation therefore must be acquiesced in as the more natural and certain; the rather so, as in the second epistle to the Corinthians, the apostle has again connected the gospel with glass in the sense of a reflecting mirror.

GLASS, or MIRROR. *See* LOOKING-GLASS.

GLEANING. The right of the poor to glean after the reapers in harvest and in the vintage was one of the merciful provisions of the law of Moses, Le. xix. 9,10. How it was carried out by the better part of the covenant-people is beautifully exhibited in the history of Ruth.

GLEDE [ראה, *raah*]. The name of some unclean bird prohibited in De. xiv. 13, the only passage in which the word occurs. In the parallel list in Le. xi., the word איה (*daah*) appears in similar connection, which our version renders *vulture*. The great similarity between the letters ר and ך renders it highly probable that these two forms represent one and the same word. At all events the LXX. and the Vulgate render both by the same term, the former by γύψ, the vulture, the latter by *milvus*, the kite. Each term presents us with a good etymology, *raah* expressing vision, *daah* flight. The vultures and the kites are pre-eminent for fleetness of wing and for piercing sight; and we may be tolerably

[307.] Kite—*Milvus Egyptius.*

sure that one of these genera is intended. Under these circumstances there is no need to change the English rendering.

The kite (*Milvus vulgaris*) is spread over the whole of Europe, Western Asia, and North Africa. In England it is much more rare than formerly, though still a well-known bird. In some districts it retains the old Saxon name of glede, which alludes to its smooth and gliding flight. This, owing to its great length of wing and deeply-forked tail, is performed with the slightest possible apparent exertion. "Occasionally it sails in circles, with its rudder-like tail by its inclination governing the curve, then stops and remains stationary for a time, the tail expanded widely, and, with its long wings, sustaining its light body, apparently from the extent of surface the bird is able to cover" (Yarrell's British Birds, i. 72). Sir William Jardine describes it as everywhere a fine accessory to the landscape; one of the most harmonious appendages of the forest—its graceful flight and sailing gyrations heightening the effect of some dark and craggy forest scene in the Scottish Highlands, and breaking the quiet by its sudden and peculiarly shrill shriek.

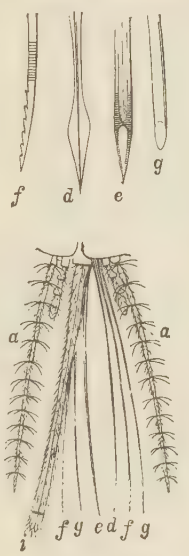
The prey of the glede consists of small quadrupeds, birds, and reptiles, and is generally taken on the ground by a sudden pounce. [P. H. G.]

GLORY is, perhaps, more variously used in Scripture than in most other writings; yet its scriptural meanings are not quite so manifold and arbitrary as they have sometimes been represented. For example, it has been supposed that this word, or its synonym in the original, has been occasionally used as a designation of the *liver*, the supposed seat of the emotions, especially of the more powerful emotions anger and love. This meaning has been attributed to it as used by Jacob respecting Simeon and Levi: "With them, mine honour, (glory) be not thou united," Ge. xlix. 6; and in some expressions of the psalmist, such as, "My heart is glad, and my glory rejoiceth," Ps. xvi. 9. Others, in this last passage, and in Ps. lvii. 8, "Awake up, my glory;" Ps. cviii. 1, "I will sing and give praise, even with my glory," have understood it of the tongue, as the most honourable member of the body. But there is no ground for such explanations. The glory meant by the psalmist is but another word for the heart or soul—the seat of intelligence, and feeling, and will, and as such the glory of man as a living and rational creature. Indeed, in all the applications of the word, one can easily trace the fundamental idea involved in it. Properly it is the exercise and display of what constitutes the distinctive excellence of the subject of which it is spoken; thus, in respect to God, his glory is the manifestation of his divine attributes and perfections, or such a visible effulgence as indicates the possession and presence of these, Ex. xxxiii. 18,19; Jn. i. 14; ii. 11; Ex. xvi. 7,10; xl. 34; 2 Pe. i. 17, &c.; in respect to man, his glory is found in the things which discover his honourable state and character, such as wisdom, righteousness, superiority to passion, or that outward magnificence which is expressive of what, in the lower sphere, bespeaks the high position of its possessor. So many examples occur of such applications of the word *glory* in Scripture, that it is needless to point to individual cases. But it is also, and by a very natural extension, used for the property or possession itself, which tends to throw around its subject a halo of glory, or in some respect to crown it with honour; as when the glory of man is identified with his soul; the glory of Lebanon with its trees, Is. lx. 13; the glory of herbs with the beauty of their flower, Is. xl. 6; the glory of God with his infinite perfections, and especially with his pure and unchanging righteousness, Is. iii. 8; xlii. 8. In this last sense God is the glory of his people, Je. ii. 11; Zec. ii. 5, because he is the

living root and spring of all that distinguishes them for good; and they are his glory in the other sense, Je. xiii. 11; lxii. 3, inasmuch as it is through their holy and blessed state, through the wonderful things done for them and by them, that his own glorious perfections are manifested before the eyes of men. There are no applications of the word in Scripture but what may without difficulty be reduced to the one or the other of those now indicated.

GNAT [κώνωψ], a small two-winged fly, only too well known in all climates for its venomous assaults on man and beast. There are many species, distinguished by the generic name *Culex*, but all having a similar conformation and similar habits. The species found in foreign countries are generally known as musquitoes; but musquitoes and gnats are the same thing.

The weapon with which the gnat makes its attack is a long and slender proboscis, which projects from the mouth like a very fine bristle, appearing to the naked eye quite simple. Under the magnifying power of the microscope, however, it is seen to be a flexible sheath (*i*) inclosing six distinct pieces, two of which are cutting blades or lancets (*g*), two notched like a saw with reverted teeth (*f*), a tubular canal (*e*), and the central one an excessively acute point which is also tubular (*d*). When the attack is made, the gnat brings the tip of the organ within its sheath to press upon the skin, into which it presently enters, the sheath remaining without and bending into an angle as the lancets descend. When the weapon has penetrated to its base—a distance of one-sixth of an inch or more—the lancets move laterally, and thus cut the flesh on either side, promoting the flow of blood from the superficial vessels; at the same moment a highly irritative fluid is poured into the wound, which has the effect of diluting the blood, and thus of rendering it more capable of flowing up the slender central tube into the throat of the insect. It then sucks, if undisturbed, till its stomach is filled to repletion, leaving a painful tumour accompanied with an intolerable itching. It is the female gnat alone which is noxious; the male, whose proboscis is feathered, has no power of sucking blood.



[308.]
Organs of the mouth of Gnat.

In low fenny parts of our own country the gnat is an intolerable plague; but those who have visited the marshy regions and forests of other lands are aware how much more formidable are the gnats there. Dr. Clarke, travelling in the Crimea, tells us that the bodies of himself and his companions, in spite of gloves, clothes, and handkerchiefs, were rendered one entire wound, and the consequent irritation and swelling excited a considerable degree of fever. In a most sultry night, when not a breath of air was stirring, exhausted by fatigue, pain, and heat, he sought shelter in his carriage; and though almost suffocated, could not venture to open a window for fear of the musquitoes. Swarms nevertheless found their way into his hiding-place; and in spite of the handkerchiefs with which he had bound up his head, filled his mouth, nostrils, and ears. In the midst of his torment he succeeded in lighting a lamp, which was extinguished in a moment by such a prodigious number of these insects, that their carcases actually filled the glass chimney, and formed a large conical heap over the burner. The noise they make in flying cannot be conceived by persons who have only heard gnats in England. It is to all that hear it a most fearful sound (Dr. Clarke's Travels, i. 388). A traveller in Morocco feelingly complains, that notwithstanding the weariness of a journey of fifty miles, he could take no repose for the terrible musquitoes, and that his face and hands appeared, from their stings, as if he were suffering from the most virulent sort of small-pox (Jackson's Morocco, 57). In America the Indians are fain to pass the night buried in sand, the head only exposed, which they cover, though most ineffectually, with a handkerchief (Humboldt).

Nor are the coldest climates exempt from these minute pests. In Lapland the prodigious swarms are compared to snow-storms when the flakes fill the air, or to the clouds of dust raised by the wind. The miserable natives cannot take a mouthful of food, or lie down to sleep in their huts, except in an atmosphere of smoke that almost suffocates them as well as the musquitoes. In the open air it is hardly possible to open the mouth without inhaling dozens of them, and meats and drinks are presently blackened with the alighting crowds.

In Palestine and the surrounding regions these insects are sufficiently numerous to be a great annoyance to the inhabitants. Herodotus tells us that the inhabitants of the lower parts of Egypt were accustomed to obtain a certain degree of immunity from them by sleeping under the cover of a net used for fishing. Much doubt has been thrown upon his meaning by those who could not conceive how the coarse meshes of a fishing-net could keep off insects so minute. But some curious observations of Mr. Spence made in Italy go to prove that, from whatever cause, certain flies will not pass through a window across which threads are placed, though far wider apart than the breadth of their own bodies.

Gnats were placed by the law among unclean animals; and hence the custom of straining liquors to separate from them the bodies of such insects accidentally immersed. The Lord Jesus alludes, Mat. xxiii. 24, to the practice, in reproving the hypocrisy of those who, zealous about the minute punctilios of the law, neglected its weightier matters—judgment, mercy, and faith: "Ye blind guides! which strain out [for so it should be, not strain *at*] a gnat, and swallow a camel." They would take great pains to avoid transgressions as minute as a gnat, while they could swallow without scruple sins as vast as a camel. The reproof is not altogether obsolete even in our days. [P. H. G.]

GOAD. *See* AGRICULTURE.

GOAT [עֵז, *ez*, עַתּוּד, *attud*, צָפִיר, *tzaphîr*, שָׂעִיר, *saîr*, תַּיִשׁ, *taish*; KID, גְּדִי, *gedi*]. Of these terms *attud*, *tzaphîr*, and *taish* are used to signify the he-goat, the first being the ordinary appellation, while *tzaphîr* and *taish* are used in the same sense more rarely; *ez* is also an ordinary word, often rendered "goat" in the general, but always implying the she-goat, as in the phrase "a kid of the *goats*," or "an he-goat of the

goats" (Heb.); *saîr* signifies hairy, and may be considered a descriptive appellation, like the Latin *sonipes* for a horse.

From very remote antiquity goats have formed an important part of pastoral wealth in the East. They are not mentioned by name in the enumeration of Abram's possessions, Ge. xii. 16, nor in those of Job, Job i. 3; xlii. 12; but perhaps they are included under the generic term of "flocks," which Lot, Ge. xiii. 5, and, *a fortiori*, Abram possessed; and a she-goat formed part of the sacrifice offered by Abram on the occasion of the promise of Isaac, Ge. xv. 9. In the account of the miraculous increase of Jacob's cattle, Ge. xxxi. 10, 12, we find mention of *attudim*, which though rendered in the English version *rams*, doubtless means he-goats, as everywhere else, and as appears by a comparison with ch. xxxi. 32, *et seq.*, where the parti-coloured are goats and the brown sheep, these being the exceptions to the general rule, the goats being commonly black and the sheep white.

The goat was used, together with the sheep and the ox, for those sacrifices of blood which prefigured the offering up of the Lord Jesus. The paschal "lamb" might, at the pleasure or convenience of any father in Israel, have been a kid:—"Ye shall take it out from the sheep, *or from the goats*," Ex. xii. 5. The burnt-offering might be "of the sheep or of the goats," Le. i. 10; the peace-offering might be "a goat," Le. iii. 12; the sin-offering "a kid of the goats," male, Le. iv. 23, or female, ver. 28, and the trespass-offering the same, ver. 6. The goat plays a prominent part in that very remarkable ceremony by which the transfer of the guilt of the believer to Christ, and his bearing it away beyond the recognition of God, is represented—the scape-goat. Here two goats were taken from the flock and presented before the Lord: one was then slain and his blood carried within the vail; the high-priest then put his hands on the head of the other goat and confessed all the iniquities of Israel, "*putting them upon the head of the goat*," which was then sent away into the uninhabited wilderness, and there let go, Le. xvi.

In the domestic economy of the pastoral peoples of the East the goat has always been of great value. The flesh of the adult is rank and unfit for food, but that of the kid is excellent. It was with "two kids of the goats" that Rebekah made the imitative venison with which Isaac was deceived—"savoury meat such as he loved," Ge. xxvii. 9, 14. In the law it was repeatedly forbidden to "seethe a kid in its mother's milk," Ex. xxiii. 19, &c.; a prohibition the reason for which has greatly puzzled commentators. The most likely reason that has been assigned is, that such a practice existed as an idolatrous rite. Cudworth states that in an old Karaite comment on the Pentateuch, he met with the statement that it was a custom with the ancient idolaters at the ingathering of their fruits to take a kid and seethe it in the milk of its dam, and then to go about and sprinkle with the broth their trees, fields, and gardens in a magical manner, under the impression that by this process they insured their fruitfulness in the ensuing year. Spencer also mentions a similar rite as in use among the Zabians. It is a remarkable corroboration of this view, which seems more probable than any of the others, that this command is first mentioned, Ex. xxix. 19, in immediate, but otherwise unintelligible connection with the laws concerning the season of ingathering, and the bringing of the first-fruits to the house of the Lord (Pictorial Bible on De. xiv. 21).

The "milk of the flock" was doubtless largely derived from the she-goats. From a passage in the Proverbs, ch. xxvii. 26, 27, it would seem that goats' milk was an important source of profit, as well as an object of domestic consumption. "The lambs are for thy clothing, and the goats are *the price of the field:* and thou shalt have goats' milk enough for thy food, for the food of thy household, and for the maintenance of thy maidens." The former of these statements recalls a phrase familiar to the ears of those who have travelled among the peasantry in Ireland, where the pig is pre-eminently the *domestic* animal—"'Tis he that pays the rent!" And the latter may receive illustration from the observations of Dr. Kitto, who, speaking of Palestine and the contiguous countries, says, "From the beginning of April to September the towns are supplied with milk by large herds of goats, which pass through the streets every morning, and are milked before the houses of the customers. The products from the milk are furnished in abundance at the same season. Butter and cheese are, among the nomades who principally supply the towns, made of goats' and sheep's milk, although cows' milk is also used in the towns. It may be had fresh through the season, so may *kaimak*, which has some resemblance to Devonshire cream. And, above all, there is *leben*—a Scripture name for the same thing—sour butter-milk, which forms the principal beverage of the Arabs, and is much used in their dishes. Large quantities are also consumed in the towns. While the season lasts it makes up a great part of the food of the poorer classes; it is also served up at all tables, either in small bowls by itself, or mixed up with salad-herbs, and is sometimes poured over the roast meat and ragouts. *Leben* from the milk of the buffalo is also much esteemed. These things are brought to the towns from the villages and the camps of the wandering tribes. The scriptural name of *haleib* is still applied to fresh milk, as that of *leben* is to sour" (Kitto's Palestine, ii 394).

[309.] Syrian Goat—*Capra mambrica.*

The skin of the goat was, and is, used to make the bottles which are so often alluded to in the sacred Scriptures. Repulsive as the custom appears to our tastes, all the oriental nations, particularly such as are nomade in their habits, keep their water, milk, wine, and other liquids, in skin bottles. "These leathern bottles are made of goat-skins. When the animal is

killed, they cut off its feet and its head, and they draw it in this manner out of the skin without opening the belly. They afterwards sew up the places where the legs were cut off, and the tail, and when it is filled they tie it about the neck. These nations and the country of Persia never go a journey without a small leathern bottle of water hanging by their side like a scrip. The great leathern bottles are made of the skin of the he-goat, and the small ones, that serve instead of a bottle of water on the road, are made of a kid's skin" (Chardin). These bottles are frequently rent when old and much used, and are capable of being repaired by being bound up.

Goats' hair is enumerated among the articles contributed by the Israelites in the wilderness for the construction of the tabernacle, Ex. xxxv. 6. This was spun by the women, ver. 26, and formed into curtains for the covering of the edifice, Ex. xxxvi. 14. "All work of goats' hair" is mentioned, Nu. xxxi. 20, in such a connection as implies that the raiment, accoutrements, or furniture of the warriors that had fought against Midian were made of this material. And we read of a "pillow of goats' hair" in David's bed, 1 Sa. xix. 13; either stuffed with goats' hair, or more probably the pillow-case (or what with us would be the *tick*) woven of the finer hair of the goat.

There are several breeds of goats which have been cultivated and preserved with great care from time immemorial in the East, the hair of which is used in the formation of textile fabrics. One of the most celebrated is the Angora goat, whose hair is very long and of a silky fineness. The goat-herds of Asia Minor are said to bestow much labour on their charge, frequently washing and combing their fleeces, which lose their delicacy and degenerate in another climate. Then there is the Syrian goat, which Linnæus made a distinct species under the name of *Capra mambrica*, remarkable for its long pendulous ears, its convex (and therefore sheep-like) face, and its ample, long, and usually coarse hair. This race is generally black, and the Bedouins commonly make their tents of a coarse cloth woven from their hair. To these the bride in the Song alludes, when she describes herself as black, like the tents of Kedar, while the bridegroom gracefully compares her rather to the curtains of Solomon. For the passage should probably be thus read:—

Bride.—I am black,
Bridegroom.—But comely
Bride.—As the tents of Kedar,
Bridegroom.—As the curtains of Solomon.

If the latter were woven of the fine shawl-wool of the Thibet or Cachmere goat, it would make the turn of the comparison the more elegant.

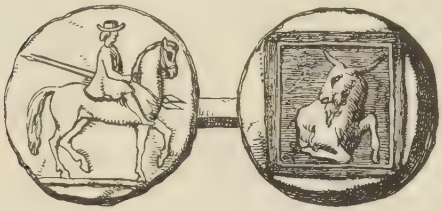
[310.] Relief on one of the Pilasters of Persepolis.

This Cachmere breed has long been celebrated as the source from which are obtained those elegant Indian shawls which fetch so high a price in Europe. It seems to be essentially the same as that just mentioned as the Syrian goat, but brought by careful culture to a very high state of excellence. It has long silky hair, straight and white, large hanging ears, and clean slender limbs. It is not the long hair, however, which is used in the manufacture, but a delicate grayish wool, which clothes the skin beneath the hair. In winter this becomes more copious, yet not more than three ounces are obtained on an average from each goat, and this raw material sells, even in Thibet, as high as five shillings the pound. Thence it is carried on men's backs, over the ridges of the Himalayas, across frightful precipices, along narrow ledges over sharp snow-covered peaks climbed by wooden ladders, across rattling cane-bridges over foaming torrents, until it arrives, loaded with extortionate taxes, at Cachmere, where the shawls are woven. Thence they are sent by mountain roads similarly beset with dangers and difficulties, and subject at every step to extortionate tribute, into Europe, either through Turkey or over the Caucasus through Russia.

The long pendent ears of all the breeds of this species—if it be entitled to such a distinction—constitute a very remarkable character. In some specimens it is displayed to excess. Rauwolff saw at Aleppo some whose ears were two feet long, which so hung down to the ground as to embarrass the animal when it fed. The proprietor, he informs us, often cuts off one ear, and then the animal turns towards that side in feeding, that it may not be annoyed by the remaining ear, which drags along upon the grass. It is doubtless to this peculiarity that Amos—himself a herdsman—alludes in these words: "As the shepherd taketh out of the mouth of the lion two legs, or *a piece of an ear*," Am. iii. 12.

A he-goat was the symbol of the Macedonian empire in the prophetic vision of Daniel, ch. viii. 5—a goat that had a notable horn between his eyes. It is interesting to know that this was the recognized symbol of their nation by the Macedonians themselves. Monuments are still extant in which this symbol occurs, as one of the pilasters of Persepolis, where a goat is depicted with one immense horn on his forehead, and a Persian holding the horn, by which is intended the subjection of Macedon by Persia (No. 310). There are also coins of Archelaus king of Macedon (B.C. 413), having as their reverse a one-horned goat (No. 311). And there is a gem in the Florentine collection, on which are engraved two heads united at their occiputs, the one that of a ram, the other that of a one-horned goat (No. 312). By this is expressed the union of the

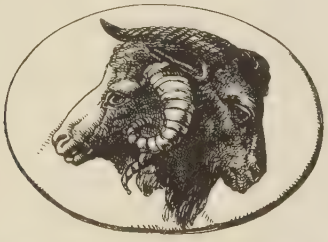
Persian and Macedonian kingdoms, and Mr. T. Combe, who gives us the information, thinks that "it is extremely probable that the gem was engraved after the



[311.] Coin of Archelaus, king of Macedon.

conquest of Persia by Alexander the Great. (Quoted in Taylor's Calmet, art. "Macedonia.")

The extraordinary salacity of the he-goat, and the disgusting odour which is powerfully diffused from it,



[312.] Gem in Florentine Collection.

give to this animal a repulsive character that contrasts strongly with that of the sheep. We may suppose that it is on this account that the Lord Jesus uses the symbols of sheep and goats to represent respectively the righteous and the wicked in the solemn judgment scene described in Mat. xxv. 31–46. There may be something, too, in the *hairiness* of the goat which enters into the emblem, as hair appears in some cases a symbol of sin. In this connection it may be worth observing, that in the ceremony of the scape-goat, representing Christ made *sin*, the term *saîr* is the one used for the goat—"the hairy-one;" and the same expression is used of Esau's hairiness and of Jacob's personation of it. When a goat is mentioned as a *sin*-offering, it is almost invariably by the same significant term. The very same word is translated "devils" in Le. xvii. 7, and 1 Co. x. 20 warrants the rendering: also in 2 Ch. xi. 15. Finally, the same term, rendered *satyrs*, Is. xiii. 21; xxxiv. 14, designating doleful forms inhabiting desolate Babylon and Idumea, may have a deeper meaning than that of goats, by which some commentators would understand it. [P. H. G.]

GOAT, SCAPE. *See* SCAPE-GOAT.

GOAT, WILD [יְעֵלִים, *y'elim*, plural]. As the word in this form occurs in connection with lofty eminences and precipitous rocks, it is probable that the common interpretation is correct which refers it to the ibex. Several species have been described by naturalists as inhabiting the different mountain-ranges of the East, all of them so slightly varying from the European form (*Capra ibex*) that they may possibly be but varieties of it, dependent on climate and other local peculiarities. One of these is described by Burckhardt as inhabiting all the ranges and wadys south of the Arnon, in large herds of forty or fifty. The people hold their flesh in high estimation, and make a profit out of the immense knotted horns, which they sell to the merchants of Hebron and Jerusalem, where they are wrought into handles for knives and daggers. Burckhardt himself saw a pair three feet in length. The hunters find it difficult to approach them within range, but they succeed by hiding themselves among the reeds on the borders of the streams in the valleys, and shooting them when they resort thither in the evening to drink. It is observable that the same story is rife there that is told of the alpine ibex, that the animal when alarmed will throw itself from a precipice of fifty feet and upwards in height, alighting on the horns, the elasticity of which preserves them from injury. Incredible as it seems, it is difficult to account for the wide prevalence of the belief without foundation, and the observations of uncultivated people on animals with which they are familiar must not be unhesitatingly rejected.

Among the Sinai mountains, as we learn on the authority of the same traveller, the ibex appears again. He supposes it to be the same species, and doubtless it is, especially as it bears the same name among the Arabs of both regions, viz. the *beden*. There the chase is pursued in much the same manner and under much the same circumstances as that of the chamois in the Alps and the Tyrol. The hunters exercise great vigilance and hardihood, taking vast circuits to get above their quarry, and especially aiming to surprise them at early day. Like most mountain quadrupeds that are gregarious, they have a leader, who acts as sentinel, and gives the alarm on the occurrence of any suspicious sight, sound, or smell, when the whole flock

[313.] Caucasian Ibex—*Caprus ægagrus*.

makes off for a loftier peak. Their numbers are said to have much decreased of late years; for the Arabs report them so abundant fifty years ago, that if a stranger sought hospitality at a Bedouin's tent, and the owner had no sheep to kill, he would without hesitation take his gun and go confidently to shoot a beden.

The flesh is excellent, with a flavour similar to that of our venison. The Bedouins make water-bottles of their skins, as of those of the domestic goats, and rings of their horns, which they wear on their thumbs. Dogs easily catch them when surprised in the plains, but in the abrupt precipices and chasms of the rocks the ibex is said to elude pursuit by the tremendous leaps which it makes.

It is likely that this species is identical with that which bears the name of poseng (*Caprus ægagrus*), and which inhabits all the loftier ranges which traverse Asia, from the Taurus and Caucasus to China. It is very robust, and much larger than any domestic goat; its general colour iron-gray, shaded with brown, with a black line down the back and across the withers, and a white patch on the crupper. The horns of the male are very large, compressed, and slightly diverging as they arch over the back; their front side makes an obtuse edge, and is marked by a series of knobs with deep hollows between.

Cuvier and other modern zoologists have supposed the *ægagrus* to be the parent stock of the domestic goat. If this be true, our translators' rendering of "wild-goats" for יְעֵלִים (*yêlim*) has a peculiar propriety. [P. H. G.]

GOD [from the German *Gott*, which is allied with *gut*, good], the common English name for the Supreme Being, as the sole, independent, universal, and all-perfect Lord of creation. It is used indifferently for two words in the Hebrew. (1.) The first and least comprehensive of these is EL, which has *might* or *strength* for its root-meaning, and was applied to God as emphatically the strong and mighty one, who can do in heaven and on earth what seems good to him. Being used for strength generally, and occasionally for men and other real or imaginary beings, as possessed or appearing to be possessed of the quality of strength, it is very often coupled with some other epithets when applied to the true God, in order more distinctly and adequately to express his being and Godhead. Thus we have *El-Shaddai*, God almighty; *El-Elohim*, God of gods; *El-Beth-el*, God of Bethel; also God-jealous, God most high, &c. It is also on account of this very general import and use of the word El, that we find it applied in the original—though in such cases translations commonly employ a paraphrase—to anything singularly great or mighty of its kind. Thus, *arezē el*, cedars of God, such as are peculiarly strong and lofty, standing as it were in a relation of their own to God for having planted or nourished them; and in like manner, "Mountains of God," "Lion of God," &c. As a designation of God, EL is more frequently used in poetry than in prose—probably on account of the might implied in and indicated by the term, rendering it more congenial to the excitation and energy of mind exhibited in poetry. (2.) The more distinctive synonym for God in Scripture is ELOAH in the singular (אֱלוֹהַּ), and in the plural ELOHIM (אֱלֹהִים). Hebrew philologists differ as to the etymology of the word—whether it should be held to come from a root signifying to be strong (אוּל), or from one signifying to fear (אָלָה). Practically, the difference is not material; as in either case the word denoted God, as the great object of homage and awe—in the one case more generally, in the other with special reference to his infinite power and resistless might. What, however, is chiefly remarkable is, that the singular ELOAH is but rarely used, only indeed in the rapt style of poetry; while the plural ELOHIM was the common form of the designation both in poetry and prose. This usage of a plural term has given rise to a good deal of discussion, and has not unfrequently been connected with fanciful or superficial reasons. Many orthodox theologians have sought to find in it an indication of the Trinity; by others it has been regarded as what is called the plural of majesty or excellence, the common style of earthly sovereigns; and not a few rational theologians have been able to see nothing more in it than a remnant of polytheism—the term having been first, as they supposed, applied to a plurality of gods, while such were believed to exist, and still retained after the belief of one living and true God came in their place. The progress of investigation, and the more thorough knowledge that has been obtained of the language and literature of the Bible, have tended rather to discountenance each of these positions, and to favour, if not establish, the conviction, that the plural in this case is used in accordance with a principle, of which there are many other examples in the Hebrew, viz. for the purpose of enlarging and intensifying the idea expressed in the singular. It is not to be regarded (with Hofmann and Ewald) as an abstract= the Godhead; but (with Hengstenberg, Delitzsch, Keil, &c.) as the plural of magnitude. Elohim designates God as the infinitely great and glorious One, having in himself the fulness of divine perfections, in their manifold variety of powers and operations. As a plural, it "answers the same purpose which is accomplished elsewhere by an accumulation of the divine names (as in Jos. xxii. 22; the *thrice holy* in Is. vi. 3, and the *Lord of lords* in De. x. 17). It awakens attention to the infinite riches and the inexhaustible fulness which are contained in the one divine Being; so that if men might even imagine innumerable gods, and invest them with perfections, these should still be all comprised in the one Elohim" (Hengs. Pent, i. p. 260, or Eng. Trans. p. 272—where also, a few pages before, various examples are given of the grammatical principle on which the explanation is based).

The view of God, which according to this explanation is embodied in the word Elohim, while it cannot be said to teach directly the doctrine of the Trinity, is yet in perfect accordance with it, and presupposes that plenitude of life and blessing, and that diversity of operations in their distribution, which most fitly harmonize with the threefold personality of Godhead. The doctrine itself has its distinct enunciation and development only in the later portions of Scripture, and in connection more especially with the great work of redemption. But its scriptural exhibition belongs rather to what is said of the Son and the Holy Spirit, as contradistinguished from the Father; for personal attributes and actions being ascribed to them, there necessarily arises the doctrinal conclusion of a threefoldness in the unity of God. In Old Testament scripture, however, though there are not wanting passages, especially in the prophetical writings, which more or less distinctly indicate this doctrine, it was necessary to maintain a certain reserve in regard to it. Had the doctrine of the Trinity been there formally exhibited, while still the work which was to constitute the objective ground of the representation, and give it practical weight and value to men's minds, lay under a vail, the effect would inevitably have been to encourage the

tendency to polytheism and idolatry. So many things drew in this direction in ancient times, that the unity of God required to be guarded with the utmost jealousy among the covenant-people, and the most explicit as well as reiterated declarations made respecting it. Hence, sometimes when using the plural word for God, occasion is taken to prevent the idea from entering that it implied any multiplicity in the heathen sense—as in De. vi. 4, "Hear, O Israel, the Lord our God is one Lord;" or more literally and much more expressly, "Hear, O Israel, Jehovah (is) our Elohim, Jehovah one;" and again, ch. xxxii. 39, "Behold now I, I am He, and no Elohim with me," or as it is in Is. xliv. 6, "Besides me there is no Elohim."

The word ELOHIM, however, as might be expected from its being the common designation of the Supreme Being, is often applied to the objects of heathen worship, not as being actually divine, but as believed to be such by their votaries, and in popular language so called. In this case, however, the plural had its common force; the objects of worship referred to were Elohim, or gods, because they were contemplated as a multitude of personalities, each being supposed to have his individual characteristics and distinct sphere of operations. But that the language employed was taken simply as current coin, and implied nothing as to their proper existence, was obvious from the whole teaching of Scripture, and is often made the subject of express declarations; as when the idols of the nations are called gods, that yet are no gods, Je. xvi. 20; 2 Ch. xiii. 9, or the gods that have not made the heavens, Je. x. 11; or when they are described as vanities, while Jehovah is the living and the true God, De. xxxii. 21; Jonah ii. 8; Ac. xiv. 15; De. v. 26, &c. Beside this merely popular application of the term Elohim, in the sense of gods, there is also an occasional use of it in Scripture, according to which it includes what in appearance or character has in it something of the superhuman, the divine, as in Ps. viii. 6, where it is said of man, "Thou hast made him a little lower than (*lit.* to want a little of) the Elohim;" and in Ps. xcvii. 7, "Worship him, all ye Elohim." In these passages the angels have very commonly been understood as the beings more particularly intended; and such was the rendering adopted by the Septuagint, which has also been very commonly followed in other versions. The term may certainly be regarded as including the angels, and perhaps more especially pointing to them—though it should rather be regarded as indicating whatever has most in it of a divine-like nature and dignity, and the angels only as being the purest reflections known to us of the divine essence. In some passages it is even applied to those who have only that limited approximation to the divine, which consists in bearing a portion of God's delegated authority—the rulers and judges of Israel, Ex. xxii. 9, 28. In allusion to this it is said in Ps. lxxxii. 1, "Elohim (God) judgeth among the Elohim" (gods)—the supreme judge exercises judgment in the midst of subordinate ones, in order to secure that their judgment be in accordance with the great principles of his righteousness; and to show that the persons more immediately addressed were called gods only in this inferior sense, and were also unworthy of the designation, it is added in ver. 6, 7, "I have said ye are gods, but ye shall die like men, and fall like one of the princes." Hence also, as all true Israelites were called sons of God, the term might be applied in a qualified sense to them, as having in them something of a divine nature, and indeed is applied by our Lord in the extended use he makes of the passage just referred to from Ps. lxxxii., Jn. x. 35.

It will be perceived, from what has been said, that the Hebrew names for God, whether EL, ELOAH, or ELOHIM, have a certain generalness about them. They point to God in his superhuman, uncreated, essentially divine, and, as such, adorable essence; but do not indicate what he is in his special relation to the members of his covenant. The more peculiar designation of God in this respect is JEHOVAH, which throughout Old Testament scripture consequently appears more than the others as the strictly proper name. It is therefore in connection with it, that the being and character of God, as the God of Revelation, will be most fitly considered.

GOG, as used by Ezekiel, ch. xxxviii. xxxix., where alone the name occurs in Old Testament scripture, is evidently formed from Magog, as a sort of root word, to designate the prince, or ideal head, and representative of Magog. Gog is described as of the land of Magog, and also prince of Rosh, Mesech, and Tubal. Magog has a historical existence, being mentioned among the sons of Japheth, Ge. x. 2; and so also are Tubal and Mesech. These, however, like the other names in the genealogical tables of Ge. x. xi., were the names, not simply of individuals, possibly in some cases not of individuals at all, but of peoples and lands. By Magog, therefore, must be understood some distinct race of Japheth's posterity inhabiting a territory that also bore their name; and Ezekiel, when making use of the name in one of his characteristic prophetical delineations, forms out of it another name to designate one that might represent Magog's power and interests. Magog itself is the name of a very indefinite region of people. Neither in Ezekiel nor elsewhere are any precise landmarks given respecting it; and the other names coupled with it, Rosh, Mesech, and Tubal, are scarcely sufficient to relieve us of the uncertainty. Mesech and Tubal are understood to have been the same with the Moschi and Tibareni of the Greeks—tribes that inhabited regions in the district of Caucasus. Rosh, which some would identify with the Asiatic Russians, and which Bochart has shown was sometimes applied to the Tauri (Phaleg. iii. 13), must have designated a land and people somewhere in the same quarter. And therefore the Gog of Ezekiel, who is represented as standing at the head of the whole, must be viewed as in some sense the head of those tribes in the high and somewhat outlandish regions in the north-west of Asia. That the use made of Gog and the tribes in question is for the purpose of presenting an ideal delineation—a prophecy of what might be expected one day to arise of evil to the cause and people of God, from quarters and influences that should hold much the same relative position toward them in the future, which was done by the rude and distant tribes in question—seems clear from the whole character of the delineation itself. But it would take too long to investigate the subject here (see Fairbairn's Ezekiel, Comm. on xxxviii. xxxix).

St. John in the Apocalypse has made use of this portion of Ezekiel's prophecies in *his* prospective outline of the church's future, ch. xx. 8-10; and the manner in which he has done so, confirms the view given above of its being an ideal representation that was originally meant by Gog and Magog. For instead of Gog out of Magog—the one the prince, and the other the land or

people—the apocalyptic form of the image makes Gog and Magog alike persons, leaders of a great assault: a diversity in form, with an agreement in substance, which was doubtless intended to help us to a right understanding of the true nature of the representation.

GO'LAN [*exile*], the name of a Levitical town of some importance, in that part of the territory of Manasseh which lay to the east of Jordan, in the country of Bashan, De. iv. 43; Jos. xx. 8; 1 Ch. vi. 71. No event of a public nature is connected with it in sacred history; but from it in later times the province Gaulonitis derived its name. The name is still preserved in the Arabic Jûlan, or Joulan, which is applied still by the natives to that particular district. The insurrectionist Judas, who is mentioned by Gamaliel, Ac. v. 37, is supposed to have been from this district, as he is called by Josephus a Gaulonite (Ant. xviii. 1, 1). Shortly after, however, in the same chapter, Josephus also calls him a Galilean. Possibly the one epithet denoted the place of his birth, and the other that from which he drew the main part of his retainers.

GOLD comes into very early notice in Scripture as one of the representatives of wealth, and among the precious metals, the chief material of which ornaments of dress were made. It appears to have been known and prized in primeval times, as the land of Havilah, round which one of the rivers of paradise flowed, is said to have been distinguished for the excellent quality of its gold. Abraham is recorded to have been rich in gold, as well as silver and cattle, Ge. xiii. 2; xxiv. 35; and golden ear-rings and bracelets were among the presents which he sent by his servant, when commissioned to go in search of a wife for Isaac. Such facts show conclusively how very early gold came to be esteemed among the most valuable commodities a man could have, and how soon it was turned to use in the fine arts.

In subsequent times frequent mention is made of the employment of gold among the Israelites, and those with whom they were brought into contact; but there is nothing peculiar in the notices, or that calls for any special remark, unless it be the large quantities in which at certain periods it is said to have existed, and the profuseness with which it appears to have been applied. For example, in the construction of the tabernacle twenty-nine talents of gold are said to have been expended. But this is as nothing compared with what was provided for the temple, David himself having prepared and offered toward its erection 3000 talents of gold, and the principal men of his kingdom 5000 more, 1 Ch. xxix. 4, 7. The exact worth, or even weight, indicated by these numbers cannot be determined with any certainty; for the word talent was used in different countries, and in different ages of the same country, for weights very widely dissimilar. As used in Homer, the talent was unquestionably of much smaller weight than the later talent, which consisted of sixty minæ, equal to about eighty-two pounds avoirdupois; and even at a much later period traces of the same small talent have been found in Greek writers (Smith's Dict. of Greek and Roman Antiq. "Pondera"). There is reason to believe, that the Babylonian system of weights, or some other ancient oriental system, exercised an important influence on the later Grecian mode of reckoning; and it is extremely probable that it did so likewise on that of the later Hebrew; in both cases alike rendering the talent much larger than it had been originally. (*See* Weights.) This supposition is favoured by the consideration, in regard to the tabernacle, that there appears to have been no adequate reason, scarcely indeed room, for the employment about it of so many as twenty-nine talents of gold, if these talents weighed each eighty-two pounds. By much the greater proportion of what was used went to the construction of thin plates for covering the boards of the tabernacle and some parts of the furniture; and from the extreme ductility of gold, it is well known that a comparatively small quantity goes a long way in this employment. It is impossible, therefore, to say, with any approach to certainty, what precise quantities of gold may be indicated by the talents specified in the days of Moses, or even of David. But there can be no doubt that at both periods the proportion employed of this metal was relatively great, and especially that in the times of David and Solomon it existed in extraordinary profusion; so that, as it is said in particular respecting Solomon's time, "gold was nothing accounted of," 1 Ki. x. 21.

It is right to notice, however, that this singular abundance of gold in early times was not confined to Palestine and the covenant-people; it comes out also in the history of other Asiatic nations. Heeren has drawn attention to this as one of the peculiarities connected with ancient Asia, and as raising a question, which is not quite easily solved as to the quarters whence such immense stores of this precious metal may have been derived. While various mountains in Western and Northern Asia are known to have yielded gold, he thinks that the immense supply of it which appears to have existed in so many countries of Central Asia, can only be adequately accounted for by the commerce that was kept up with the gold-producing regions of Africa, as well as those of the south and east of Asia, in particular of India. But as to its plentifulness there can be no doubt. "It has been the constant taste," he says, "of the Asiatics to employ their gold, not so much in coinage, as in ornaments of every sort, and embroidery. The thrones of their princes, the furniture of their palaces, and especially all that belongs to the service of the royal table, from the time of Solomon to the present day, have been fashioned of massive gold; their weapons have been also thus decorated, and dresses or carpets, embroidered with gold, have been at all times among the most valued commodities of the East. This splendour was not a prerogative confined to the Persian monarchs alone, as if they bought up the gold in every part of their dominions to dazzle the eyes of their subjects. The same practice prevailed through all the gradations of that system of despotism. The satraps were comparatively as wealthy as their master, and their inferior officers again in the like proportion. We meet also with occasional instances of private individuals possessed of immense wealth; and, according to Herodotus, even a pastoral nation of Eastern Asia (the Massagetæ) had most of its utensils of gold" (Historical Researches, i. p. 26). It may be added, in further proof of this, and in illustration also of the disposition to devote large quantities of gold to sacred uses, that in the temple of Belus at Babylon, there is reported to have been found a single statue of Belus, with a throne and table, which together weighed 800 talents of gold, and in the temple at large gold to the amount of more than 7000 talents. These talents undoubtedly were according to the large Babylonian standard.

In regard to the spiritual senses that have been

attached to gold, as used in sacred architecture, see the remarks and references in TABERNACLE.

GOL'GOTHA [Heb. גֻּלְגֹּלֶת, *gûlgoleth*, but in Chaldee *gulgalta*, a *skull*] occurs in 2 Ki. ix. 25, where it is said of Jezebel, "they found no more of her than the skull." The only other passages where the word occurs, are those in the evangelists which describe the scene of our Lord's crucifixion. "When they were come unto a place called Golgotha, that is to say, A place of a skull," Mat. xxvii. 33. St. Luke uses the corresponding Greek word *kranion*, for which the Latin *calvaria*, or Calvary, has been substituted in modern versions; and St. John says Christ "bearing his cross went forth into a place called of a skull (*κρανίον*), which is called in the Hebrew Golgotha," ch. xix. 17. In that place, whereever it was, the evangelists all testify our Lord was crucified, and also that he was buried; for in the same place where he was crucified the garden lay wherein was the new tomb, to which Joseph of Arimathea committed the dead body. The question as to the site of Golgotha, therefore, virtually resolves itself into that which has been raised respecting the Holy Sepulchre; and it will be found discussed under JERUSALEM, in that part which treats of the sepulchre. It will be observed, however, that no indication is given by the evangelists of Golgotha or Calvary being a mount; it is simply spoken of as a place, and a place that had a garden in it. The idea of a *mount* is supposed to have arisen from the mention of a rock, as that on which the church of the Holy Sepulchre was built. No trace of a mount connected with the crucifixion is found in any writer down to the close of the fifth century, though the term rock is occasionally used. Afterwards the pilgrims appear to have given currency to the notion, and it ultimately became common. (See Robinson, Researches, vol. ii. p. 17.)

GOLI'ATH, the name of the giant whose defeat and death threw such glory around the youthful career of David. He is known only as connected with that memorable occasion. (*See* DAVID, GIANT.)

GO'MER [*completion*]. 1. A son of Japheth, most probably the eldest, as his name stands first in the genealogy, Ge. x. 2, and thereafter the designation of a people sprung from him as their common head. Like Magog, Rosh, Mesech, and Tubal, they appear in the description of Ezekiel among the tribes of the remote and barbarous North, ch. xxxviii. 6. They are commonly understood to be the same as the *Cimmerii*, who inhabited the Tauric Chersonese, and the region near the Don and Danube. From that region as their proper seat they made many incursions into the more genial climes of the South, especially into Asia Minor. (Herod. i. 6, 15, 103, &c.; Bochart, Phaleg. x. 3.)

2. GOMER is also the name applied to the harlot whom Hosea in his vision is represented as taking for a wife, ch. i. 3. The name was probably intended to indicate her consummate wickedness, as one that had completed her course of transgressions. She is not to be understood as a real wife of the prophet; the transactions connected with her took place in vision. (*See* HOSEA.)

GOMOR'RHA, one of the four cities in the plain of Sodom that were destroyed by the judgment of Heaven, and whose site is now understood to be occupied by the waters of the Salt or Dead Sea. (*See* SALT SEA, SODOM.)

GO'PHER. The wood of which the ark was constructed, Ge. vi. 14, and regarding which there have been many conjectures. (*See* CYPRESS.) [J. H.]

GOSHEN [etymology unknown]. 1. A district or province in Egypt, which was assigned, at Joseph's intercession, to the family of Jacob, when they came to sojourn in Egypt, and in which they grew till they became a large people, Ge. xlv. 10; xlvi. 28. That this was also the region in which they continued to the period of their departure, appears from several notices immediately preceding this event, in which Goshen is expressly mentioned as still the place of their abode, Ex. viii. 22; ix. 26. The district itself is nowhere circumstantially described, or even definitely indicated in Scripture; but a variety of particulars combine to point to the tract of land which lies along what was called the Pelusiac arm of the Nile, forming the north-eastern part of the Delta, and that part of the country which lay nearest to Palestine. With this correspond several of the notices respecting it, in which it appears as a kind of border-land, which those coming from Canaan to Egypt must first reach; for, when Jacob was on his journey to Egypt, Judah was sent on before him as far as Goshen, and Joseph goes up from his usual place of residence to Goshen, to meet his father, Ge. xlvi. 28, 29. It is also represented, in conformity with this position, at the last great struggle, as comparatively near to Palestine, by the route that lay through the land of the Philistines, Ex. xiii. 17. Then, while the Israelites do not appear to have had any considerable settlements on the farther side of the Nile, yet it is clear they were in a position that admitted of ready access to it: it was on the river (whether the main stream, or one of the branches) that the infant Moses was exposed; in connection with it also that several of the miracles wrought by Moses were performed; and the fish of which they had been wont to partake, and the modes of irrigation with which they were familiar, bespoke a residence somewhere in its neighbourhood, Ex. ii. 5; vii. 19; viii. 5; Nu. xi. 5; De. xi. 10. Again, while such notices implied that the locality occupied by the Israelites was within reach of the main stream, or some one of the branches of the Nile, when it is said that the land was suited to them as a company of shepherds, implying access to extensive pasture-grounds, Ge. xlvi. 31-34, that three days were sufficient for their going into the wilderness to keep a feast to the Lord, Ex. v. 3, that at the time of their departure two or three days' march actually carried them to the Red Sea, Ex. xiii. 14, 20; Nu. xxxiii. 6, there seems no room to doubt that the parts of the Nile and of Egypt most nearly adjoining Arabia must have been those with which they were associated. Accordingly, the Septuagint translators expressly call it "Goshen of Arabia" (Γεσὲν Ἀραβίας, Ge. xlv. 10)—as also Pliny designates the district stretching along the east side of the Pelusiac branch of the Nile, "the Arabic nome" (v. 9). The district of Goshen is so far indicated by these various particulars that there can be no reasonable doubt as to its general position—though it is impossible to define with any exactness its proper boundaries; and of the two cities mentioned in connection with it—Pithom and Rameses, Ex. i. 11, the site of neither is certainly known, while still there is sufficient ground for holding them to have stood between the Nile and the Red Sea. It was from Rameses, as their common rendezvous, that the Israelites set out on their final departure from the land of their sojourn, Ex. xii. 37; and

as their second encampment brought them to the edge of the wilderness, Nu. xxxiii. 6, it must have been one of the border-cities, at no great distance from the northern extremity of the Red Sea; according to Dr. Robinson, from thirty to thirty-five miles.

It is not necessary, however, to suppose that during the whole period of the sojourn in Egypt, the Israelites continued to dwell altogether within the same region: as they multiplied in number, and in process of time began to devote themselves to other occupations, they would naturally extend their settlements, and, at various points, become more intermingled with the population of Egypt. It is quite possible that certain of their number crossed the Pelusiac arm of the Nile, and acquired dwellings or possessions in the tract lying between it and the Tanitic (Robinson, Res. i. p. 76; Hengstenberg, Egypt and Books of Moses, p. 45, Trans.) Particular families may have also shot out in other directions; and in this way would naturally arise that freer intercourse between them and the families of Egypt, which appears to be implied in some of the later notices, Ex. xi. 2; xii. 12-23. Still, what we have indicated above as the land of Goshen, the district in which the original settlers from Canaan were assigned a home, continued to the last the head-quarters of the covenant-people; and in this, or its immediate neighbourhood, the great body of them would assuredly be found, when the movements fairly commenced which were directed toward their escape. Goshen, it would seem, was remarkably suited to their position in Egypt, whether viewed in respect to its original, or to its future and more mature state. There are several wadys belonging to the district, which furnish excellent pasture-lands, so that there are still more flocks and herds to be seen in it than in any other part of Egypt; and, as already mentioned, its vicinity to the Arabian peninsula afforded opportunities for the Israelitish shepherds conducting their flocks at fitting times to the wadys of the desert. At the present day this is still done to a considerable extent by the inhabitants of the same district (Robinson, i. p. 59, 77.) But—as by and by the descendents of the shepherd patriarchs began in good measure to drop—were obliged by the very rapidity of their increase to drop—their nomadic habits, and betake to the culture of the soil, and the other employments of social life, Goshen had capabilities enough to call forth their energies. Although the expression applied to it by Pharaoh, Ge. xlvii. 6, "the best of the land," should possibly be taken in a relative rather than an absolute sense, it must yet be understood to designate the region as every-way adapted to an enterprising and progressive people. Even still it is considered the best province of Egypt, bearing the name of *esh-Shŭrkiyeh*, and yields the largest revenue (Robinson, i. p. 78). This arises chiefly from its being well intersected by canals, and so level that large portions of it are regularly overflowed by the Nile. Certain tracts are even represented as fertile; and a large plain or wady (Tumilat), which divides the district into two halves—a northern and a southern—in particular is well adapted for cultivation. And such doubtless was the character of the region in a much higher degree in the earlier and more flourishing periods of Israelitish history; for by the misrule and negligence of later times, there have come to be in many parts large accumulations of sand and extensive bogs, where probably there once were fertile fields and a thriving population. Even now Robinson tells us "there are so many villages deserted, that another million might be sustained in the district, and the soil is capable of higher tillage to an indefinite extent." It may therefore with confidence be concluded, that the nature and situation of the district are in perfect accordance with the relation in which it stood to the offspring of Jacob, and that all the notices in the Pentateuch respecting it are perfectly consistent both with each other, and with what is otherwise known of the locality.

The relation of Goshen to the common residence of the kings of Egypt is nowhere distinctly stated. It is implied, both in the earlier and in the later accounts, that the distance was not very great between the royal seat and the chief settlements of the Hebrews; more especially in the later accounts, which represent Moses as for a considerable time, and amid a great variety of transactions, mediating without apparent difficulty or long delay between Pharaoh on the one hand and the heads of the covenant people on the other. It is to be remembered, however, that the narrative is extremely brief, and the actual circumstances may have been such as to require at several points both greater time and more complicated agencies than have found any explicit record from the pen of the sacred historian. From the field of Zoan being mentioned in connection with the wonders of Moses, Ps. lxxviii. 12, 43, some have supposed that the town of that name, situated in the Tanitic nome, must have been the capital of Pharaoh at the time. Bochart and Hengstenberg, among others, have advocated this view, and said nearly all that is possible for it, but they have not been able to establish the point altogether satisfactorily; and it is quite probable that Zoan, in the passage referred to, is used in a general sense, as a kind of representative city in the land of Egypt for the land itself (see Kurtz, History of Old Cov. sect. 41). Knowing so little of the political circumstances of Egypt at the time of Israel's connection with it, we want the materials for determining with any certainty the precise city in which either Joseph ruled with one Pharaoh, or Moses negotiated with another. On such a subject conjectures may be hazarded, and disputes renewed ever so frequently.

In regard also to the final connection of the Israelites with the land of Goshen—their mode of assembling together when the crisis actually came, and the measures of all sorts adopted for conducting so vast a company, in face of the most formidable obstacles both in front and behind—it must ever be possible for men of inquisitive and captious spirits to start questions of doubt and difficulty, which the briefness of the sacred narrative provides no materials for properly solving. Such questions have of late particularly been pressed; but they are essentially unfair, since they proceed mainly upon our ignorance of the minuter circumstances and details of the transactions. It is asked how could such multitudes, including so many women and children, be brought together and carried simultaneously over trackless deserts? How could provisions necessary for their sustenance be obtained, or provender sufficient for all their sheep and cattle? Doubtless such things were well thought of beforehand, and all needful precautions taken. The man who could conduct such a warfare with the king of Egypt, and was himself skilled in all the learning and wisdom of the country, would not leave matters uncared for which even to common prudence and foresight plainly called for special attention. It is to be

remembered also, that while from the nature of the case, as well as from what appears in the narrative, the great body of full-grown men must have been kept pretty close together, and marched in order, there was not the same necessity for this being done with the other members of the company; and the greater part of the flocks and herds were in all probability distributed at some distance among the wadys which adjoined Goshen and stretched into the desert. On such points the sacred history gives no specific information, but leaves it to be understood that everything was done which prudence might dictate, or the circumstances of the case require. And on this understanding the accounts of what took place ought in all fairness to be perused.

2. GOSHEN. The name occurs altogether three times in the book of Joshua—twice as the designation of a district, "the land of Goshen," ch. x. 41; xi. 16; and once as a city, ch. xv. 51, among the places and towns conquered by the Israelites, and within the tribe of Judah. The city is connected with the hill-country of that tribe, and the land of Goshen is simply mentioned as being in the south country; but whether the two stood related to each other as town and country, or were in separate localities, is not known. The probability certainly is, that they were so related, as it is by no means likely that there should have been two Goshens entirely distinct yet both within the territory, and apparently the more southerly portion of the territory, of Judah. But modern research has found no trace of a Goshen in that region.

GOSPEL, GOSPELS. The Greek word for which gospel has been used as the equivalent is εὐαγγέλιον, which in earlier Greek signified a present given to any one for bringing good tidings, or a sacrifice offered in thanksgiving for such tidings having come—the gods, in the latter case, being regarded as the senders of them. But in later Greek it was used for *the good tidings* themselves, and in the Sept. it is the common rendering for בְּשׂוֹרָה (*beshorah*), *a joyful message*. In the New Testament it denotes primarily the glad tidings respecting Messiah and his kingdom; this was emphatically *the gospel* (Saxon, *gode-spell, i.e.* good teaching or tidings); and by and by the word came to be applied to the scheme of grace and truth which the glad tidings embodied. It was hence, according to another and still later application, quite naturally employed as a common title or heading for the historical accounts which record the great facts that constitute the ground and basis of Christianity. For these *gospel* was a more appropriate name than *memoirs* (ἀπομνημονεύματα), which Justin Martyr designates them, or *lives* (βίοι), a term also occasionally employed in ancient times; since they do not profess to be, nor should they be regarded as either complete personal reminiscences, or full life-histories of Jesus, but rather the records of such things as the individual writers were led, through the Spirit, to select out of the manifold variety that belonged to his marvellous history. They have been called the gospel *according to* (κατὰ) the respective writer of each—according to Matthew, Mark, &c. The relation thus indicated between the evangelist and the production that bears his name is not very definite and precise; but it cannot be understood in the loose sense adopted in former times by Faustus the Manichean, and more recently by some rationalists, as if only the main substance of each narrative were to be associated with the particular writer, while, in its existing form, it may have received not a few later additions. This cannot be allowed. The gospel according to such an one, to Matthew for example, must mean the gospel as done by his hand, or exhibited after his mode of narration. So that the gospel according to Matthew does not essentially differ from the gospel of Matthew. But the former mode of expressing the relationship is the more befitting, since as a gospel the narrative could be called his only in a qualified sense; he was but, as it were, the sorter of the materials composing it, in no proper sense the author of them.

Very early notices are found of these gospels, and of these alone, as authentic. There were certain heretics who refused to own more than one of them, and are said to have mutilated even that. There were also various other writings which assumed the name of gospels, and which are known to have existed, some in the third, and others in the next and following centuries. But the church never recognized more than four canonical or authentic gospels; and from the beginning of the second century onwards, we have undoubted evidence of the recognition of these. The opponents and corrupters of Christianity themselves have borne incidental but important testimony on this point; for in the controversies they raised, the gospels were brought into notice as well-known and accredited documents. Celsus not only refers generally to the narratives of the disciples of Jesus, but speaks of them as three or four, makes quotations from them, tries to find discrepancies in them; from which we can easily perceive that it was our present gospels he had in his hands (Lardner's Works, viii. p. 9, seq.) Then, in regard to the heretics, it is distinctly reported by Hippolytus of one of the earliest of them, Basilides, who lived toward the beginning of the second century, that he admitted "the facts of our Saviour's life, as these are written in the gospels" (Hær. vii. 27), putting, however, a mystical explanation on them. Of Valentinus, it is affirmed by Tertullian (De Præscrip. Hæret.), that he accepted "the whole instrument," meaning thereby the entire letter of New Testament scripture; and in the quotations given from his writings by Hippolytus and Clement of Alexandria, there are undoubted references to all the gospels except Mark's, as well as to many of the epistles of the New Testament. The case of Tatian is still more striking; for after having become a hearer and disciple of Justin Martyr at Rome, he departed in a measure from sound doctrine, imbibing some of the notions of Marcion, and placing himself at the head of the sect called Encratites; but still he kept to a certain historical belief in Christianity, and composed his *Diatessarôn*, which was a kind of harmony or combination of the four gospels, and which Eusebius testifies was partially current in his day (Eccl. Hist. iv. 29; see also Norton on the *Genuineness and Authenticity of the Gospels*, vol. ii., where the evidence yielded by the early heretics for the gospels is well brought out and exhibited.)

There can be no doubt, therefore, that the present gospels existed as far back as our historical records can carry us, and existed as authoritative documents respecting the Christian faith. But it is important to note, that while the external testimony is clear and conclusive thus far, it is perfectly silent as to the *genesis*, or distinct origin of these gospels, and their relation one to another. They seem to have been viewed as so many original and independent sources, each one as much

so as the others. The critical spirit of modern times has refused to halt at this point; it has sought to go farther, and to get at, so to speak, the genealogy of the several gospels, with their different degrees of relationship to each other. But this has proved a somewhat impracticable task. The subject has consequently been turned into a great variety of shapes and forms. Each of the four gospels has in turn been assumed, by different critics, to be the first, out of which the others successively arose; and the theory has once and again been propounded of some prior, more strictly original gospel, no longer extant, which formed the common basis of them all. As a proof how differently critics judge upon such points, and how readily the most conflicting opinions meet with abettors, it may simply be noticed in respect to the first three gospels, that in recent times the gospel of Mark has most commonly been considered the fundamental one, from which the gospels of Matthew and Luke were constructed by the help of additional matter; but so far from according with this view, De Wette held it to be certain, that Mark drew his materials almost entirely from Matthew and Luke, and that his gospel is to be regarded as a sort of connecting bond between the two. The whole may justly be characterized as a piece of rash and profitless speculation. The proper materials are wanting for such an inquiry; nor can it well be prosecuted without countenancing, or appearing to countenance, the idea of there being something legendary in one or more of the gospels. Let it only be granted, that the several writers were either themselves eye and ear witnesses of what they record, or conversant with those who had been so, and that they received special grace and guidance from the Holy Spirit to give a faithful account of the things brought within their cognizance, and there will be found nothing, either in the coincidences or the diversities of the several gospels, to hinder their being ranked as original and independent, as well as, in the highest sense, trustworthy sources. It is only by ignoring one or other of these necessary elements, that an air of plausibility and importance comes to be thrown around the speculative inquiries that have been referred to.

The stream of ancient tradition, and the indications of early belief, are in favour of the present order of the gospels, as having its foundation in nature, and one that ought to be maintained. In the old Latin and Gothic versions, indeed, the gospels of Matthew and John stand first, then those of Mark and Luke. The same order is observed in one of the older MSS.—the Codex Cantabrigiensis. But these are the chief exceptions to the usual order; and there can be little doubt that they sprung out of a regard to the apostolical position of Matthew and John, which, it was thought, entitled their writings to a certain precedence over others of the same class. But this consideration was not generally deemed sufficient to alter an existing order; and rightly. For, as the writings themselves were historical, it was fit that the historical element should determine the order which they were to occupy in the canon. All ancient testimonies concur in representing the gospel of Matthew as the earliest in its appearance, and that of John as the latest. Hence they had respectively the first and the last places in the collection assigned them; and it is but natural to infer, that the position of Mark's gospel as the second, and of Luke's as the third, in like manner rested on a chronological basis. But in that case the two gospels which were written, not by apostles but by evangelists, must have been issued during the lifetime of apostles; and standing, as they do, in the centre with an apostolic writing on either side of them, they carry along with them the judgment of the ancient church, as being not only of the same age, but also parallel in authority and importance with the others.

In regard to the *reasons that may be assigned for this fourfold number of the gospels*, there has been considerable diversity of opinion, but with the more thoughtful and serious class of interpreters a visible progress towards similarity of view. In ancient times there were not wanting indications of a right feeling upon the subject, though it too commonly threw itself into fanciful and even fantastic forms. The early fathers appear to have felt that there was a unity amidst the diversity, and that in the four evangelists we have rather a fourfold gospel than four entirely distinct gospels. The name of Εὐαγγέλιον, or Εὐαγγελικόν, was not unfrequently applied to the joint collection. Irenæus called this collection by the significant appellation of εὐαγγέλιον τετράμορφον, the *four-formed gospel* (Hæres. iii. 11); and the somewhat similar epithet of τετράγωνον, *four-cornered*, is applied by Origen. The expressions obviously point to a fourfold aspect supposed to lie in the still substantially one and harmonious exhibition they contain of the life and character of Jesus. That in particular of Irenæus seems to point to such a unity in diversity, or diversity in unity, as belonged to the cherubic forms in Ezekiel's description of them, ch. i. 10, and indicates, even at that early period, a disposition to contemplate the different evangelists as somehow related to the cherubim. For anything we know, this father was the first who pointed the thoughts of the church in that direction; but in doing so he struck a chord which vibrated afterwards in many bosoms, and which in process of time allied itself to some of the best poetry of the middle ages. Both the fathers themselves, however, and the poetical writers of later times, while they delighted to think of the evangelists under the likeness of the cherubic forms, differed to some extent in their modes of exhibiting the resemblance. The distribution most commonly made was not that of Irenæus, who assigns the lion to John and the eagle to Mark, but that of Jerome who connects John with the eagle and Mark with the lion, as also the man with Matthew and the calf with Luke. Ambrose, Gregory the Great, and indeed the majority of patristic and mediæval writers, followed the same order, though occasionally other collocations are met with, as when Athanasius couples the calf with Mark, the lion with Luke, and the eagle with John; and Augustine again presents some further variation. But the connection itself was manifestly fanciful, and it is needless to trace its exhibition further, as it naturally assumed different shapes in the hands of different writers. Some of the better specimens of the poetry referred to may be seen in Trench's *Sacred Latin Poetry*.

This, however, was not the only direction which the early speculations on the fourfold gospel took. The number was considered with reference sometimes to the four rivers of paradise; sometimes to the four cardinal virtues; sometimes, again, the reason was sought in the fact that the revelation contained in them consists of four parts—doctrine, precepts, threatenings, and promises; or because the world has four quarters, and the

gospel is destined to be of world-wide extent. (See Suicer, *Thesaurus*, art. Εὐαγγέλιον.) Yet with all that there is of an arbitrary or fanciful nature in such comparative representations, one cannot but perceive in them a sound feeling at bottom, breathing desire and prompting inquiry after the true reason, however far it might yet be to seek. One is even conscious of a nearer approximation to the truth than in the spirit which dictated the following statement of Michaelis, "That the number of our present gospels amounts to precisely four, we can ascribe to no other cause than mere accident;" or even in the more guarded deliverance of his annotator, Marsh, "To ask why the number of authentic Greek gospels was precisely four, and not either three or five, is as absurd as it would be to ask, why Cicero wrote precisely nine epistles to Lentulus, and not either eight or ten."

Such statements obviously proceed upon a simply external view of the matter. The facts of the gospel age are contemplated as among the ordinary events of history, requiring, indeed, certain witnesses to attest them, and a few writers of competent ability and sufficient information to compose authentic notices of them for future generations; but how many these might be, or how long, depended entirely upon the circumstances of the time, and was in itself a matter of comparatively little moment, if only a veritable and well-attested record was provided. Undoubtedly there is an element of great importance even in this external aspect of the question. Christianity was to have a historical basis, and it could not dispense with a competent historical attestation. And in this point of view, if we could not affirm that precisely four separate records were proper and necessary, we still can have no difficulty in perceiving the wisdom or moral propriety of providing such a number—combining, as it does, adequacy without needless redundancy; securing a becoming variety of independent accounts, and yet no wearisome sameness and iteration of details. Contemplating the subject from the simply historical point of view, it is not too much to say that more would have been unnecessary, and fewer barely sufficient.

Yet it is true of this, as of every other part of the divine procedure, that we never can see the full meaning or reason of it so long as it is considered only in its external aspects and relations. There is here also an inner region, which requires to be looked into, though it has only of late become the subject of wisely-directed inquiry. Olshausen, perhaps, has the merit of first setting investigation here upon the right track. In the introduction to his *Commentary on the Gospels* he remarks, "The life of Christ afforded such an abundance of sacred phenomena, and his discourses breathed forth so rich a stream of life through the circle of his disciples, that single individuals were unable fully to comprehend the exceeding greatness of his person. In him was revealed what far exceeded the comprehension of any individual man; and hence it required many minds, who, as it were, mirror-like, received the rays that proceeded from him, the sun of his own spiritual world, and who again presented the same image in various forms of refraction. Conceptions of so diversified a character of our Lord in his divine-human ministry, are contained in these four gospels, that when combined they form a complete picture of Christ." In like manner Neander, in his *Life of Christ* (sec. 63), speaking of the means necessary to be employed for having his doctrine transmitted in an authentic form to after ages, said, "Had he, in whom the divine and the human were combined in unbroken harmony, intended to do this himself, he could not but have given to the church the perfect *contents* of his doctrine in a perfect *form*. Well was it, however, for the course of development which God intended for his kingdom, that what could be done was not done. The truth of God was not to be presented in a fixed and absolute form, but in manifold and peculiar representations, designed to complete each other, and which, bearing the stamp at once of God's inspiration and man's imperfection, were to be developed by the activity of free minds, in free and lively appropriation of what God had given by his Spirit." Holding, however, this general reason for a fourfold exhibition of the life and ministry of Jesus, and this general view of the gospels to each other, Olshausen admits that it is not quite easy to estimate with precision the distinctive character, and indicate the relative place, of each of the gospels. To a certain extent there is no great difficulty; especially as regards the first and the last of the gospels. It is plain that St. Matthew in his narrative seeks more to meet the Judaistic tendency, and St. John the Gnostic; that the one also exhibits more of the human and familiar aspect of Christ's character, the other more of his divine and lofty nature. The peculiarities are less marked in the case of the other two evangelists, and it is chiefly with respect to them that the difficulty of a full and sharply drawn series of distinctions presents itself. All that occurred to Olshausen was, that they both seemed to be characterized by the pagano-christian element—Mark exhibiting it more in the Roman, Luke more in the Greek form; a view which is manifestly too vague and indefinite to be quite satisfactory as to either of them. It points, however, in the proper direction.

The vein of thought thus opened by Olshausen was not long in being worked at by others; and instead of the previous neglect, there is some danger of the opposite extreme being run into, and of too much account being made of the differences in tendency and aim among the several evangelists. As an example of excess in this direction—though only one out of several that might be named—we may point to the *Four Witnesses* of Da Costa; in which, while there is not wanting acuteness of observation and pains-taking diligence, there is apparent also a considerable straining, occasionally even somewhat of a sorting of the materials, with the view of bringing clearly and prominently out the influence supposed to be exercised on the several gospel narratives by the position and circumstances of the respective writers. Almost everything wherein any of the narratives differs from the others, is laid to the account of the individual's condition or history—Matthew inserts this or omits that, because he had been a publican, Mark because he had been the disciple of Peter, Luke because he had been a physician, and so on. Such things would no doubt have their influence, but it could only show itself in a very occasional and subsidiary manner. We must rise higher, and, with Mr. Westcott, in his excellent little work, *Introduction to the Study of the Gospels*, must discern in each of the evangelists "the type of one mighty section of mankind," severally giving, in accordance with that type, a true image of the life of Christ, yet, on that very account, not a complete one—an image more peculiarly suited to the class of persons, or the conditions of life, represented by the particular

type. For if, to use the words of Mr. Westcott, "if he is indeed our Pattern, as well as our Redeemer—if we must realize the variety of his manhood for the direction of our energies, as well as the truthfulness of his Deity for the assurance of our faith, it must be by comparing the distinct outlines of his life, taken from the different centres of human thought and feeling. For it is with the spiritual as with the natural vision—the truest image is presented to the mind, not by the absolute coincidence of several impressions, but by the harmonious combination of their diversities" (p. 199).

In the present case, of course, the diversities can be only relative; they must lie within a limited range; for in each of the evangelical narratives the historical truth had to be kept; and there could be no further scope for diversity than what might be found in the selection of the incidents to be recorded, and what may be called their historical setting in the narrative. Here, however, there was room for the play of individual peculiarities in the writers, such as might leave a corresponding impress on their productions. In the first and last of the evangelists, as already noticed, these are so palpable that it is scarcely possible to miss them —St. Matthew everywhere discovering a respect to the Jewish mode of thought and feeling, having an eye always intent upon the promises made to the fathers, and bringing forward such traits in the character, and such incidents in the life, of Jesus, as clearly bespoke him to be the Messiah of prophecy—St. John, with not less distinctness, indulging the contemplative cast of mind, which delights in retiring into its own chambers of imagery, and meditating with holy wonder on the revelations made through the incarnation and work of Christ, respecting the mysteries of the divine nature, and the movements of Heaven's mind and will in behalf of a sinful and perishing world. In the gospel of Mark, however, something approaching to the reverse of this appears—all is instinct with the action and energy of life; he plunges at once into the middle of affairs; and throughout shows a disposition to depict scenes of busy labour, and record miracles of healing, rather than give varied and prolonged accounts of teaching; so that the active and energetic spirit, the tendency which delights to embody thought in work, and make life a business, has its type and representation in this evangelist. And, finally, in Luke there everywhere appears the subjective temperament—a disposition to exhibit the traits and circumstances which are more peculiarly fitted to touch the heart, and consequently to keep Jesus in view preeminently as the Saviour, whose object ever was to heal, to restore, to win back the lost—the balm and the hope of mankind. These are all broad, easily marked characteristics; which have their representation in every age, this more conspicuously in one class, that in another. And though it were certainly foolish and unwarrantable to ascribe the whole, or even the leading contents of each gospel, to that which more peculiarly distinguished the writer, yet as this distinguishing element could not fail to impart its appropriate colouring to the several narratives, it cannot but be right to mark the points wherein it appears; the more especially as they will be found to yield, when duly taken into account, a ready explanation, not only of the general differences, but also of many of the seeming discrepancies which the gospels present one toward another.

The failure to take duly into account the distinctive peculiarities and aims of the several evangelists has had an injurious influence on two very different classes of writers, and at the hands of both has seriously obstructed the proper understanding and adjustment of their contents. The one class are those who look too exclusively to the divine element at work in the production of the gospels to give sufficient scope to the human, and who seem to think it an infringement on the doctrine of inspiration to account for any diversity in the narratives by referring to peculiarities in the position and tendencies of the writers. But this proceeds upon a mistaken view of the subject, as much as when the development and exhibition of our Lord's humanity is treated as at variance with his true and proper divinity. It is characteristic of the Spirit's agency, as well in his higher as in his more common operations upon the souls of men, to adapt himself to their several idiosyncrasies—not violently to control or suppress their diverse susceptibilities and habits of thought, but rather to bring these under the sway of his all-pervading influence, and render them subservient to his design. The natural must have its play in inspiration as well as the supernatural; and hence the freedom, the simplicity, the marked individualities, which characterize the sacred writers, and which throw around their writings the charm of an attractive and pleasing variety. But if one class of interpreters have erred by overlooking this element for the sake of the divine, there is another who have more grievously erred by at once disparaging the divine, and misapprehending the human, in the composition of the gospels. The semi-infidel, rationalistic spirit of this class leads them to judge of all by a merely human standard; and, as if each evangelist must have had precisely the same end in view, and must have used precisely the same materials for reaching it, if he happened to be acquainted with them; they therefore conclude, that in so far as one differs from another, or is less full and explicit in its information, the defective knowledge or partial misapprehension of the writer affords the only explanation. It is on this false principle that most of the recent attacks on the credibility of certain portions of the gospels is based, and that their consistency has been impugned. The groundlessness of them will be seen in proportion as an insight is obtained into the real position and design of the evangelists, and sufficient regard is paid to what distinguished them from each other, as well as what belonged to them in common. When this is understood, it will be perceived that their knowledge of the gospel events was not to be measured by what they have recorded, and that their several bents of mind, and the somewhat different points of view from which they wrote, naturally gave rise to certain diversities in the form of their respective narratives.

For the truthfulness of the accounts in the gospels the following works in particular may be consulted with advantage:—Lardner's *Credibility*, Paley's *Evidences*, Young's *Christ of History*, Isaac Taylor's *Restoration of Belief;* and in German, Tholuck's *Glaubwürdigkeit der Evangelischen Geschichte*, and Ebrard's *Wissenschaftliche Kritik der Evangel. Gesch.* The works written specially with a view to the exhibition of the harmony of the evangelists are very various, and form indeed an extensive body of literature. It commences with Augustine's *De Consensu Evangelistarum*, and is still receiving continual accessions. Indeed the greater part of the more recent commentaries on the gospels may

also be regarded as in a sense harmonies; but among works specially devoted to the harmonizing of the evangelical narratives, may be noticed Greswell's *Dissertations upon the Principles of a Harmony of the Gospels*, four vols., elaborate, learned, and careful in investigation, but often defective in penetration and judgment; Robinson's *Harmony with Notes;* Westcott's *Introduction to the Study of the Gospels*, the last particularly valuable for its brief but clear and lucid enunciation of principles bearing on the subject, and the manner in which it meets many plausible objections. In German may be mentioned those of De Wette and Lücke (1818), Clausen (1829), Reichel (1840). The Harmonies of Macknight, Newcome, Lightfoot, are now to a large extent superseded, though they may occasionally be consulted with advantage; and the same may be said of some of the still older Harmonies. Those, however, of Calvin, Osiander, Chemnitz, Gerhard, still have their value as commentaries, apart from anything peculiar to them as attempts at presenting in chronological order the materials of gospel history, in which respect they are more or less defective. The works of Calvin and Gerhard especially are deserving of perusal. Latterly, it may be added, it is to the three first gospels that synoptical arrangements have usually been confined, and the name of *Synoptical Gospels* has hence come to be commonly applied to them—the Gospel of John having so much peculiar to itself, so little in common with the others, that it is most fitly taken apart.

Apocryphal or Spurious Gospels. It is not necessary here to do more almost than mention the names of some of these productions, which belong to church history, rather than to the literature of the Bible. To this class we can scarcely assign what was called by Jerome and others the *Gospel according to the Hebrews;* for this, it would appear, was substantially the Gospel of Matthew in the Hebrew or Aramaic language, and with certain interpolations of a later and manifestly fabulous kind. (*See under* Matthew.) The *Protevangelium of James*, or *Gospel of the Infancy*, which professes to give a detailed account of the birth of Christ, the journey to Bethlehem, &c., with many ridiculous stories respecting the midwife, the standing still of the clouds, birds, and other things, at the birth, is one of the oldest of the spurious gospels; it is supposed to have appeared near the close of the second century, as references are made to it by Tertullian and Origen. The *History of the Virgin Mary* is a similar production, which appeared about the same time, and is commonly ascribed to the same author—one Lucian, or Leucius, a scholar of Marcion, though not in all respects a follower. Then there are the *Gospel according to Peter*, which was presented to Serapion, bishop of Antioch from 190 to 211, by some people in Cilicia, and which he judged to be no writing of the apostle, but a spurious and partly erroneous production, in the interest of the Docetæ, therefore rejected; the *Gospel of Thomas the Israelite*, supposed also to be of Gnostic origin, and containing many fabulous things respecting the infancy of Jesus; the *History of Joseph the Carpenter*, probably an Arabic or Egyptian production, in both of which languages it exists, and still held in esteem among the Copts; the *Gospel of Nicodemus*, containing detailed and fabulous accounts of Christ's trial, and his subsequent descent into hell, supposed to be a fabrication of the fifth or sixth centuries. The whole of these spurious productions, along with several others of a like kind, with ample proofs of their spurious character, and many points of information respecting them, will be found in the *Codex Apocryphus Novi Testamenti* of Fabricius, two vols. An English translation of them by H. B. Cowper has been published in a cheap form.

GOURD. On leaving Nineveh we read that Jonah "went and sat on the east side of the city, and there made him a booth, and sat under it in the shadow . . . And the Lord God prepared a gourd (קִיקָיוֹן, *kikayon*), and made it come up over Jonah, that it might be a shadow over his head," Jonah iv. 5, 6. This *kikayon* the Septuagint renders κολοκύνθη, with which agrees the authorized version "gourd." Nor could any plant be more suitable for the purpose. "It is very commonly used for trailing over temporary arbours. It grows with extraordinary rapidity. In a few days after it has fairly begun to *run*, the whole arbour is covered. It forms a shade absolutely impenetrable to the sun's rays even at noonday. It flourishes best in the very hottest part of summer. And lastly, when injured or cut, it withers away with equal rapidity" (Thomson's Land and the Book, ch. vi.)

At the same time it is only right to mention that since the days of Jerome a very different plant has been generally accepted as the *kikayon* of Jonah. That father says, "It is the same as in the Syriac and Punic is called *el-keroa;* a shrub of upright growth, with broad leaves like a vine, and yielding a dense shadow. It springs up so rapidly that in the space of a few days where you saw a tender herb you will be looking up to a little tree: intra paucos dies quam herbam videras, arbusculam suspicis" (Hieronym. in Jonam, cap. iv.) The keroa of Jerome is sufficiently ascertained to be the castor-oil plant, or *Ricinus communis*, which in every respect corresponds with the above description. Kimchi mentions that it was planted at the doors of houses for the sake of its grateful shadow. It is also a curious confirmation of Jerome's theory that the Egyptians called the plant *kiki*, a name almost identical with the Hebrew *kikayon;* and "the modern Jews of London use castor-oil by the name of oil of *kik* for their Sabbath lamps, it being one of the fine kinds of oil their traditions allow them to burn on these occasions" (Calcott's Scripture Herbal, p. 182.) With allusion to the beautiful palmated leaves, resembling a hand with the fingers outspread, the *Ricinus* has long been known by the name "Palma Christi," which is the alternative rendering on the margins of our English Bible. It grows in Palestine. Among other trees in the valley of the Jordan, near Jericho, it is mentioned by Dr. Robinson as "of large size and having the character of a perennial tree" (Biblical Researches, vol. i. p. 553.)

Wild Gourds.—During a time of dearth one of the sons of the prophets at Gilgal went out to gather "herbs," or such vegetables as could be found in the fields. He found a "wild vine," or creeping plant with tendrils, "and gathered thereof wild gourds (פַּקֻּעוֹת, *pakûoth*) his lap full, and came and shred them into the pot of pottage; for they knew them not." But such was the taste of the soup or pottage that they exclaimed to Elisha, "O thou man of God, there is death in the pot;" and it was not till he had cast in some meal that it became fit for use, 2 Ki. iv. 38-41.

One of the kindest gifts of the Creator to the warmer regions of the world is the cucurbitaceous tribe of

plants. Even in our own temperate climate the melon and cucumber are prized, and "shred into the pot," or boiled entire; the pumpkin and vegetable marrow are largely used for culinary purposes. But we can have little conception of the important part performed in the torrid and sub-torrid zones by that wide-spread and most miscellaneous family, which, in bottles of various fantastic shapes, hoards up the precious moisture and keeps it cool in sandy wastes and burning deserts. Grateful, however, as is the juicy pulp of many species, the root of nearly all the perennial varieties contains a bitter acrid principle; and in such examples as the colocynth and the squirting cucumber, this bitter element ascends and is found freely developed in the pulpy fruit.

[314.] Colocynth—*Citrullus colocynthus.*

Indeed it may be questioned if traces of it are not found in the most prized and popular sorts; for, when too freely used, colocynthine indications are apt to follow, and sometimes common melons and cucumbers are so full of this bitter ingredient as to be quite uneatable. In his account of the melon of the Kalahari Desert, Dr. Livingstone says: "In years when more than the usual quantity of rain falls, vast tracts of the country are literally covered with these melons (*Cucumis caffer*). Then animals of every sort and name, including man, rejoice in the rich supply. The elephantine lord of the forest revels in this fruit, and so do the different species of rhinoceros, although naturally so diverse in their choice of pasture. The various kinds of antelope feed on them with equal avidity; and lions, hyænas, jackals, and mice, all seem to know and appreciate the common blessing. These melons are not, however, all of them eatable; some are sweet, and others are so bitter that the whole are named by the boers 'the bitter watermelon.' The natives select them by striking one melon after another with a hatchet, and applying the tongue to the gashes. They thus readily distinguish between the bitter and sweet. The bitter are deleterious, but the sweet are quite wholesome. This peculiarity of one species of plants bearing both sweet and bitter fruits occurs also in a red eatable cucumber often met with in the country. It is about four inches long, and about an inch and a half in diameter. It is of a bright scarlet colour when ripe. Many are bitter, others quite sweet. Even melons in a garden may be made bitter by a few bitter kengwe (*C. caffer*) in the vicinity. The bees convey the pollen from one to the other" (Livingstone's South Africa, ch. ii.)

No doubt it was some harmless gourd, egg-plant, melon, or cucumber, which the purveyor for the college at Gilgal intended to gather; but unwittingly he brought home a lapful of *pakûoth*. Whether these were squirting cucumbers or colocynths, the intense bitterness would make it impossible to proceed with the pottage, and must at once have suggested the idea of poison: "There is death in the pot."

We have sometimes been inclined to fancy that the gourds in this instance belonged to an edible species, in which the bitter principle this time happened to be present. The specific name, however, is in favour of some distinct and separate plant, which an inexperienced collector had confounded with some well-known and wholesome esculent; just as amongst ourselves puff-balls and poisonous fungi are often mistaken for mushrooms. An etymologist would give his verdict in favour of the squirting cucumber (*Ecbalium agreste*), deriving *pakûoth* from פָּקַע (*paka*), "to split, or burst." This plant is of plentiful occurrence in Palestine. The fruit is not unlike a small cucumber, covered with hairs. It is from an inch to two inches long, and when ripe projects its juice and seeds with considerable force through an opening at the base. The juice yields the principle known to pharmacy as *elaterium*, bitter and poisonous, and such an active purgative, that, according to Dr. Thompson, it acts in doses of less than $\frac{1}{96}$th of a grain! But considering its propensity to part with all its contents when handled, we do not think that even a novice would be so apt to bring home the squirting cucumber as the fruit of the *Citrullus colocynthis*, or colocynth. Like the former, it is of frequent occurrence, and with its globular fruit and smooth yellow rind, so closely resembling an orange, it has a plausible and prepossessing appearance; but its flavour will be sufficiently appreciated when we add that it yields the colocynthin of medicine.

Of many plants the unwholesome qualities may be lessened or destroyed by boiling, or by treating them with acids which neutralize their noxious ingredients. Thus it is stated that at the Cape of Good Hope the colocynth is eaten, being rendered innocuous when properly pickled (Burnett's Plantæ Utiliores, No. 26). But the means taken by Elisha had no natural fitness to counteract any poisonous properties, and the result can only be regarded as miraculous. In the same way there are some plants of rapid growth; but neither the "Palma Christi" nor any gourd could have sprouted with such amazing swiftness as in a few hours to extend a canopy over Jonah, or cover his booth with a leafy awning, except at the express command of Him who said in the beginning, "Let the earth bring forth the herb yielding seed, and the fruit-tree yielding fruit after his kind; and it was so." [J. H.]

GOZ'AN, generally believed to be a river of Media, to the banks of which the captive Israelites were transported first by Tiglath-Pileser, and afterwards by Shalmaneser, 1 Ch. v. 26; 2 Ki. xvii. 6. This river has lately been identified by Major Rennel, with the Kizzil Ozan, or the Golden River of Media (Geography of Herodotus, sec. 15). It rises in Kurdistan, a few miles to the south-west of Sennah, and after joining with some other streams

merges into the *Sifeed Rood* or White River, and falls into the Caspian Sea. Some, however, and among these Gesenius, understand by Gozan a district of Mesopotamia, and instead of reading, as at 2 Ki. xvii. 6, "and placed them in Halah, and in Habor *by* the river of Gozan," substitute, "and placed them in Halah, and in Habor, a river of Gozan." But the passage in Chronicles, where Hera comes between Habor and Gozan seems to favour the other view. Also Halah, a province, going before Habor, seems to imply that both are provinces; since one could hardly speak in close succession of putting them in a province and *in* a river, as if the same thing were meant in the two cases.

GRACE. This is the usual rendering of the Greek χάρις in New Testament scripture, though sometimes *favour*, or good-will toward persons that appear fit objects of it, Lu. ii. 40, 52; Ac. ii. 47; and favour rendered back for favour received, *gratitude, thanksgivings*, Lu. vi. 32; xvii. 9; 1 Ti. i. 12, &c, are the translations adopted. But both the original term, and the corresponding English word *grace*, in the great majority of cases is employed to express the free undeserved mercy and favour of God to sinful men through Jesus Christ, as opposed to all demands of law and claims of merit. The gospel is hence peculiarly the revelation of God's grace; Christ himself is made known as full of grace; grace came by him as the law had come by Moses; and in the salutations of his apostles to the churches and individuals who owned their authority, grace ever took the precedence, Jn. i. 14, 17; Ro. i. 7, &c. Hence, salvation is represented as being altogether of grace—"by grace ye are saved," Ep. ii. 8; Ga. v. 4—and believers now are not under the law, but under grace, Ro. vi. 14; that is, not formally placed under the enactments and covenant of law, but under the rich and plenteous provisions of grace. As their state of peace and privilege here, so their final blessedness and glory hereafter, is ascribed to the praise of divine grace, Ep. i. 6. It was a very natural extension of the meaning of the word to apply it, as is sometimes done, to the reflex acts and operations of the grace manifested from God to the sinner—to the exercised love, beneficence, spiritual joy, &c., which are at once the fruit and the evidence of imparted grace, 1 Co. xvi. 3; 2 Co. viii. 4, 6; Phile. 7. Considered, however, in what is undoubtedly its main aspect—as a quality in the divine administration—it cannot properly be discussed apart, but must be viewed, in order to be understood aright, in connection with the diverse purposes and acts which most peculiarly exemplify it, such as the atonement of Christ, election, &c.

GRANARY. *See* AGRICULTURE.

GRAPE. *See* VINE.

GRASS. חָצִיר (*chazir*), 1 Ki. xviii. 5; Job xl. 15; Ps. xxvii. 2; civ. 14, &c.; דֶּשֶׁא (*desha*), the first shoots or tender spires, the soft young herbage, De. xxxii. 2; 2 Sa. xxiii. 4; Job vi. 5; Pr. xxvii. 25; לֶקֶשׁ (*lekesh*), the grass which grows up after mowing, in some places still called "aftermath," or "fog," and in New England called "rowen," Am. vii. 1; חָשִׁישׁ (*chashash*), dry grass; grass which has withered as it grew, for "hay" was not made in Palestine, Is. v. 24; xxxiii. 11, A. V., "stubble;" in the New Testament χόρτος, Mat. vi. 30, &c.

As in Mat. vi. 30, where a lily is called "the grass of the field," it is evident that, like the Latin "gramen," and the English "grass," the Hebrew equivalent had a very extensive range, and was not restricted to the "grasses" (*Gramineæ*) of the botanist. These are themselves a very ample order, ranging from diminutive plants like our own mouse-ear barley, to the bamboo which shoots up to a height of fifty or sixty feet in an Indian jungle; and including productions as various as the *Arundo donax* of Southern Europe, which furnishes the fisherman with his rod and the weaver with his "reed," the cereals which supply to all mankind the staff of life, and the sugar-cane which on the table of the humblest artizan in Europe or America places luxuries unknown to a Roman emperor.

But when we speak of grass we are usually thinking of the narrow blades, so thickset and tender, which form the sward on a meadow or the matchless turf on an English lawn. Or if we are thinking of a separate plant, it is a hollow glossy stem rising up from the midst of these spiry blades, and throwing out similar leaves from its joints, till it ends in blossoming spikelets, loose or more compact, which, when the flowering time is over, show the taper corn-like seeds inclosed in the chaffy glumes, and which we destine as food for the cattle, even as we reserve the fruit of the cereal grasses as food for ourselves. The fescues, darnels, and poas, which clothe the meadows and build up the hay-ricks at home are pigmies, however, when compared with the grass "which grows for the cattle" of other lands; with the "tussac," for instance, whose enormous tufts form an inexhaustible supply to the herds both amphibious and terrestrial of the Falkland Isles, and the beautiful pampas-grass, under which the huntsman can ride and see high overhead its "plume of silvery feathers."

The imperfect enumeration which we possess of grasses native to Palestine is of less importance, as the scriptural allusions may very well be understood without our being able to identify the species. The psalmist wishes, Ps. cxxix. 6, that the haters of Zion may be "as the grass upon the house-tops, which withereth afore it groweth up;" or, as it should be rendered, "before it is plucked up" (See Hengstenberg, Walford, &c.), and Isaiah, ch. xxxvii. 27, speaks of vanquished populations "as the grass of the field, as the grass on the house-tops, blasted before it be grown up." On the flat roofs at the present day any one may see grass which has sprung up in the rainy season, withered away by the first weeks of sunshine. "When I first came to reside in Jerusalem," says Dr. Thomson, "my house was connected with an ancient church, the roof of which was covered with a thick coat of grass. This being in the way of a man employed to repair my house, he actually set fire to it and burned it off; and I have seen others do the same thing without the slightest hesitation. Nor is there any danger; for it would require a large expense for fuel sufficient to burn the present city of Jerusalem" (The Land and the Book, pt. iv. c. 44). Indeed nearer home we may often see grass and even oats springing up on the roof of a thatched cottage, and a goat peradventure nibbling the herbage afore it is withered. The dew "distilling" on the grass, and the rain descending on the mown grass, or rather on the grass which has been close-browsed by the cattle, furnish the sacred poetry with a frequent and exquisite image, De. xxxii. 2; Ps. lxxii. 6; Pr. xix. 12; Mi. v. 7; and still more frequently does that emblem recur in which our fleeting generations are compared to the grass "which in the morning groweth up, and which in the evening is cut

down and withereth," Ps. xc. 6; xxxvii. 2; xcii. 7; cii. 11; ciii. 15; Is. xl. 6; Ja. i. 10; 1 Pe. i. 24. [J. H.]

GRASSHOPPER [אַרְבֶּה, *arbeh*, גֹּב, *gob*, חָגָב, *chagab*]. The first of these terms properly signifies the migratory locust (*Gryllus migratorius*), whose irregular visitations often produce such utter devastation. (*See* LOCUST.) The second occurs but twice, viz. in Am. vii. 1, "The Lord God . . . , formed grasshoppers in the beginning of the shooting up of the latter growth;" and in Na. iii. 17, where the construction is peculiar, גֹּבַי גֹּב, (*gob gobai, locust of locusts*), perhaps a repetition of intensity, as our translators appear to have taken it, for they render the phrase "*great* grasshoppers."

The former of these two passages alludes to the voracity of the *gob*, as "eating the grass of the land," so as to "make an end" of it, a character so common to the *Gryllidæ*, that it does not help us to identify the species. The latter gives us the additional particulars of "camping in the hedges in the cold day, and fleeing away when the sun ariseth." This also is general, for sluggish repose during cold weather, and activity under the stimulus of a hot sun, is common not merely to the grasshopper tribe, but to most insects. We do not think more than this is intended in the allusion; but it has been supposed that the locust in its different stages is here described. "The locust lays her eggs . . . . *under the shelter of a bush or hedge*. . . . . They are protected by their situation from the cold of winter, and are hatched early in spring by the heat of the sun. Consequently, in the places which have been visited by the plague of locusts, the hedges and ridges swarm with the young ones about the middle of April. . . . . At last, when the sun has waxed warm about the end of June, they acquire their perfect condition by the development of their wings, and 'flee away.'" (Pict. Bible, in loco.)

The word *chagab* is equally indefinite as to species, though no doubt exists as to its designating some one or other of the numerous kinds of *Gryllidæ*. The LXX. always render it by the generic term ἀκρὶς, and the Vulgate by *locusta*. In three of the five passages in which the word occurs, minuteness is the prominent idea intended: "We were in our own sight as *grasshoppers*," Nu. xiii. 33; "The *grasshopper* shall be a burden," Ec. xii. 5; "The inhabitants thereof are as *grasshoppers*," Is. xl. 22. In 2 Ch. vii. 13, the same insects, here rendered in the English version *locusts*, are depicted as a plague commanded "to devour the land;" while in the remaining example of the word we have merely a generic mention—"the *grasshopper* after his kind," Le. xi. 22. There is no real distinction between grasshoppers and locusts, several of the small species so familiar to us in our English meadows being true locusts, such as *G. stridulus*, *G. flavipes*, which have the very same generic characters as *G. migratorius*, *G. ægyptius*, &c. The rendering of the word *chagab* by *grasshopper* is therefore unexceptionable, expressing some undetermined species of *Gryllus*, with the same voracious habits as the migratory locusts, but of small size. There are doubtless many such species found in Palestine and the neighbouring countries, as in all temperate and warm regions.

The mouth of a *gryllus* is a curious piece of mechanism. It consists of nine distinct organs—an upper lip, two mandibles, two lower jaws, and two pairs of jointed organs called palpi, which are probably the seat of some peculiar sense. The lip is a cleft plate, and folds down from above, while the mandibles and jaws work from right to left; the former are very strong horny plates, curved and notched at their meeting faces, and admirably fitted for their assigned office of biting down vegetable substances. [P. H. G.]

GREAVES. *See* ARMOUR.

GRECIANS, HELLENISTS [Ἕλληνισταί]. There is much division of opinion as to who the parties called in the New Testament Grecians are. They are contradistinguished from those called Hebrews, Ac. vi. 1; and the difference usually supposed to exist between them is that the Grecians or Hellenists were the Grecian Jews, or those who spoke Greek as their ordinary language and used the Septuagint version; while the Hebrews were those Jews who spoke the Hebrew or Syro-Chaldaic language and used the Hebrew Scriptures (Alford in Ac. vi. 1). To this view is generally added that the Hellenists lived out of Palestine, and the Hebrews in Palestine (Wahl's Clavis.; Dr. Davidson's Introd. i. p. 43). Fabricius gives us no fewer than seven opinions on this question (Bib. Græc. iv. 893). The first is that the Hellenists mean the Gentiles; the second, that they were Jews who adhered to the Romans, or lived in their pay; the third, that they are not significant of nation or language alone, but also of faction or party; the fourth, that they are Jews of the second dispersion living in the Grecian provinces; the fifth, that they are Jews living out of Palestine, ignorant of Hebrew, and speaking the language of the land they lived in; the sixth, that they were proselytes from the Greeks; the seventh, that they were Jews living out of Judea, and speaking the Greek tongue. To these opinions Mr. Roberts has added another, that the term is not significant at all of a difference as to language or country, but that the Hellenists and Hebrews formed two parties among the Jews both at home and abroad, who differed from each other in religious principle, the Hellenists being distinguished by a liberal spirit, while the Hebrews were the rigid adherents to Judaism (Discussions on the Gospels, p. i. c. v.) A brief view of the passages where these terms occur will bring us to a satisfactory view as to who the Hellenists really were. We will first attend to the term "Hebrews."

The infant church of Jerusalem was composed of Hebrews and Hellenists, Ac. vi. 1. Of these the Hebrews were the most influential and powerful, and we may therefore suppose that the Hebrews were far more numerous in Jerusalem than the Hellenists. Again, we gather from 2 Co. xi. 22, and Phi. iii. 5, that Hebrews signified a smaller section of the Jewish people than Israelite did; the latter phrase probably embraced all the natural descendants of Jacob, the former a portion of them only. Again, we gather from Phi. iii. 5, that Hebrews was not a term distinctive of a peculiar school of Jewish theology, of the school of rigid Judaism as distinguished from a more liberal school, for when Paul would indicate that he had belonged to this rigid school of Judaism, he adds that, "as touching the law he was a Pharisee," an intimation wholly superfluous, if by Hebrews were meant the rigid school of Jewish opinion. Again, we gather from the fact that Paul was a Hebrew, that the phrase has no reference to birth; Paul was born in the foreign city of Tarsus, and yet he was a Hebrew; he was educated at Jerusalem, but he was born abroad, Ac. xxii. 3. Once

more, from Paul's being a Hebrew we gather that the phrase is not distinctive of language, for Paul was equally acquainted with Greek and Hebrew; and besides the knowledge of both these languages was common in Jerusalem (*see* GREECE). We gather accordingly from these passages that Hebrews in St. Paul's time meant those Jews who, whether born at home or abroad, had received their education and training in the schools of Judea, and especially in Jerusalem. The phrase was distinctive, not of nation, or language, or opinion, but of the place of education. On this view few foreign Jews would be Hebrews, while most of the homeborn Jews would be designated by the term.

We now turn to the Hellenists. As contradistinguished from Hebrews, these would signify such Jews as, whether born in Palestine or not, had received their education and religious training in foreign lands. On this view most of the Jews born abroad would be Hellenists, while few of the homeborn Jews would be included in the term. We will find the notices of Scripture to agree with this view. The infant church of Jerusalem was composed of Hebrews and Hellenists, Ac. vi. 1. While the Hellenists were the weaker and less numerous party, they were at the same time by no means without influence, and seem to have constituted a strong minority in the church. According to our view these were Jews who had received a foreign education, and of such we learn from Ac. ii. 5, that there were great numbers then dwelling at Jerusalem, men who had remained up to the time of manhood in some foreign land, the knowledge of whose tongue they brought with them, but who had for some reason come afterwards to live in Jerusalem. We further gather from Ac. ii. 6, 41, that many of these foreign educated Jews were converted to Christianity, and thus formed that powerful minority whose murmurs against the yet stronger Hebrews we read of in Ac. vi. 1. We learn somewhat more about the Hellenists in Ac. ix. 29. It was with them that Paul came chiefly into controversy on his first visit to Jerusalem. They were here evidently a powerful body, for it was to guard Paul's life from them that he was sent away on this occasion from Jerusalem, ver. 30. They seem also to have prided themselves on their powers of reasoning, and as clever disputants to have stood forth as the best champions of Judaism, and were probably those same men who, Ac. vi. 9, had before disputed with Stephen, and brought about his death, and on which occasion Paul had himself sided with them, Ac. vii. 60. This would make them more eager against the convert, and would also dispose him to meet them. It accords also with the view that the Hellenists were foreign educated Jews, of whom great numbers resided at Jerusalem. We find only one other mention of the Hellenists in the New Testament, not however at Jerusalem, but at Antioch, Ac. xi. 20. The passage presents two readings, one having Ἑλληνιστάς, the other Ἕλληνας. The external evidence is chiefly in favour of the former (Bloomfield's Gr. Test. in loco); and the internal evidence appears to us also to lead to the same conclusion. In ver. 19 we are told that they who were scattered on Stephen's death came to Phenice, and Cyprus, and *Antioch*, preaching to *none but the Jews only;* ver. 20 describes particularly the preaching of *some of these just spoken of at Antioch;* as they preached to none at Antioch but Jews only, the reading of ver. 20 must be Ἑλληνιστάς. Their mention here then shows us that Hellenists is an equivalent term, or very nearly so, for *Jews* (Ἰουδαῖοι) *dwelling in the foreign city of Antioch;* the Jews of ver. 19 being the Hellenists of ver. 20. While we have no doubt as to the proper reading of this verse, it is right to add that scholars of the highest name prefer the reading Ἕλληνας (Bengel, Griesbach, Theile et R. Stier, Lachmann, Scholz, Tischendorf). They rest their preference partly on a certain amount of external evidence, which, however, they allow to be inferior to that for the other reading, but chiefly on a contrast between vers. 19 and 20, which is said to be indicated by the use of the particle δέ at the beginning of the latter verse. But while this particle is commonly used in an adversative sense, it also frequently serves merely to pass from one thing to another, and by an easy transition to denote something like the connection of cause and effect. It is thus we understand it here. Having in ver. 19 mentioned in general terms the preaching of all those who were scattered from Jerusalem on Stephen's persecution, the historian seems here to take up what some of them did in following out the common course of proceeding. If, however, any are disposed to think that the particle δέ indicates a contrast between what was done by those spoken of in ver. 19 and those spoken of in ver. 20, it bears with this sense most powerfully in favour of believing Greeks being meant, and not Jewish Christians. [H. C.]

GREECE [Ἑλλάς, Heb. יָוָן, *Javan*]. Greece is sometimes described as a country containing the four provinces of Macedonia, Epirus, Achaia or Hellas, and Peloponnesus, but more commonly the two latter alone are understood to be comprised in it. We will consider it as composed of Hellas and Peloponnesus, though there seems to be no question but that the four provinces were originally inhabited by people of similar language and origin, and whose religion and manners were alike. Except upon its northern boundary it is surrounded on all sides by the sea, which intersects it in every direction, and naturally gives to its population seafaring habits. It is also a very mountainous country, abounding in eminences of great height, which branch out and intersect the land from its northern to its southern extremity, and form the natural limits of many of the provinces into which it is divided. At the isthmus of Corinth it is separated into its two great divisions, of which the northern was called Græcia entra Peloponnesum, and the southern the Peloponnesus, now called the Morea. The mountain and sea are thus the grand natural characteristics of Greece, and had a very considerable influence on the character of its inhabitants, as is evidenced in the religion, poetry, history, and manners of the people. The country has been always famous for the temperature of its climate, the salubrity of its air, and the fertility of its soil.

Of the history of Greece before the first recorded Olympiad, B.C. 776, little that can be depended on is known. There is no doubt but that from very remote periods of antiquity, long prior to this date, the country had been inhabited, but facts are so intermingled with legend and fable in the traditions which have come down to us of these ancient times, that it is impossible with certainty to distinguish the false from the true (History of Greece by G. Grote, preface to vol. i.) The periods at which some of the noted settlements are said in profane writers to have been made in Greece are of a very remote date. The reign of Inachus, who is supposed to

have founded Argos, some place B.C. 1986 (Apollodor. ii. 1). Ægialeus is thought to have founded Sicyon B.C. 2089, and Uranus to have settled in Greece B.C. 2042 (Townsend's Manual of Dates). These are periods of very remote antiquity, while they presuppose still earlier settlements of the country by tribes whose names are wholly lost, and they derive very considerable confirmation from a chapter in the book of Genesis, which gives us in a few verses more trustworthy information about the early distribution of the nations of the earth than we derive from any other sources. It is from Javan, Ge. x. 2, one of the sons of Japheth, that the Hebrew name of Greece is derived, Is. lxvi. 19. This Javan had four sons, Elisha, Tarshish, Kittim, and Dodanim, and by these we are told that "the isles of the Gentiles were divided in their lands," Ge. x. 4, 5. By the Hebrew word for "isles" (אִיִּים, *'iim*) is meant not merely what we call islands, but also those lands lying to the westward of Judea which were reached by sea from that country (Gesenius, Fuerst, Collyers, Sacred Interpreter, i. 149). This description specially points out Greece, the first great land reached by sea from the coasts of Asia after penetrating through the archipelago of islands studding the Ægean Sea. This western migration of the grandsons of Noah with their families is further fixed by the circumstances related in Ge. xi. 1–8, as having taken place subsequently to the building of Babel and the confusion of languages. The building of Babel is usually placed from about B.C. 2230 to B.C. 2247, which agrees quite sufficiently with the early dates claimed for the first settlements in Greece. Henceforward we meet with no reference, even of a general kind, to Greece in the Bible, until we find special allusions to it by name in the prophets, as a slave-holding country intimately connected by commerce with Tyre, as destined after its conquest by Alexander to form the third of the four great monarchies of the ancient world, and as foreordained to receive from Jerusalem the blessedness of the new covenant which God was to establish with the Gentiles, Eze. xxvii. 13; Da. viii. 21; Is. lxvi. 19.

The earliest accounts of the inhabitants of Greece represent them in a very barbarous state, little if at all superior to the condition of those whom we call savages at the present day. The usual causes produced this great degeneracy from the civilization which they left behind them in the part of Asia from which they migrated. Being, as the early settlers in most countries are, of a wild and adventurous character, cut off by the sea from any frequent communication with the old country, thrown upon a land which at first afforded abundance of food to the hunter with little necessity for application to the laborious life of the husbandman, with a religion even then corrupted from the pure theism of Noah, it was not to be wondered at that the men who aided in the building of Babel, and who partook of the civilization of the world at the period subsequent to the flood, degenerated into the wild hunters, who forgot the arts of husbandry, and where hunting failed had recourse to the berries of the woods for their food. When their numbers increased they would encroach upon each other's hunting grounds, and hence tribal wars, such as we read of among the North American Indians, would be the chronic state of the rude inhabitants of primitive Greece.

The East from which they originally came restored civilization to the degenerate inhabitants of Greece. From Asia Minor, Phœnicia, and Egypt, come laws and letters, and with them the forms of idolatrous worship into which the learned priesthood of these lands had perverted the monotheism of Noah. We now find great names arising, and preserved in the legendary history of Greece, in connection with whom it is impossible not to suppose that along with an admixture of fable there is a considerable amount of truth related. The Egyptian Inachus founds the kingdom of Argos, about B.C. 1856 (Apollodor. ii. 3). From the same country Cecrops leads a colony, B.C. 1556, settles in a barren promontory, where he builds a city, called at first Cecropia after him, but since known by the world-renowned name of Athenæ or Athens, from the Egyptian goddess Neith. At a later period from the same land comes Danaus, who expels the royal house of Argos, and gives his name to the inhabitants of southern Greece. About B.C. 1550, the Phœnician Cadmus, in consequence as is supposed of political troubles in Palestine, occupied Bœotia, founded the celebrated city of Thebes, and gave to Greece those letters which the genius of her sons was afterwards to make so renowned. And the Phrygian Pelops, about B.C. 1283, became monarch of the southern half of Greece, thence called after him the Peloponnesus. Amid the mist of legend and fable stand out these great names, some of the few historic stand-points in times when almost all is shadowy and fleeting, while all alike, legend, and fable, and history, have been depicted by the master-hand of Homer. During this period of mingled legend and history Greece would appear to have begun to exercise a foreign influence. The expedition of the Argonauts about B.C. 1263, and the siege of Troy about B.C. 1193, for both of which there would appear to be historical foundation, attest this. During these early periods the Greeks exchanged monarchical for republican forms of government. With the first recorded Olympiad, B.C. 776, the period of real Grecian history, as distinguished from legend, begins. From this time until the end of that generation of men who accompanied Alexander to the Persian war, *i.e.* until B.C. 300, is the period during with Greece occupies a great leading position as a political power. Its history during this period has been well divided by Mr. Grote into six departments, the first of which may be looked as a period of preparation for the five following, which exhaust the free life of collective Hellas.

1. Period from 776 B.C. to 560 B.C., the accession of Peisistratus at Athens and of Crœsus in Lydia.

2. From the accession of Peisistratus and Crœsus to the repulse of Xerxes from Greece.

3. From the repulse of Xerxes to the close of the Peloponnesian war and overthrow of Athens.

4. From the close of the Peloponnesian war to the battle of Leuktra.

5. From the battle of Leuktra to that of Chœronea.

6. From the battle of Chœronea to the end of the generation of Alexander. (Grote's History of Greece, preface.)

It is to this period that we find the greater number of the references to Greece in the Hebrew prophets to refer. The first historical notice of Greece, as the earliest mention of its settlement, is made in Scripture. The prophet Joel, about B.C. 800, speaks of Greece as a great slave-mart, to which the Tyrian merchants brought their captives from Judah and Jerusalem for sale, Joel iii. 6. This was the earliest introduction of the Jews to a people with whom, and with whose customs

and language, they were afterwards to be intimately connected through the conquest of Alexander and the establishment of the Grecian empire in Asia. We thus find Greece distinguished at its earliest historic period as a great slave-holding country. The reference to Greece in Ezekiel, somewhat over one hundred years later than that in Joel, brings forward Greece, in conjunction with other countries, as a trading country exchanging the merchandise of Tyre for slaves and brazen vessels, Eze. xxvii. 13. In Joel we saw Greece purchasing Jewish slaves from Tyre: in Ezekiel we find Greece bringing in her own ships to Tyre slaves and brazen vessels, and receiving instead the merchandise of Tyre. Greek slaves were highly prized in the East (Bochart, Geogr. Sac. part i. lib. iii. c. 3, p. 176); and reference may perhaps here be made to the workmanship of brass for which Corinth afterwards at least was so famous (Pliny, Nat. Hist. b. xxxiv. c. 3; Journal of Sacred Literature, Jan. 1862, p. 259). The reference in Daniel to Greece is prophetic, Da. vii. 6; viii. 5, 21. During the reign of Belshazzar king of Babylon he sees his famous vision of the four great ancient monarchies, of which the first, or Babylonian, was then verging to its close. Four beasts represent the four kingdoms, of which the four-winged leopard represents Greece. In another dream he sees a fuller vision of the second and third of these kingdoms engaged in the deadly struggle which resulted in the overthrow of the Persian monarchy by the Grecian Alexander: in this a he-goat represents Greece. The representations in both these dreams are admirably descriptive of the rise of the Grecian empire. The four-winged leopard, the great he-goat from the West that touched not the ground, and ran upon the ram in the fury of his might, marvellously represent that wonderful power, which under the fierce young Macedonian with the rapid flight of the bird, the ferocity of the leopard, and the strength of the horned goat, rushed from Europe upon the East, and within the short space of six years subdued the Medes and Persians, overran Babylon and Egypt, carried its victorious arms to the confines of India, and only ceased to conquer when there was no enemy left to subdue. It was indeed a prophecy worthy to be shown to Alexander, as Josephus tells us that it was (Ant. xi. viii. 5). The political history of Greece from this period ceases to be of much interest. We next find Rome with her usual policy siding with Greece in her efforts to throw off the yoke of Macedon: delivering the power which invoked her assistance from the Macedonian yoke, only to bring her under her own; until B.C. 146 Greece is declared a province of the all-embracing Roman empire, under the name of Achaia, and from thenceforward ceases to exercise any independent political action.

The influence of Greece upon the religious destinies of the human race was of the most important kind. It exercised this influence chiefly in two ways: first, in stirring up the human mind from barbarous stagnation and brutal ignorance, and disciplining and exercising the mental powers; secondly, in providing a language more capable of giving expression to thought than any other tongue of man, spreading this language over the surface of the civilized earth, and even into barbarous lands, affording thus a channel for the labours of the first Christian missionaries, a mode of communication between the scattered Christian churches, a depository for the inspired writings which were to be for all time the rule of faith to the Christian world. In this light the influence of Greece upon the Christian religion was of the most important kind. The Babylonian empire rose, conquered, and fell, and left no impress upon the human mind: the Persian empire was much the same: the Grecian in turn rose, conquered, and fell, but her living spirit survived the overthrow of the political body, and, as though freed from an encumbrance, worked more effectually when under the dominion of Rome upon the human intellect than she had done when at the zenith of her power. Judaism was meant for one nation, and the language which preserved its history and laws was confined to that nation, and died out even among them: the gospel was meant for all nations, it consequently required a universal language, and such a language Greece nursed and gave to the world.

The influence which had this most important effect upon the gospel of Jesus Christ was secured by Greece chiefly in these three ways, viz.—the progress of her arms, the diffusion of her colonies, and the power of her literature. The three combined to stamp Grecian intellect and the Grecian language upon the human race. The Persian invasion and its repulse first raised Greece into prominent political notice. The battles of Marathon, Thermopylæ, Salamis, and Platæa, spread throughout the East the knowledge that a western state was able to compete successfully in arms with the masters of Asia. A century and a half elapses, and the same men of Greece who had repelled Xerxes from Europe cross the Hellespont into the heart of Persia; at Granicus, Issus, and Arbela, overthrow its armies, and pass onward still in the flush of conquest to the Indus. The Grecian empire in Asia is founded, and secures for Greece the influence which successful arms always procure for those who wield them. The political wisdom of the conquerors seems to have been as great as their discipline and courage in arms. No stronger proof can be given of this than the fact that during the twenty years of war which ensued among the generals of Alexander after his death—when, in the language of Daniel, the great horn was broken, and four lesser horns sprung up in its room—no attempt was made by the conquered nations to throw off the Grecian yoke. They acquiesced in it, as though it had been a power established from ancient times.

The colonies of Greece were another means by which she spread her influence and language very wide. The overcrowding of a narrow country by an increasing population, political troubles at home, the spirit of enterprise, and the facilities created by nautical pursuits and the commercial habit, made Greece a great colonizing country for centuries before it was known as a military power of a first class. And the habits of the country made Grecian colonization to be of a peculiar kind, and of a kind which secured for the mother country a permanent influence. The Greeks seldom went far inland with their colonies. Islands, or the sea coasts of continents, were the localities which they chiefly selected. Keeping up by this means through their shipping a constant intercourse with each other and with Greece, they preserved a unity though scattered which vastly increased their influence, and they preserved their language very much in the same condition in which they brought it from Greece. Sicily is said to have been colonized from Greece so early as B.C. 1293: somewhat later we have the Æolians colonizing the coasts of Asia from the Propontis to the

river Hermus: about B.C. 804 we have Attica sending her surplus population to Chios and Samos, and the coasts of Asia south of the Hermus, and founding great cities such as Ephesus and Miletus: we have the Dorians and other Grecian people at various times colonizing Caria, and Rhodes, the northern shores of the Ægean, the great island of Cyprus, Cyrene, and other great towns in Africa, and the greater part of the coast of Italy: and in B.C. 332 Alexander founded the city of Alexandria, which proved, as he anticipated it would, the commercial capital of the world.

But it was by her literature that Greece exercised her chief influence upon the human mind. Receiving at first her own recovered civilization and letters from the East, she matured and gave to the world a language of unequalled power, and a literature which has to this day charmed the imagination and exercised the intellect of the most cultivated nations of the earth. With far greater truth than can be said of any other language, ancient or modern, the Greek may be said to have been in the days of the apostles a universal language (Gibbon's Decline, ch. ii.) From the Adriatic to the Euphrates and the Nile men spoke and thought in the Grecian tongue. Asia was covered with Grecian cities, and where the armies of Alexander had marched there they brought and left the knowledge of their majestic tongue. Throughout the Roman empire, while the Latin tongue was maintained in the administration of civil and military government, Greek was the natural idiom of science and letters. In Rome itself, the chief seat of the Latin tongue, the senate resounded with Greek debates (Val. Max. lib. ii. cap. ii. 3), and Roman satirists complain that the Greek is more used than the Latin tongue (Juv. Sat. vi. 186). Even among the barbarous Gauls, unsubdued by Rome, Grecian letters had found their way (Cæsar de Bell. Gall. lib. i. 29; vi. 14): and the Macedonian speech was heard among the Indians and Persians (Seneca, Consol. ad Helviam. cap. vi.) When St. Paul writes epistles for the information and edification of the Christian churches, it is in this tongue he writes. Every one would look for Greek in his letters to the cities of Corinth and Thessalonica, where it was their native tongue; but it is in the same language that he writes to Rome, Ephesus, and Galatia. In this tongue Mark writes his Roman gospel, and Peter addresses the churches scattered throughout Pontus, Galatia, Cappadocia, Asia, and Bithynia, 1 Pe. i. 1; and James communicates with the twelve tribes scattered abroad, Ja. i. 1. Among the foreign Jews of the Roman empire there can be little if any question that Greek was the spoken language. They consulted the oracles of God in the Septuagint version. How far the Greek language was used among the Jews in Palestine is still a question among learned men (Fairbairn's Hermeneutical Manual, part i. sect. i.; Discussions on Gospels, Rev. A. Roberts, ch. iii. &c.) Different opinions are held and ably maintained, with much show of evidence for each; but that the Grecian language was cultivated to a very considerable extent among them is denied by no competent scholar. Some think that throughout Judea scarcely any language was heard except the Grecian (Vossius, De Sybbellinis Oraculis, cap. xvi.; Diodati, D. De Christo Græce loquente Exercitatio). Some think that throughout the country both Hebrew (the Aramaic) and Greek were well understood and spoken by all classes of the people, the first being that preferred in familiar intercourse, while the latter was the language of literature, of instruction, and of public life (Rev. A. Roberts, Discourses on the Gospels). Others again hold that Hebrew was still the prevailing, most generally used, and best-loved language of the people of Palestine, formed the staple of their vernacular tongue, while the knowledge of Greek was chiefly confined to the higher and more educated classes (Dr. Fairbairn's Hermeneutical Manual, part i. sect. i.) The opinion we are inclined to adopt is this: we would say that Hebrew was well understood, commonly used, and most loved in Jerusalem and its neighbourhood, while the knowledge of Greek was there also generally spread: while on the other hand Greek was probably the prevailing language among all classes in Samaria and Galilee, and Hebrew less generally understood and spoken. There are obvious causes for the distinction here suggested. Jerusalem was the head-quarters of Judaism, where men would cling most strongly to its distinctive language: it was besides as a rule peopled by inhabitants of unmixed Jewish descent. On the other hand Samaria was peopled chiefly from districts wholly unacquainted with the Hebrew language, 2 Ki. xvii. 24, and ever prone to adopt foreign and Grecian customs in preference to those of the Jews. Galilee too was on every side surrounded and penetrated by a Gentile and Greek-speaking population, from which Judea was in a great measure free, and which would almost inevitably during a long course of centuries make the prevailing Greek tongue familiar to all classes.

That Hebrew was commonly spoken at Jerusalem is certain. The Galilean Peter, or, as some think, the writer of Acts, calls it "their proper tongue," Ac. i. 19; when Paul addresses an audience at Jerusalem he gains the more attention because he speaks in the Hebrew tongue, Ac. xxii. 2; and in the siege of Jerusalem by Titus, the negotiations between the Romans and besieged are carried on through an interpreter (Josephus, Jewish Wars, vi. ii. 4, 5, &c.; vi. vi. 2), and the language in general used among the besieged seems to have been the Hebrew (Josephus, Jewish Wars, v. vi. 3; v. ix. 2; vi. ii. 1). On the other hand an audience at Jerusalem was capable of understanding Greek, for that addressed by Paul in Hebrew had expected to be addressed in Greek, Ac. xxii. 2. But while Hebrew may be said to have been the prevailing language at Jerusalem, Greek may, we think, be allowed to have been much more the prevailing tongue in Samaria and Galilee. It is now generally allowed that the acquaintance of the apostles with the Greek tongue was not the effect of miracle but was acquired in the usual way. We have four of them, Peter, James, John, and Jude, writing in Greek in such a way as shows their perfect familiarity with the language. The only natural inference is that they had learned it as we all learn our native tongue by hearing it generally spoken around them. But these apostles were Galileans, and men in a humble rank of life, and from this it would appear that Greek was commonly spoken by the humbler classes in Galilee. With this view of the ordinary language of the people of Galilee, and with the fact that a very large proportion of our Lord's hearers, when he delivered in Galilee the sermon on the mount, were either Galileans, or belonged to cities and districts which spoke Greek and did not speak Hebrew, Mat. iv. 25, we have little reason to doubt but that this famous sermon was spoken in the Greek tongue. Spoken in Galilee, and with of course Galileans forming the majority of his hearers, if it were spoken in Greek it argues a familiar acquaintance with Greek on the part of the Galileans. Again, while we have seen in Josephus' nar-

rative of the Jewish war strong evidence that Hebrew was the prevailing language at Jerusalem, and that generally spoken, this, so far as we know, does not appear from his account of the war when it was waged in Galilee (Josephus, Jewish Wars, iii. vii. 33,35; iii. ix. 8; iv. i. 5, 8; iv. ii. 2, 3, 5). Upon these various occasions we are not told of the Galileans using the Hebrew language, or negotiating with the Romans through an interpreter, as we find repeatedly stated when the scene of the war changes to Jerusalem. The inference is, that the Galileans and Romans had a common tongue, which could only be the Greek. We thus find the wide influence of Greece upon the human mind in her giving to men in the apostolic age a common tongue, one far more universally used than any other then or since.

In this Greek tongue men of Grecian birth gave to the world works which are to this day models in every branch of literature, and which had the most powerful effect in rousing, disciplining, and maturing the faculties of the human mind. Greece, after its political overthrow, was the school of the human intellect: the subtle power which penetrated a stagnant inert mass, and sent through it the pulse of thought. When we enumerate in poetry and the drama the names of Hesiod, Homer, Alcæus, Sappho, Æschylus, Pindar, Euripides, Sophocles, Aristophanes; in history, the names of Herodotus, Thucydides, and Xenophon; in legislation, the names of Lycurgus and Solon; in oratory, those of Isocrates, Demosthenes, and Æschines; in philosophy, those of Pythagoras, Socrates, Plato, and Aristotle; we have mentioned the names of men whose works exercised an incalculable influence on the human mind in their own and in every succeeding time, who, in the words of Grote, overshot their own age, and became the teachers of posterity. To their works too we owe the perfection and preservation of the Greek tongue, just as we owe the perfection and preservation of our English language to our great writers, above all to our translation of the Bible and the works of Shakspeare. Whoever wishes to see some of the notices which various Greek writers have taken of Jewish history, will find an account of them in Josephus (Cont. Apion, b. i. c. 22, &c.)

So widely prevailing in the apostles' days was Grecian influence and the Grecian language, that Greeks in the New Testament becomes equivalent or almost so to "Gentiles" in the Old Testament. As the Jewish prophet divided mankind into Jews and Gentiles, so the Christian apostle divided it into Jews and Greeks. The name Greek is given not only to the inhabitants of the Grecian cities of Macedon or Achaia, but sometimes to the whole of mankind as distinguished from the Jew, and sometimes to civilized man as distinguished from barbarians. Thus, all the dwellers in Asia (Proconsular Asia) are divided into the two divisions of Jews and Greeks, Ac. xix. 10; xx. 18-21. The multitudinous nations among whom the scattered Jews were dispersed in every land are all called Greeks by the Jews, Jn. vii. 35 in the original. Greeks are used as synonymous with *εθνων*, the Greek translation of the wide-embracing Hebrew term גּוֹיִם (*goim*), Ac. xiv. 1, 2; xviii. 4, 6. In the matter of language mankind is divided into two divisions, Greeks and barbarians, Ro. i. 14 (see Liddell, Gr. Lex. on *βαρβαρος*). Greeks and Jews are said to compose all to whom Paul had preached up to the time when he wrote his epistle to the Romans, Ro. i. 16; ii. 9, 10. When Paul would enumerate all the divisions into which mankind could be distinguished, he only adds the barbarian and Scythian to the Jew and the Greek, Col. iii. 11. In his epistle to the Corinthians he makes the threefold division of mankind to be Jews, Greeks and believers, 1 Co. x. 32 in the original; while elsewhere he makes the Jew and the Greek to embrace absolutely men over the whole face of the earth, Ro. iii. 9; x. 12; 1 Co. i. 21-23.

The influence of Greece upon the propagation of the gospel was of the most important kind, but in its preparation of the human mind for the gospel that influence was of an indirect rather than of a direct kind. The idolatrous yet beautiful system of Grecian mythology, and even its philosophy, did not of themselves create a disposition to receive the doctrines of the gospel. St. Paul complains that the preaching of the cross was to the Greeks foolishness, as it was to the Jews a stumbling-block, 1 Co. i. 23; and it required the grace and power of God accompanying the preaching of his word to overcome the one as well as the other, 1 Co. i. 24. But in an indirect way the influence of Greece upon the world produced under God's providence results of the most important kind on the success of the gospel. We have already referred to its influence in quickening the intellectual faculties of the human mind, and taking away the dull, dead, uninquiring disposition which is one of the characteristics of barbarism, and which offers an inert opposition of the strongest kind to the reception of truth. The value of this may be estimated by the fact that, while the gospel had indeed its triumph among barbarous people, Ro. i. 14, it was among the more civilized communities that it had its greatest victories—in cities, rather than in the rural districts, Ac. xiv. 1; xvii. 4, 12; xviii. 4. But it was more than all in its providing a universal medium of communication through at least the Roman world that Greece exercised an incalculable influence on the propagation of the gospel. The old theory of the gift of tongues, Ac. ii. 4, being for the purpose of enabling the apostles to preach to men of various languages is now very much given up by the most orthodox commentators (Conybeare and Howson, i. 470; Alexander on the Acts, i. p. 45; Alford on Acts ii. 1-4). The places where we read chiefly of the gift of tongues were such as it was least required in *for this purpose*, Acts ii. 1-4; x. 46; xix. 6; 1 Co. xiv. In none of these places are we told that the miraculous gift of tongues was for the purpose of instructing the hearers, but that it was a sign attesting the truth of the gospel. In some cases at least the speakers with tongues did not understand what they said, 1 Co. xiv. 13, 19. The truth seems to be that God, who prefers ordinary methods to miracle, where miracle is not required—though where it is required he works it with a lavish hand—had in the spread of the Greek tongue provided the necessary vehicle for the propagation of the gospel. Grecian colonization, victories, and literature, provided this required medium, as Roman authority and law had provided a great field through which the gospel took its free course. Accordingly, we find our Lord selecting as his apostles men whose use of the Greek language proves it to have been their mother tongue, acquired according to the natural laws of lingual acquisition (Neander, Planting, &c. of the Church, p. 10, English edition). From Greek-speaking Galilee the first Christian missionaries are chosen. And so we find through the book of Acts, and from the epistles, that wherever these men and others like them went, they found a Greek-speaking population, to whom in Greek

they preached the gospel, and to whom in Greek they addressed those letters which were for their instruction, Ac. xiv. 1; xvii. 4; xviii. 4; xix. 17; the epistles generally. The empires of the world unconsciously perform their part in bringing about God's will. Babylon and Persia both did theirs before Greece, Is. x. 6, 7, but Greece performed a far more important part. It is no wonder then that before it arose on the political theatre it occupied a prominent place in the predicted plans of God, Is. lxvi. 19; Da. viii. 5-21; Zec. ix. 13. Its part was to raise the human mind into activity, and to provide a general medium of communication, and it did both. The importance of its work may, we think, be seen from this fact, that outside the circle of Grecian influence and the Grecian tongue the gospel of Christ did not prevail in the apostolic age. Beyond the Roman empire, through which we have seen that the Grecian language was known, the gospel did not take vigorous root. Doubtless many of the apostles and others went outside of the Roman empire and preached and won souls to Christ: traces of their work remain to this day in India and elsewhere; but they did not overthrow heathenism in those regions: it remained and remains unshaken. It was in the world subject to Grecian influence that the gospel found its early triumph. [H. C.]

GREYHOUND [זַרְזִיר מָתְנַיִם, *zarzir mothnaim*]. This phrase, which occurs only in one passage, Pr. xxx. 31, signifies "girt in the loins," and there is some uncertainty as to what is specifically intended by it. The English version gives in the margin not only the literal rendering, but the alternative of "a horse," as the meaning. To this Bochart, Gesenius, and others, assent. The LXX. give "a cock strutting around his hens."

The only attribute in the text is that which is predicated of this in common with three other objects—dignity or comeliness in action. "There be three things which *go well*, yea, four are comely in going: a lion, . . . a *greyhound*, an he-goat also, and a king, against whom there is no rising up."

We do not see why "a greyhound" may not be as good a rendering as any; particularly if we may comprehend elegance and swiftness of motion in the idea of "going well." The phrase used may have a double reference; first, to the slenderness of the lumbar regions of the body, as if tightly braced-in, a description which is not very applicable to a horse, but is remarkably true of the dog in question; and secondly, by a metaphor, to the custom of girding up the loins when men would move with rapidity, and so to the fleetness of the greyhound, as if it had girded up its loins to run. The smooth-haired greyhound of England is unequalled for speed and endurance, and for symmetry; "every action is light, easy, and elegant, yet firm and vigorous." Mr. W. C. L. Martin has shown that this breed is derived from Western Asia, improved by crossings with dogs from Southern India. It is certain that hounds with slender loins have been used in the chase in Persia, Arabia, and Egypt, from very ancient times; and among the Egyptian paintings lately disentombed, there are representations of dogs used in coursing, and led in leash, which might have been drawn from our English greyhound. The thin nose, the small ears, the length of body, the girt loins, the very curve of the tail, and the gait, are admirably represented, and are the exact counterpart of our own elegant breed. [P. H. G.]

GRIND. *See* MILL.

GROVE, what is commonly understood by this, when used in connection with religion, is a wood of more or less extent set apart for purposes of false worship, and most commonly abused to practices of the foulest kind. But the word rendered thus in our English Bibles should rather have been retained in its untranslated form, ASHERAH or ASHTAROTH; for it is the name of the Syrian Astarte or Venus, the female companion of Baal, with whom it is commonly associated. The precise sense of various passages in the Old Testament scripture has by this mistake been somewhat lost to the English reader. (*See* ASHTAROTH.) What, however, is sometimes rendered *plain* in our English version should rather be *grove*, or more properly perhaps *oaks;* thus at Ge. xiii. 18, Abraham dwelt among the oaks of Mamre—also ch. xiv. 13; xviii. 1. But trees of that sort were for shelter merely, and not for purposes of worship.

H.

HABAK'KUK [from the verb חָבַק, *hâbak*, to *embrace*, through reduplication of the verbal form, which intensifies the meaning; so that Habakkuk, as the name of a man, will signify, according as it is taken, actively or passively, either the *cordial embracer*, or the *cordially embraced one*], the name of a distinguished Hebrew prophet. Luther took the name in the active sense, and applied it to the labours and writings of the man, thus: "Habakkuk had a proper name for his office; for it signifies a man of heart, one who is hearty toward another and takes him into his arms. This is what he does in his prophecy; he comforts his people and lifts them up, as one would do with a weeping child or man, bidding him be quiet and content, because, please God, it would yet be better with him." Such, certainly, was the general aim of his prophecy as regards the people of God; it held out the prospect of returning favour and blessing, after floods of judgment had spent their fury in vindication of the cause of righteousness.

No personal trait or historical notice has been preserved of Habakkuk in any canonical book of Scripture; and the tradition which is found at the close of the apocryphal story of Bel and the Dragon—which represents him as caught away by an angel and transported to Babylon, that he might relieve the hunger of Daniel when shut up in the lions' den, with the food that had been prepared for some reapers in Judea—is so evidently an invention of later times, that no account can be made of it. If available for anything, it can only

be as a traditional evidence that Habakkuk was a contemporary of Daniel; but for this purpose it is scarcely needed, as there are other things of a more reliable kind which yield the same result. 1. The first thing that deserves notice, in endeavouring to find one's way to the personal position and characteristics of the man, is the designation he gives of himself at the commencement of his book; he is there styled "Habakkuk the prophet." This designation is applied only to those who were in habitual possession of prophetical gifts, and held as their chief distinction the prophetical office. As persons so endowed and called most commonly belonged to the Levitical order, this circumstance alone renders it probable that he was by birth a Levite. 2. The subscription appended to the lyrical prophecy contained in the third chapter of his book, strengthens the conviction thus produced of his Levitical origin; it is dedicated "to the chief singer—*i.e.* the leader of the temple music—on (namely, to be sung on or with) my stringed instruments." This indicates him as one who had personally to do with the temple-service; who, with his own harpsichord or stringed instrument, meant to accompany the song which, through the Spirit, he had indited for the use of the temple worshippers. As such, however, he must have been a Levite, if not also a priest; for all that pertained to the singing of the temple was in their hands; and the leading members of that sacred band, Asaph, Heman, and Jeduthun, from the first took rank with and were called prophets, 1 Ch. xxv. 1-5. The supposition of his belonging to this class is further borne out by the strongly lyrical character of his book, in which respect it approaches nearer to the Psalms of David than any other of the prophetical writings. It is but natural to conceive, that in this case, as in so many others, the habitual occupation of the writer was allowed to give its distinctive impress to the utterances which he was inspired to give forth to the people of God. 3. Finally, in regard to the period to which his writings should be assigned, there are indications in the writings themselves, and their relative place in the sacred canon, which clearly point to a time somewhat, yet not very long, anterior to the era of the Babylonish exile. Thus, in the first chapter of his predictions, he announces the Chaldean invasion as a thing still future, and a thing so portentous in its nature, so fearful in its character and results, that men would not believe it till it had actually taken place, ch. i. 5. The Chaldean power, it would seem, was already known as one of rising energy, yet scarcely known as capable of inflicting such terrible disasters as those which might now be expected; and the time, therefore, may naturally be supposed to have been prior to the battle of Charchemish, in the fourth year of Jehoiakim's reign, when by the overthrow of the army of Egypt the Chaldeans rose at once to the visible mastery of the world. From that period the Chaldean power developed itself with terrible energy and force, and men soon ceased to wonder at any devastation accomplished by it. Yet, in this case, the devastation could not be placed many years subsequent to the prediction; for, speaking to the men of his own generation, the prophet says, "I will work a work in *your* days." He might have spoken thus any time during the latter half of Josiah's reign, but we cannot well transfer the words to an earlier period. It is quite probable, however, that he did speak so early, and not, as many of the later critics suppose, in the days of Jehoiakim, and while the Chaldean army was actually on its way to Jerusalem. For, Zephaniah, whose writings stand next in order to Habakkuk's, and who also announced the same coming desolations, is expressly declared to have prophesied in the days of Josiah, Zep. i. 1; and there is every reason to believe that the compilers of the canon, who, living near the times of the sacred writers, had access to information regarding them that is no longer available, were chiefly guided by chronological considerations in fixing the order of the minor prophets. If, then, Zephaniah prophesied in the days of Josiah, it is every way probable that Habakkuk, whose writings were placed immediately before those of Zephaniah, also prophesied during the same reign. And this is still further confirmed by two remarkably coinciding passages in the two prophets, Hab. ii. 20; Zep. i. 7; which appear to indicate that the one prophet stood to the other in a relation of dependence. But from the character both of the two prophets and of the two passages, this is greatly more likely to have been the case with Zephaniah toward Habakkuk, than with Habakkuk toward Zephaniah (see Delitzsch's Der Prophet Hab. p. vii.) There are also apparent references in Jeremiah to some passages in Habakkuk—comp. Je. li. 58 with Hab. ii. 13, and Je. xxii. 13 with Hab. ii. 12—which seem to point in the same direction. We have therefore good reason to believe that Habakkuk prophesied, and that his writings were known to other men of God, in the days of Josiah. But it could only have been in the latter portion of those days, when the time of the great catastrophe was not very remote; and also when the temple service, through the reformation of Josiah, had been so far restored, and the cause of God generally had so far again risen to the ascendant, that a fresh lyrical song like that of Habakkuk could be fitly destined for the sanctuary. If, then, we should date his prophetic agency from the last ten years of Josiah's reign—that is, from B.C. 620, or fifteen years before the first capture of Jerusalem by Nebuchadnezzar, and thirty or so before its total prostration—we shall not probably be far from the mark. We can scarcely suppose him to have begun to prophesy earlier, but it may possibly have been a little later.

The inscription which Habakkuk put upon his prophecies is somewhat peculiar; he designates them "the burden (*massa*) which he did see." The learned are still divided as to the proper meaning of the term *massa*, viz. whether it means simply a divine word, which the prophet was to take up and bear to others, a message from Heaven with which he was charged on their account, or specifically a word of judgment, heavy tidings that he received to deliver to them. The preponderance of modern authorities is in favour of the former opinion, though Hengstenberg still adheres to the latter; and he so far has the usage on his side, that if not in all, certainly in by much the greater number of instances in which the word occurs, it characterizes prophecies that are of a predominantly severe and threatening character. In every word of God that is actually termed a burden, threatenings and judgments occupy a conspicuous place. But still, as these are, in many of the cases, intermingled with announcements of coming good, it appears somewhat arbitrary to restrict the word altogether to the minatory aspect of God's dealings. A prophetic word of grave and solemn import to the parties concerned, seems to be as much as the usage would warrant us to understand by the

term. And that word the prophet Habakkuk reports himself to have *seen*, as some of the other prophets also have done, Is. xiii. 1; Am. i. 1; Mi. i. 1; that is, it presented itself in the first instance to his soul as an objective communication from the Spirit of God, which he had but to apprehend with the eye of his inner man, and faithfully report for the good of others. Not, however, that he was simply a passive instrument in the matter; the whole tone and character of his writings show him to have been intensely alive and interested in what passed before the eye of his mind; but it was still not his own cogitations he had to do with; it was the mind of God shedding itself like a heavenly light within him, and giving him clear discernment of the things that were going to develope themselves in the providence of God.

The leading subject of his prophecy has been differently apprehended by commentators, according to the point of view from which they have contemplated it; some regarding it as mainly a revelation of the mind of God concerning the Chaldean power; while others (like Calvin) take the Jews to be the chief theme, and the stability of God's interest in connection with them. Viewing the book simply as a composition, and with reference to the relative place occupied by the topics presented in it, one might justly say, with Delitzsch, that the prediction respecting the Chaldean kingdom as the great worldly power forms the centre around which the other parts of the book are grouped, toward which all the rays as it were converge. The invasion of Judea in that case, described in ch. i. 5–11, is but as the antechamber to the building, which consists in a delineation of the God-defying character of the Chaldean monarchy, and the consequent certainty of its overthrow; and in the announcement of this was the special comfort provided for the people of God. It is scarcely possible, however, to avoid feeling that the primary and more fundamental point to the prophet's mind lay deeper than this. The book is profoundly moral in its character and tone. What lies nearest to the heart of the prophet is the cause of truth and righteousness; and how, amid the formidable appearances that were against it, this was to be maintained and vindicated. In his immediate neighbourhood, and among those who should have stood as one man for the interests of righteousness, he saw disorders and iniquities proceeding, such as manifestly cried to Heaven for vengeance. That vengeance he also saw coming; but, strange to think, travelling in the march of a power itself more godless and corrupt than the people it came to chastise. Could such a power really prosper? Could the interest or even the faithfulness and consistence of a righteous God stand with the continued success and imperious ascendency of a dominion which so lawlessly trampled on everything human and divine? Impossible! such an instrument of judgment must itself be judged; the great worldly power is only raised up for a time as a thrashing instrument in the hand of God; and when its work is done it shall be shattered to pieces, as it had shattered those that were opposed to it. But the truth and faithfulness of God have another foundation; rooted in his own eternal nature they stand fast to all generations for as many as humbly trust in his name; and as in the past, so in the future, he will never cease to manifest his glorious perfections in their behalf, till every hostile power has been destroyed, and the whole earth is filled with the knowledge of his glory. Blessed, then, are they who, in all circumstances, confide in his word, and commit themselves to his keeping — alone blessed. Such is the train of thought and feeling that runs through this prophet; and if, on surveying it, we may say that the character and doom of the Chaldean power has formally the largest place in his writings, we must also say that underneath all lies the prophet's regard for the truth of God, and his people's relation thereto; and mainly with a view to this was the other and more external phase of the divine dealings exhibited.

Viewed in respect to form, the chief peculiarity in the writings of Habakkuk is found in the lyrical effusion contained in ch. iii., and on which much diversity of opinion has prevailed. It is also in the interpretation of that portion that the chief difficulty for the expositor lies. Without going into any detail on the matter, which would here be out of place, we shall state briefly and in the general what appears to be the correct view, which is that also that has been ably set forth and vindicated by Delitzsch in his work on this prophet. This prayer-song, destined by the prophet for the spiritual enlightenment and quickening of the covenant-people, forms the devotional echo and resumption of the previous portions of his book. In the use of it the worshipper was to be understood as entering into the revelations already unfolded, and giving vent to his feelings before God with the liveliness and energy appropriate to sacred song. In the subject itself there was much to excite the spirit, and stir it with alternate movements of fear and hope; and this perhaps is the reason why the piece is entitled upon *Shigionoth* (from שִׁגָּה, *shagah*, to *wander to and fro*), pointing to the raised or tumultuous character of the production, its quick and rapid transitions of feeling, as of a soul deeply moved and agitated by the thoughts that were passing through the mind. And then, as regards the substance of the representation, while from the connection and design of the song we must suppose the prophet to have had his eye throughout upon the future—a supposition fully borne out by an analysis of the several parts—it is chiefly thrown, as in some of the psalms, for example Ps. lxxvii., into the form and imagery of the past. "The prophet borrows from God's wonders of old, and the representations given of them, the traits and colours of his delineation respecting a corresponding future, justly regarding the one as the type of the other; for the work of judgment he delineates was one that should unite in itself all the elements of dreadful majesty and redeeming power that had ever appeared in God's earlier judicial manifestations for his people, a deliverance that should even eclipse the typical deliverance from Egypt. This close pre-established connection between the past and the promised future, is the reason why the prophet makes Teman and the mountains of Paran the starting-point of the theophany, and represents the tribes on both sides of the Red Sea as thrown into terror and confusion, precisely as the harpers in Re. xv. 3 are represented as singing the song of Moses and the Lamb" (Delitzsch, p. 139). In short, for the assurance of his faith and hope, and for the more vivid realization of what was to take place, the prophet sees God traversing anew, as it were, the old paths, and doing over again his mighty deeds; so that his people should certainly be able to rejoice in him still, and know him as the God of their salvation. Such indeed is the usual

style of prophecy, which ever strives to picture the future under the relations and imagery of the past—only, the demands of lyrical poetry, when the prophecy takes this shape, naturally give to the production a bolder and more life-like appearance.

The style of the prophet Habakkuk has always been regarded as peculiarly distinguished for its purity, terseness, and force. Lowth characterizes his ode as among the finest specimens of the purest Hebrew poetry; and it ranks also with the best for loftiness of sentiment, vivacity of description, and appropriateness of imagery. Though only two passages from his writings are distinctly referred to in the New Testament, yet one of these is quoted with special emphasis and some frequency; it is the pregnant utterance in ch. ii. 4, "The just shall live by his faith," which contains the germ of the entire gospel, Ro. i. 17; Ga. iii. 11; He. x. 38. The other is in ch. i. 5, and is quoted by Paul in one of his warning addresses to his unbelieving countrymen, Ac. xiii. 40, 41.

Beside the general commentaries on the minor prophets, the best help for the critical study of this prophet is the commentary of Delitzsch already referred to, which biblical students, who are acquainted with German, will find pervaded by the accurate scholarship, the profound thought, and generally sound discrimination which characterize the writings of the author.

HABERGEON. *See* ARMOUR.

HA'BOR. *See* CHEBAR.

HACH'ILAH, the hill and wood of, is mentioned among the lurking-places of David, 1 Sa. xxiii. 19; xxvi. 1-3. It must have been near Ziph, but the precise hill cannot be determined; and no remains have been found either of the name or of the wood.

HACH'MONITE, a derivative of Hachmon, the founder of a family, some members of which have been mentioned as men of note; but nothing is known of the founder himself, 1 Ch. xi. 11; xxvii. 32.

HA'DAD, of uncertain etymology, but of early use as a proper name. 1. A son of Ishmael, in the first genealogy given of his race, bore the name of Hadar, Ge. xxv. 15, but which is elsewhere read Hadad, 1 Ch. i. 30. And in the genealogy of Esau's descendants, Hadad was the name of one of the early kings who reigned over the Edomites before there was a king in Israel, Ge. xxxvi. 35.

2. HADAD, one so called of the Edomite race, is mentioned as among the enemies of Solomon, 1 Ki. xi. 14. He belonged to the seed-royal; and when a mere child had escaped from the terrible slaughter inflicted by the army of David under Joab, by being carried into Egypt. He was there treated with much respect by the existing king, and was ultimately married to the sister of Tahpanhes the queen. On hearing of the death of David, he requested and obtained leave of Pharaoh to return to his own country, doubtless with the view of making an effort to regain for his family and kindred the ascendency which they had lost. And though we have no particular account of his operations, yet from being mentioned in particular as an adversary to king Solomon, and one whom the Lord stirred up against him, it is clear that he must have been a person of considerable energy, and that under him the scattered forces of Edom must have rallied so far as to prove a dangerous rival to Israel. Express mention is also made, when noticing another adversary of Solomon, of "the mischief which Hadad did," ver. 25, though the details are nowhere given.

3. HADAD. This is understood to have been the name of a Syrian deity, or probably one of the names of the tutelary gods of Syria, though rarely mentioned under that name. It is understood to be this name which appears in the latinized form of Adodus (Macrob. Sat. i. 23). In Scripture it is found only as a component element in some proper names, such as Hadad-ezer, Benhadad, Hadad-Rimmon.

HA'DAD-E'ZER [*Hadad for a helper*], also written HADAR-EZER, a Syrian king, whose capital was Zobah, and one of the most active and formidable of the foreign enemies of David. The wars he had to wage with this king called forth in a peculiar manner both the faith and the heroic energy of David, as appears particularly from Ps. lx., which was composed in reference to them, and also from the numbers that are reported to have fallen on the field of battle. Three deadly conflicts are particularly mentioned between them, 2 Sa. viii. 3, 5; x. 18, in each of which David was successful; and the last was so decisive, that the other kings who had joined with Hadad-ezer fell off from him, and entered into terms of peace with Israel.

HA'DAD-RIM'MON, the names of two Syrian deities, combined together so as to form the designation of a particular place or district in Palestine. In Scripture it is referred to only once, and that in a prophetical passage making allusion to the death of Josiah, Zec. xii. 11, not in the historical book which records the death itself. Speaking of a future mourning the prophet says, it should be like "the mourning of Hadad-Rimmon in the valley of Megiddon"—the mourning, namely, which took place there at the death of the good king Josiah. Jerome speaks of it as a city, and says it afterwards went by the name of Maximianopolis, and was in the valley of Jezreel, but gives no further information about it (Comm. in loco). Modern research has failed to obtain any certain trace of the spot; nor is anything known as to the way in which it came to acquire a name of such marked Syrian origin.

HA'DAR. *See* HADAD.

HA'DAR-E'ZER. *See* HADAD-EZER.

HADES. Although this word has never been properly naturalized in English, and does not occur either as a general or a proper name in the English Bible, it is necessary to assume its existence in a work which aims at embracing the full circle of Bible terms and ideas. The word *hell,* which is always used as its equivalent in the scriptures of the New Testament, and frequently also in those of the Old, no longer conveys the exact meaning of the original. It is now only employed as denoting the place of final torment, and precisely corresponds to the Greek term *γέεννα,* for which it is also used in our English Bible. For *hades* we have still no proper equivalent; and in order to get a correct view of the reality indicated by the name, we are obliged to retain the name itself.

HADES [Gr. *Ἀιδης,* derived, according to the best established and most generally received etymology, from privative *α* and *ἰδεῖν,* hence often written *ἀΐδης*], means strictly *what is out of sight,* or possibly, if applied to a person, *what puts out of sight.* In earlier Greek this last was, if not its only, at least its prevailing application; in Homer it occurs only as the personal designation of Pluto, the lord of the invisible world, and who was probably so designated—not from being himself invisible, for that belonged to him in common with the heathen gods generally—but from his power to render

mortals invisible—the invisible-making deity. The Greeks, however, in process of time abandoned this use of hades, and when the Greek Scriptures were written the word was scarcely ever applied except to the place of the departed. In the Greek version of the Old Testament it is the common rendering for the Heb. *sheol*, though in the form there often appears a remnant of the original personal application; for example in Ge. xxxvii. 34, "I will go down to my son," εἰς ἅιδου, *i.e.* into the abodes or house of hades (δόμους or οἶκον being understood). This elliptical form was common both in the classics and in Scripture, even after hades was never thought of but as a region or place of abode.

The appropriation of hades by the Greek interpreters as an equivalent for sheol, may undoubtedly be taken as evidence that there was a substantial agreement in the ideas conveyed by the two terms as currently understood by the Greeks and Hebrews respectively—a substantial, but not an entire agreement; for in this, as well as in other terms which related to subjects bearing on things spiritual and divine, the different religions of Jew and Gentile necessarily exercised a modifying influence; so that even when the same term was employed, and with reference generally to the same thing, shades of difference could not but exist in respect to the ideas understood to be indicated by them. Two or three points stand prominently out in the views entertained by the ancients respecting hades:—first, that it was the *common* receptacle of departed spirits, of good as well as bad; second, that it was divided into two compartments, the one containing an Elysium of bliss for the good, the other a Tartarus of sorrow and punishment for the wicked; and, thirdly, that in respect to its locality it lay under ground, in the mid-regions of the earth. So far as these points are concerned, there is no material difference between the Greek hades and the Hebrew sheol. This, too, was viewed as the common receptacle of the departed: patriarchs and righteous men spake of going into it at their decease, and the most ungodly and worthless characters are represented as finding in it their proper home, Ge. xlii. 38; Ps. cxxxix. 8; Ho. xiii. 14; Is. xiv., &c. A twofold division also in the state of the departed, corresponding to the different positions they occupied, and the courses they pursued, on earth, is clearly implied in the revelations of Scripture on the subject, though with the Hebrews less prominently exhibited, and without any of the fantastic and puerile inventions of heathen mythology. Yet the fact of a real distinction in the state of the departed, corresponding to their spiritual conditions on earth, is in various passages not obscurely indicated. Divine retribution is represented as pursuing the wicked after they have left this world—pursuing them even into the lowest realms of sheol, De. xxxii. 22; Am. ix. 2; and the bitterest shame and humiliation are described as awaiting there the most prosperous of this world's inhabitants, if they have abused their prosperity to the dishonour of God and the injury of their fellowmen, Ps. xlix. 14; Is. xiv. On the other hand, the righteous had hope in his death; he could rest assured, that in the viewless regions of sheol, as well as amid the changing vicissitudes of earth, the right hand of God would sustain him, even there he would enter into peace, walking still, as it were, in his uprightness, Pr. xiv. 32; Ps. cxxxix. 8; Is. lvii. 2. And that sheol, like hades, was conceived of as a lower region in comparison of the present world, is so manifest from the whole language of Scripture on the subject, that it is unnecessary to point to particular examples; in respect to the good as well as the bad, the passage into sheol was contemplated as a descent; and the name was sometimes used as a synonym for the very lowest depths, De. xxxii. 22; Job xi. 7-9. This is not, however, to be understood as affirming anything of the actual locality of disembodied spirits; for there can be no doubt that the language here, as in other cases, was derived from the mere appearances of things; and as the body at death was committed to the lower parts of the earth, so the soul was conceived of as also going downwards. But that this was not designed to mark the local boundaries of the region of departed spirits, may certainly be inferred from other expressions used regarding them—as that God took them to himself; or that he would give them to see the path of life; that he would make them dwell in his house for ever; or, more generally still, that the spirit of a man goeth upwards, Ge. v. 24; Ps. xvi. 11; xxiii. 6; Ec. iii. 21; xii. 7. During the old dispensations there was still no express revelation from heaven respecting the precise condition or external relationships of departed spirits; the time had not yet come for such specific intimations; and the language employed was consequently of a somewhat vague and vacillating nature, such as spontaneously arose from common feelings and impressions. For the same reason, the ideas entertained even by God's people upon the subject were predominantly sombre and gloomy. Sheol wore no inviting aspect to their view, no more than hades to the superstitious heathen; the very men who believed that God would accompany them thither and keep them from evil, contemplated the state as one of darkness and silence, and shrunk from it with instinctive horror, or gave hearty thanks when they found themselves for a time delivered from it, Ps. vi. 5; xxx. 3, 9; Job iii. 13, seq.; Is. xxxviii. 18. The reason was that they had only general assurances, but no specific light on the subject; and their comfort rather lay in overleaping the gulf of sheol, and fixing their thoughts on the better resurrection, sometime to come, than in anything they could definitely promise themselves between death and the resurrection-morn.

For in this lay one important point of difference between the Jewish and the heathen hades, originated by the diverse spirit of the two religions, that to the believing Hebrew alone the sojourn in sheol appeared that only of a temporary and intermediate existence. The poor heathen had no prospect beyond its shadowy realms; its bars for him were eternal; and the idea of a resurrection was utterly strange alike to his religion and his philosophy. But it was in connection with the prospect of a resurrection from the dead, that all hope formed itself in the breasts of the true people of God. As this alone could effect the reversion of the evil brought in by sin, and really destroy the destroyer, so nothing less was announced in that first promise which gave assurance of the crushing of the tempter; and if, as to its nature, but dimly apprehended by the eye of faith, it still necessarily formed, as to the reality, the great object of desire and expectation. Hence, it is said of the patriarchs, that they looked for a better country, which is an heavenly; and of those who in later times resisted unto blood for the truth of God, that they did it to obtain a better resurrection, He. xi. 16, 35. Hence too the spirit of prophecy confidently proclaimed the arrival of a time, when the

dead should arise and sing, when sheol itself should be destroyed, and many of its inmates be brought forth to the possession of everlasting life, Is. xxvi. 19; Ho. xiii. 14; Da. xii. 2. And yet again in apostolic times, St. Paul represents this as emphatically the promise made by God to the fathers, to the realization of which his countrymen as with one heart were hoping to come, Ac. xxvi. 7; and Josephus, in like manner, testifies of all but the small Sadducean faction of them, that they believed in a resurrection to honour and blessing for those who had lived righteously in this life (Ant. xviii. 1, 3). This hope necessarily cast a gleam of light across the darkness of hades for the Israelite, which was altogether unknown to the Greek. And closely connected with it was another difference also of considerable moment, viz. that the Hebrew sheol was not, like the Gentile hades, viewed as an altogether separate and independent region, withdrawn from the primal fountain of life, and subject to another dominion than the world of sense and time. Pluto was ever regarded by the heathen as the rival of the king of earth and heaven; the two domains were essentially antagonistic. But to the more enlightened Hebrew there was but one Lord of the living and the dead; the chambers of sheol were as much open to his eye and subject to his control as the bodies and habitations of men on earth; so that to go into the realms of the deceased was but to pass from one department to another of the same all-embracing sway of Jehovah.

Such was the general state of belief and expectation regarding hades or sheol in Old Testament times. With the introduction of the gospel a new light breaks in, which shoots its rays also through the realms of the departed, and relieves the gloom in which they had still appeared shrouded to the view of the faithful. The term hades, however, is of comparatively rare occurrence in New Testament scripture; in our Lord's own discourses it is found only thrice, and on two of the occasions it is used in a somewhat rhetorical manner, by way of contrast to the region of life and blessing. He said of Capernaum, that from being exalted unto heaven it should be brought down to hades, Mat. xi. 23—that is, plainly, from the highest point of fancied or of real elevation to the lowest abasement. Of that spiritual kingdom also, or church, which he was going to establish on earth, he affirmed that "the gates of hades should not prevail against it," Mat. xvi. 18, which is all one with saying that it should be perpetual. Hades is contemplated as a kind of realm or kingdom, accustomed, like earthly kingdoms in the East, to hold its council-chamber at the gates; and whatever measures might be there taken, whatever plots devised, they should never succeed in overturning the foundations of Christ's kingdom, or effectually marring its interests. In both these passages hades is placed by our Lord in an antagonistic relation to his cause among men, although, from the manner in which the word is employed, no very definite conclusions could be drawn from them as to the nature and position of hades itself. But in another passage—the only one in which any indication is given by our Lord of the state of its inhabitants—it is most distinctly and closely associated with the doom and misery of the lost: "In hades," it is said of the rich man in the parable, "he lifted up his eyes, being in torments." The soul of Lazarus is, no doubt, also represented as being so far within the bounds of the same region, that he could be descried and spoken with by the sufferer. Still, he was represented as sharing no common fate with the other; but as occupying a region shut off from all intercommunion with that assigned to the wicked, and so far from being held in a sort of dungeon-confinement, reposing in Abraham's bosom, in an abode where angels visit. And with this also agrees what our Lord said of his own temporary sojourn among the dead, when on the eve of his departing thither—"To-day," said he, in his reply to the prayer of the penitent malefactor, "shalt thou be with me in paradise," Lu. xxiii. 43. But paradise was the proper region of life and blessing, not of gloom and forgetfulness; originally it was the home and heritage of man as created in the image of God; and when Christ now named the place whither he was going with a redeemed sinner—paradise, it bespoke that already there was an undoing of the evil of sin, that for all who are Christ's there is an actual recovery immediately after death, and as regards the better part of their natures, of what was lost by the disobedience and ruin of the fall.

But was not Christ himself in hades? Did not the apostle Peter on the day of Pentecost apply to him the words of David in Ps. xvi., in which it was said, "Thou wilt not leave my soul in hades, neither wilt thou suffer thine Holy One to see corruption," and argue apparently, that the soul of Christ must have indeed gone to hades, but only could not be allowed to continue there. Even so, however, it would but concern the application of a name; for if the language of the apostle must be understood as implying that our Lord's soul was in hades between death and the resurrection, it still was hades as having a paradise within its bosom; so that knowing from his own lips what sort of a receptacle it afforded to the disembodied spirit of Jesus, we need care little about the mere name by which, in a general way, it might be designated. But the apostle Peter, it must be remembered, does not call it hades; he merely quotes an Old Testament passage, in which hades is mentioned, as a passage that had its verification in Christ; and the language of course in this, as in other prophetical passages, was spoken from an Old Testament point of view, and must be read in the light which the revelations of the gospel have cast over the state and prospects of the soul. We may even, however, go farther; for the psalmist himself does not strictly affirm the soul of the Holy One to have gone to hades; his words precisely rendered are, "Thou wilt not leave (or abandon) my soul to hades"—that is, give it up as a prey to the power or domain of the nether world. It is rather a negative than a positive assertion regarding our Lord's connection with hades, that is contained in the passage; and nothing can fairly be argued from it as to the local habitation or actual state of his disembodied spirit.

The only other passages in the New Testament in which mention is made of hades are in Revelation: ch. i. 18, where the glorified Redeemer declares that he has the keys of death and of hades; ch. vi. 8, where death is symbolized as a rider, smiting all around him with weapons of destruction, and hades following to receive the souls of the slain; ch. xx. 13, 14, where death and hades are both represented as giving up the dead that were in them, and afterwards as being themselves cast into the lake of fire, which is the second death. In every one of these passages hades stands in a dark and forbidding connection with death—very unlike that association with paradise and Abraham's bosom, in which our

Lord exhibited the receptacle of his own and his people's souls to the eye of faith; and not only so, but in one of them it is expressly as an ally of death in the execution of judgment that hades is represented, while in another it appears as an accursed thing, consigned to the lake of fire. In short, it seems as if in the progress of God's dispensations a separation had come to be made between elements that originally were mingled together—as if, from the time that Christ brought life and immortality to light, the distinction in the next world as well as this was broadened between the saved and the lost—so that hades was henceforth appropriated, both in the name and in the reality, to those who were to be reserved in darkness and misery to the judgment of the great day; and other names, with other and brighter ideas, were employed to designate the intermediate resting-place of the redeemed. It was meet that it should be so; for by the personal work and mediation of Christ the whole church of God rose to a higher condition; old things passed away, all things became new; and it is but reasonable to suppose that the change in some degree extended to the occupants of the intermediate state—the saved becoming more enlarged in the possession of bliss and glory, the lost more sunk in anguish and despair.

Such being the nature of the scriptural representation on the subject, one must not only condemn the fables that sprung up amid the dark ages about the limbus or antechamber of hell, and the purgatorial fires, through which it was supposed even redeemed souls had to complete their ripening for glory; but also reject the form in which the church has embodied its belief respecting the personal history of Christ, when it said, "descended into hell." This, it is well known, was a later addition to what has been called the apostles' creed, made when the church was far on its way to the gloom and superstition of the dark ages. And though the words are capable of a rational and scriptural explanation, yet they do not present the place and character of our Lord's existence in the intermediate state, as these are exhibited by himself; they suggest something painful, rather than, as it should be, blessed and triumphant; and, if taken in their natural sense, they would rob believers of that sure hope of an immediate transition into mansions of glory, which, as his followers and participants of his risen life, it is their privilege to entertain.

HADO'RAM. 1. A descendant, or more probably the name of a race of descendants from Eber by his son Joktan, Ge. x. 27. They have been supposed to be the same with the Adramitæ, or Atramitæ, who had their settlements in the south of Arabia (Gesen. Thes.; Bochart, Phal. ii. 7). 2. The name given in 1 Ch. xviii. 10 to the son of Toi king of Hamath, who was sent as ambassador from his father to congratulate David on his victory over Hadar-ezer; he elsewhere bears the name of Joram, 2 Sa. viii. 10, which however has an Israelitish aspect. 3. An alternative name of one of the officers of Rehoboam, who was over the administration of taxes, and lost his life on the occasion of the general revolt. His other name was Adoniram or Adoram, 2 Sa. xx. 24; 2 Ch. x. 18.

HAD'RACH [etymology uncertain], occurs only as a proper name in the heading of one of Zechariah's enigmatical prophecies, which stands thus, "The burden of the word of the Lord on the land of Hadrach, and Damascus is its rest," ch. ix. 1. It used to be regarded as the name of a city and region not very remote from Damascus, chiefly on the authority of R. Jose, quoted by Jarchi, and of Joseph Abbassi, given and supported by J. D. Michælis. But Hengstenberg, in his remarks upon the passage in his *Christology*, has shown that these persons confounded Hadrach with an Adraa in the Syrian desert, which is the same with the ancient Edrei. There is no historical notice of either a land or a city going by the name of Hadrach (חַדְרַךְ); and it is against all probability, as well as prophetical usage, that a strictly proper name should have been employed to designate the subject of a prophecy which was otherwise unknown. But it was by no means unusual to adopt symbolical names of regions on which the word of prophecy was to fall; as, in Isaiah Jerusalem is designated "Ariel," and "the valley of vision;" Babylon the "desert of the sea," Is. xxix. 1; xxii. 1; xxi. 1; in Jeremiah also Babylon is prophesied against under the name of Sheshach, and in Ezekiel Jerusalem and Samaria under the names of Aholah and Aholibah, Je. li. 41; Eze. xxiii. 4. So here Zechariah, when going to describe the future overthrow of the Persian empire, especially in those provinces of its domain which lay in the neighbourhood of Judea, most probably called it by the symbolical name of Hadrach—which is composed of חַד, *sharp*, then *strong, energetic,* and רַךְ, *soft*, then *infirm, weak;* so as to form the enigmatical title of *strong-weak*—strong in one respect, but weak in another; to present appearance, of indomitable power and energy, but in the purpose of God destined to become a helpless prey in the hand of a mighty adversary. The prophecy had its fulfilment in the conquests of Alexander the Great. Such, briefly, is the view of Hengstenberg, which seems on the whole the most probable; but it cannot be regarded as certain. Gesenius concurs with Hengstenberg as far as regards the view of the Jewish commentators, but for the rest is disposed to follow Bleek, who takes Hadrach to be the name of a king of Damascus.

HA'GAR [most probably *flight*, supposed to be derived from a root unused in Hebrew, signifying to *flee*, but existing in Arabic, whence the well-known Mahometan era *Hegira*, the flight], the name of Sarah's bondmaid, and the mother of Ishmael. Of her earlier history we are simply told that she was an Egyptian by birth, Ge. xvi. 3; and, as Abraham had spent some time in Egypt shortly after his first appearance in the land of Canaan, the probability is, that Hagar was then received into his household, and was taken with him when he returned to the land of Canaan. That she must have stood high in the estimation of her mistress is evident from the proposal of Sarah, when she judged herself to be hopelessly barren, that Abraham should go in to Hagar, and thereby obtain the long looked for seed. The impropriety of this proposal, and of Abraham's acceding to it, has been already noticed in connection with Abraham. Apart from all other evils, it had the effect of putting Hagar out of her proper place; when she found herself to be with child her mistress was despised in her eyes; and this insubordination on the part of the maid awoke a spirit of indignation and severity in the bosom of her mistress, which was carried so far on the one side, and so hotly met on the other, that Hagar at last fled from the tent. From this flight perhaps she got the name of Hagar, which afterwards adhered to her. On leaving the tent of Abraham she

not unnaturally took the direction of Egypt, and was found by the angel of the Lord beside a well in the wilderness of Shur, which lies between the south of Palestine and Egypt. There she was kindly remonstrated with by the heavenly messenger respecting her conduct, and being expressly directed to return to the household of Abraham and become subject to Sarah, she complied with the injunction. Such a compliance must have been anything but agreeable to the natural feelings of Hagar; and her readiness in yielding it is so far an indication of something good, at least of a natural kind, being found in her. From what afterwards happened, we can scarcely entertain the supposition that it was more.

The specific reason assigned by the angel for Hagar's return to the household of Abraham, had respect to the son she was to bring forth to Abraham; and will be more particularly considered under Ishmael. The Lord manifestly did not wish that the child of the father of the faithful, even though born after the flesh, should be born and reared elsewhere than in Abraham's family; and doubtless respect was also had to the lessons that were to be supplied, and the warnings that were to be administered, through the facts of this child's subsequent history. When Hagar heard, however, that she was to give birth to a son, that this son was to be the head of a numerous offspring, which should maintain its ground against all dangers and assaults, and be a sort of natural wonder in the world, she could not but feel cheered in spirit, and be encouraged to take well whatever might lie immediately before her. She gave unmistakeable evidence of this state of mind in the names she invented on the occasion. She called the name of the Lord that spake to her *Attah-El-roi*, Thou-God-of-the-seeing; and adds by way of explanation, "Have I not also here seen him that seeth me?" What struck her was the fact, that in that lonely unfrequented region the eye of the All-seeing had been taking cognizance of her, helpless and forsaken as she seemed. Then, in further memorial of the same, she called the well *Beer-lahai-roi*, Well of the Living One that sees me. If put more generally it would be, Well of the ever-living and present God. Hagar was therefore no heathen; she had learned enough in Abraham's family to know that there was but one living and true God; and her belief in this fundamental truth could not but be confirmed, as it was called forth, by the manifestation that was now given her of the all-seeing eye and gracious providence of Jehovah. Thus cheered and comforted, she returned to the tents of Abraham, and in due time gave birth to Ishmael.

We hear no more of her till the memorable occasion of Isaac's weaning, when, amid the general hilarity of Abraham's house, and the exuberant joy of his aged spouse, a malignant scorn was seen lowering on the face of Ishmael, which again drew forth the ire of Sarah, and led to a new scene in the household. Ishmael must by this time have been fifteen or sixteen years old; for he was thirteen when he was circumcised, and all that pertained to the conception, the birth, and the weaning of Isaac had yet to take place. Ishmael, therefore, was no longer a mere child, but a grown youth, and Sarah not unfairly conceived that his demeanour on the occasion referred to but too clearly indicated the spirit he was of—a spirit utterly opposed to the claims of Isaac, as the free-born, heaven-sent child; and she insisted on Ishmael and his mother being cast forth, that the inheritance might be left to Isaac, Ge. xxi. 10. It seemed a somewhat harsh expedient, and is said to have been grievous to the paternal heart of Abraham. But the right principle was on Sarah's side, and the word of God gave its sanction to what she had demanded: Hagar and Ishmael must be externally separated from the chosen seed, as they had already separated themselves by their internal feelings. While, however, the casting forth was necessary, one cannot but feel as if there was an undue degree of haste and rigour in the manner of carrying it into execution. For it would seem that all the provisions in meat and drink which were given to the two exiles was what could be laid on the back of Hagar, Ge. xxi. 14. But possibly the meaning is, that this was merely what was furnished for an immediate supply, while in addition a certain portion in flocks and herds was also divided to them. Abraham, we are told, gave portions of this sort to the later sons he had by Keturah, Ge. xxv. 6, and from Ishmael afterwards appearing at the burial of Abraham, and along with Isaac committing him to the tomb, Ge. xxv. 9, it may certainly be inferred, that Ishmael continued to occupy a still higher place in the regards of the father than those other sons, and got even a larger portion from his hand. The rapid rise also of Ishmael's family to power and influence is a further proof of the same; so that the scantiness of provisions furnished to Hagar and Ishmael may be more apparent than real, and the difficulties that beset them may have been such only as attend desert-life at the outset, before the proper haunts for refreshment and pasturage are known.

But however this may have been, Hagar with her son had very nearly perished for thirst, in their first wanderings through the wilderness of Judea. Hagar had even given up all for lost, and had caused her son to lie down under a shrub of the desert, while she herself withdrew to some distance, that she might be spared the pain of seeing him die. But she was again mercifully visited from above; the Lord saw the affliction, and opened her eyes to perceive a well in the neighbourhood, at the same time giving her a fresh assurance that her son should live and become the father of a great people. Such certainly proved to be the case; and the only further notice we have of Hagar in connection with it is, that she by and by went and took a wife for her son from Egypt. This did not augur well for the spiritual character of the future progeny; but it belongs rather to the history of Ishmael than of Hagar. So far as she herself is concerned, there is no appearance of her having ever become a true follower of Abraham, a child of faith in the sense that he and Sarah were; but as regards the more conspicuous and blameworthy actions of her life, it is meet to confess, that considering all the circumstances, she appears as one somewhat more sinned against than sinning—an object of pity more than of condemnation.

HAG'ARITES, or HAG'ARENES, a wandering Arab tribe, who seem to have had their usual haunts to the east of Jordan, near the territories of the covenant-people; for they are mentioned as having in the days of Saul come into collision with the tribe of Reuben, and fallen by their hand. They appear however to have, in some degree, recovered; for at a later period, probably in the time of Jehoshaphat, they are named along with the Moabites and various other Arabian tribes, among the enemies who entered into a formida-

ble conspiracy against Judah, Ps. lxxxiii. 6. Nothing further is heard or known of them. Some have supposed them to have derived their name from the mother of Ishmael; which is not very probable, considering that Ishmael was her only son, and that he was regarded as the real founder of the race that sprung from Abraham's connection with Hagar.

HAG'GAI [*festive*, from *hag*, a festival], one of the later minor prophets, and the first in order of the three who flourished after the return from Babylon. The short book of Haggai throws no light on the personal history of its writer; and authentic Jewish history is equally silent. Rabbinical tradition represents him as having been born in Babylon, and having joined the first band of exiles who, on the issue of the decree of Cyrus, B.C. 536, returned to their old possessions. It also asserts him to have been buried among the priests at Jerusalem, in which case he must have belonged to the family of Aaron. The traditionary accounts, so far, may be regarded as perfectly credible, though they cannot be pronounced certain; but further notices from the same source respecting Haggai deserve no particular notice.

The book of Haggai consists of four distinct prophetical addresses—two in the first, and two in the second chapter; and the dates of each are given with remarkable precision. The first address was delivered in the second year of Darius (*i.e.* B.C. 520), in the sixth month, and on the first day of the month, therefore on the feast of the new moon, ch. i. 1-11. The second, which was a mere assurance of the Lord's gracious presence and blessing, now that the people gave themselves to the Lord's work, was only twenty-four days later. The third belongs to the twenty-first day of the seventh month, ch. ii. 1-9; and the last, consisting of two parts, has for its date the twenty-fourth day of the ninth month. So that the whole prophetical agency of Haggai, so far as it has found a record in the book that bears his name, was limited to the short space of between three and four months. And it has respect throughout to one theme—the building of the second temple; although, with the comprehensive eye of the true prophet, it glances at various other points in the present and the future, which stood in a moral relation to the work more immediately in hand.

The time of Haggai's appearance as a prophet dates about sixteen years after the edict of Cyrus. The small remnant had returned to Jerusalem, and had also, with mingled feelings of joy and sadness, laid the foundation of the new temple, Ezr. iii. 10-13. But they were not permitted to proceed far with their undertaking till they began to experience the keen jealousy and bitter opposition of their neighbours, the Samaritans. Had Cyrus himself lived, the hinderances thus thrown in their way would have been easily overborne; but he lost his life not many years afterwards; and the unsettled state in which the affairs of the Persian empire continued during the periods of Cambyses and Smerdis the Magian, gave the adversaries of the Jews an advantage of which they did not fail to avail themselves. Accordingly, the work was first impeded in its progress, then absolutely arrested, until after the accession of Darius, when the administration of the empire began to assume a more settled and orderly form. And led through the Spirit to perceive that the time had now come for more determinate action in regard to the building of the Lord's house, the prophet Haggai came forth in the name of the Lord to stir up the people to the work. His first word, however, was one rather of reproof than of encouragement; it charges upon the people's lukewarmness and love of fleshly indulgence the cessation that had taken place in the work, and points to the manifest judgments of the Lord upon them as clear signs of his displeasure at their conduct, ch. i. 3-11. We are not from this to suppose that he attributed nothing to the envious opposition of the Samaritans, but merely that this of itself was not enough; that the people latterly had rather been taking excuse from it to prosecute their own interests, than absolutely hindered from minding God's, and had become quite content to let the walls of the Lord's house lie in their unfinished and forlorn state. For the external work, therefore, to which they were now called, there was needed a preparatory one of repentance and spiritual devotedness. To this Haggai first earnestly called them; and the moment he saw that the call had begun to be responded to, he cheered their hearts with the assurance that the Lord was with them, ch. i. 13.

But it was soon found that a depressed state of feeling hung upon the minds of the people, and greatly discouraged them in the prosecution of their work. The contrast in external appearance between the house they were now building, and the magnificent structure that had been reared by Solomon, disposed them—especially those of them who had seen the former one—to regard that which was now proceeding as comparatively poor and insignificant. And it was not merely the inferiority in outward glory which, in that case, would naturally trouble them, but the apparent failure of the divine predictions which had been uttered before or during the Babylonish exile, and which made promise even of a more glorious temple in the future than had existed in the past, Is. lx.; Eze. xl. seq. Could they, then, be really doing the Lord's work, while engaged in raising so inadequate a structure? Could the Lord himself actually be with them? Should they not rather wait for better times, when they might be able to set about the work in a worthier manner and with clearer evidences of the Lord's favour and protection? It was to meet this state of feeling, quite natural in the circumstances, that the next message of Haggai was addressed; it gave the builders of the Lord's house the special comfort which they needed, ch. ii. 1-9. They were not, he assured them, like men left to their own resources; the Lord was with them; "the word that I established with you when ye came out of Egypt, and my Spirit abode in the midst of you, Fear not" (so the words should be rendered). The meaning is, that the word the Lord spake to them when they came out of Egypt, and when his Spirit wrought so marvellously for their good, he repeated now; in both cases alike his message was, "Fear not," comp. Ex. xx. 20. Many changes, it is true, were to take place; all things in heaven and earth were to be shaken; but so far from interfering with that which constituted the real glory of their temple and nation, the things destined to take place would rather tend to promote it; for the world with its wealth and honour would yet come to pay homage to them, and *there*—in connection with that very house—would the Lord give peace and blessing to the world. The promise is a most comprehensive one; it stretches from the day of the prophet onwards through all coming time, but reaches its culmination in the establishment of the Messiah's king-

dom, and the voluntary surrender of the kingdoms of the earth to his power and authority. It does not speak directly of the person of Christ, as has been very commonly supposed from the mistranslation of ver. 7: "The desire of all nations shall come"—as if this pointed to the general and longing expectation of Messiah, which prevailed before his advent. There no doubt was a certain measure of that; but the passage cannot properly indicate it; for the word rendered *desire,* חֶמְדַּת (*chemdath*), really means *beauty,* and is here coupled with a verb in the plural, which clearly shows it to be used as a collective noun, equivalent to "the beautiful or glorious things" of the heathen. The passage is substantially parallel to Is. lx. 9–13, and tells of a coming exaltation of the divine kingdom (which had its centre in the temple and was represented by it) above all that had gone before (see Hengstenberg's Christology on the passage, also Moore's Haggai, Zechariah, and Malachi, p. 75).

The subject of this portion of Haggai's prophecy is resumed in the two last verses of his book, with a special reference to Zerubbabel, and for the purpose of showing, that little and despised as the ruling power in Judah was, yet because it was a power under the protection, and connected with the covenant-faithfulness, of Jehovah, a distinction should be made between it and the powers of the heathen. The former would be kept by God as a sort of signet-ring, an emblem of perpetual care and fidelity; while the others should be all shaken to their base, and ultimately overthrown.

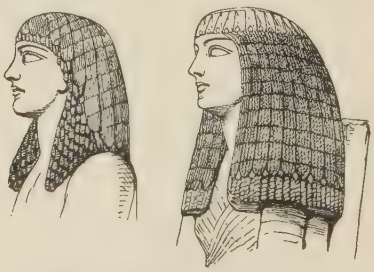
The message in ch. ii. 10–19 is to some extent a resumption of that contained in the first chapter. It warned the people that mere outward advantages and formal oblations could not secure for them the blessing of heaven; if their persons were not accepted, and their hearts were unfaithful to God, the flesh of holy offerings could impart no purity; everything they touched would be defiled; while, on the other hand, if themselves in a state of sincere and hearty surrender to the Lord's work, the blessing of the righteous man—"whatsoever he doeth shall prosper"—should become theirs.

There is nothing very remarkable in the style of Haggai. His addresses approach nearer to prose than most of the prophetical writings; and, speaking as he did to a people in depressed circumstances, and compassed about with fears and misgivings, he is particularly frequent in the use of the formula, "Thus saith the Lord." He sought thereby to recall them from human hopes and calculations to implicit confidence in the word and purpose of Jehovah. In a few sentences, where he points more distinctly to the better future, which he saw to be in prospect, his language rises to a higher strain, and in fervour and energy assumes somewhat of a poetic impress. But the passages are too brief to admit of being formed into a distinctive class.

HAGIO'GRAPHA [*sacred writings*], is a name sometimes applied to a portion of Scripture. It comprehends all the sacred writings of the Hebrew Bible, except those included in the Law and the Prophets. Among the Prophets, however, the rabbinical Jews class a number of the historical books—Joshua, Judges, the two books of Samuel, and the two of Kings. These were regarded as the productions of the earlier prophets, and the later ones were those of the prophets distinctively so called. So that the Hagiographa, according to this division, would consist of Job, Psalms, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, Canticles, Chronicles, Ezra, and Nehemiah; Esther and the book of Daniel were also assigned to it. But the division was so manifestly arbitrary, that it was never accepted as a proper one by the church. In the New Testament all the books of the Old Testament go by the name of the *writings* or *scriptures* (corresponding to the *ketubim* among the Jews), or the *sacred scriptures;* and a division so far is recognized in certain passages, that they are spoken of under the names of the law and the prophets; and once, "Moses, the Prophets, and the Psalms," Lu. xxiv. 44. (*See* SCRIPTURES.)

HAI, another form of what is more commonly written AI, Ge. xii. 8; xiii. 3. (*See* AI.)

HAIR. There is nothing, in which the usages of different countries, and even of the same country at one period as compared with another, have exhibited more variety and caprice, than in respect to the cultivation or neglect of the hair. Of the more ancient nations, the Egyptians appear to have been the most uniform in their habits regarding it, and, in some respects also, the most peculiar. We learn from Herodotus (ii. 36; iii. 12), that they let the hair of their head and beard grow only when they were in mourning, and that they shaved it at other times. Even in the case of young children they were wont to shave the head, leaving only a few locks on the front, sides, and back.



[315.] Egyptian manner of wearing the hair.
From statues of an officer of rank and his wife or sister, 19th dynasty. British Museum.

"So particular were they," says Wilkinson, "on this point, that to have neglected it was a subject of reproach and ridicule; and whenever they intended to convey the idea of a man of low condition, or a slovenly person, the artists represented him with a beard" (Ancient Egyptians, iii. p. 957). Slaves also, when brought from foreign countries, having beards on them at their arrival, "were obliged to conform to the cleanly habits of their masters; their beards and heads were shaved; and they adopted a close cap." This universal practice among the Egyptians explains the incidental notice in the life of Joseph, that before going in before Pharaoh he shaved himself, Ge. xli. 14; in most other places he would have combed his hair, and trimmed his beard, but on no account have shaved it. The practice was carried there to such a length, probably from the tendency of the climate to generate the fleas and other vermin which nestle in the hair; and hence also the priests, who were to be the highest embodiments of cleanliness, were wont to shave their whole bodies every third day (Herod. ii. 37). It is singular, however, and seems to indicate that notions of cleanliness did not alone regulate the practice, that the women still wore their natural hair, long and plaited, often reaching down in the form of strings to the bottom of the shoulder-blades. Many of the female mummies have

been found with the hair thus plaited, and in good preservation.

The precisely opposite practice, as regards men, would seem to have prevailed among the ancient Assyrians, and indeed among the Asiatics generally. In the Assyrian sculptures the hair always appears long, combed closely down upon the head, and shedding itself in a mass of curls on the shoulders. "The beard also was allowed to grow to its full length, and, descending low on the breast, was divided into two or three rows of curls. The moustache was also carefully trimmed and curled at the ends" (Layard's Nineveh, ii. p. 327). Herodotus likewise testifies that the Babylonians wore their hair long (i. 195). The very long hair, however, that appears in the figures on the monuments is supposed to have been partly false, a sort of head-dress to add to the effect of the natural hair.

[316.] Assyrian manner of wearing the hair.—From sculpture in Brit. Mus.

Among the ancient Greeks the general practice was to wear the hair long; hence the epithet so often occurring in Homer of "well-combed Greeks;" and the saying, which passed current among the people, that hair was the cheapest of ornaments. But the practice

[317.] Grecian manner of wearing the hair.—Hope's Costumes.

varied. While the Spartans in earlier times wore the hair long, and men as well as women were wont to have it tied in a knot over the crown of the head, at a later period they were accustomed to wear it short. Among the Athenians also it is understood the later practice varied somewhat from the earlier, though the information is less specific. The Romans passed through similar changes; in more ancient times the hair of the head and beard was allowed to grow; but about three centuries before the Christian era barbers began to be introduced, and men usually wore the hair short. Shaving also was customary; and a long beard was regarded as a mark of slovenliness. An instance even occurs of a man, M. Livius, who had been banished for a time, being ordered by the censors to have his beard shaved before he entered the senate (Liv. xxvii. 34). [See woodcut No. 201, under DIADEM, for further illustrations of ancient modes of wearing the hair.]

This later practice must have been quite general in the gospel age, so far as the head is concerned, among the countries which witnessed the labours of the apostle Paul; since in his first epistle to the Corinthians, he refers to it as an acknowledged and nearly universal fact. "Doth not even nature itself teach you," he asked, "that if a man have long hair, it is a shame to him? But if a woman have long hair, it is a glory to her; for her hair is given her for a covering," 1 Co. xi. 14, 15. The only person among the more ancient Israelites, who is expressly mentioned as having done in ordinary life what is here designated a shame, is Absalom; but the manner in which the sacred historian notices the extravagant regard he paid to the cultivation of his hair, not obscurely intimates that it was esteemed a piece of foppish effeminacy, 2 Sa. xiv. 26. Both in earlier and later times the common practice among them was to wear the hair short—a sort of medium between the extreme of shaven pates and lengthened tresses, Eze. xliv. 20. And this seems also to be what is meant by the order not to round the corners of their heads, nor mar or corrupt the corners of their beards, in Le. xix 27; not wholly to crop off the one, nor to shave the other, but to preserve both in moderation. But an exception was made in the case of the Nazarites, who, in connection with their particular vow, and as the special badge of their consecration, were bound to let their hair grow (*see* NAZARITE). This very exception, however, for a specific religious purpose, was an indirect proof of the contrary practice being generally followed; the long hair would otherwise have been no distinction. But while short hair upon the head was reckoned proper for a man, baldness was by no means relished—less so, perhaps, then than in western countries now, because of the general custom of wearing artificial coverings on the head, and perhaps also because of baldness being one of the symptoms of cutaneous disease, in particular of leprosy. Job is even represented as having shaved his head, to make himself bald, in the day of his calamity, ch. i. 20; probably more, however, as a symbol of desolation, than as an ordinary badge of mourning; for it is in that respect that baldness is commonly spoken of in Scripture, Is. iii. 24; xv. 2, &c. The call in Je. vii. 29 to cut off the hair—"Cut off thine hair, O Jerusalem, and cast it away; and take up a lamentation on high places"—is addressed to Jerusalem under the symbol of a woman, and indicates nothing as to the usual practice of men in times of trouble and distress. In *their* case, we may rather suppose, the custom would be to let the hair grow in the season of mourning and to neglect the person. But the practice would naturally differ with the occasion, and with the feelings of the individual.

HA'LAH, the name of a Median city or district, to which some of the captive Israelites were transported by the king of Assyria, when the ten tribes fell under the heathen power. Nothing certain is known of it; and a considerable diversity of opinion has prevailed among commentators as to the precise locality where it should be sought. From the passage in 2 Ki. xvii. 7, it would seem to have been somewhere on the river Gozan, or Kizzil-ozzan, as it is now generally called, and consequently beyond the bounds of Babylonia.

HA'LAK [*smooth*], the name given to the mountain which formed the southern extremity of Joshua's conquests, Jos. xi. 17; xii. 7. Instead of "the mount Halak," in the passages referred to, it might be read "the smooth mount," which goeth up to Seir. No mention occurs elsewhere of a mountain of this name.

HAL'LELU'JAH, the same as ALLELUJAH (which see).

HAM [*hot*], one of the three sons of Noah, from whom the earth after the deluge was peopled. He is first mentioned between the other two—Shem, Ham, and Japheth, Ge. v. 32. But afterwards he is expressly designated the younger son of Noah, Ge. ix. 24—the same word in the original that is applied to David among the sons of Jesse, 1 Sa. xvi. 11—which seems to imply that he was the youngest of the family, being the younger

relatively to the other two. He had four sons—Cush, Mizraim, Phut, and Canaan. The three first travelled southwards, and from them chiefly sprang the tribes that peopled the African continent, as Canaan became the father of the tribes that principally occupied the territory of Phœnicia and Palestine. (See under the several names.) Of Ham himself we know nothing excepting the unfortunate circumstance connected with his father's too free indulgence in wine, in respect to which he acted so unbecoming a part, and which is treated of elsewhere. (*See* NOAH and CANAAN.)

Ham is also used as a designation of Egypt, most likely on account of its population having sprung from a son of Ham, Ps. lxxviii. 51; cvi. 22; and the name Ammon, by which the chief god of the northern Africans was often called and worshipped, probably derives its origin from the same source. Plutarch, in his treatise *De Iside et Os.*, takes notice of this name of Egypt, writing it Χημία (in modern Coptic it is *Chêmi*), and says it was derived from a word signifying *black*, for which he finds a reason in the appearance of the country. We cannot place much dependence upon his etymology, as in this department the Greeks were extremely fanciful. But the fact of the ancient and general application of this name to Egypt is beyond dispute.

HA'MAN [etymology uncertain], a person of high rank in the kingdom of Persia, and for a time prime minister of the king who espoused Esther. The circumstances connected with the history of this remarkable and unhappy man have been noticed in the article on Esther; they form one of the most extraordinary examples on record of the unreasonable lengths to which a principle of personal ambition may carry one—the frightful crimes it may lead him to commit, in order to reach the end he aims at—and the overwhelming retribution in providence it may bring down upon his own head. He is called in Esther Haman the Agagite, which the Jews have from early times regarded as substantially one with Haman the Amalekite (Joseph. xi. 6). This, if it were certain, would afford a natural enough explanation of what otherwise looks like a species of insanity—the determination on the part of Haman to extinguish a whole race in revenge for the stiff and unyielding firmness of a single individual. The Amalekites were from early times among the most implacable enemies of the Jews, and had been all but extirpated by the superior might and warlike prowess of their rivals. One can readily suppose that a deep spirit of revenge would lurk in the bosoms of the scattered members of the Amalekite race which survived; and that any one of them, having what might seem a just occasion and a fit opportunity, would eagerly snatch at it to secure the long wished for triumph. It is quite possible also, that Haman may have belonged to this Amalekite race, and by some of those curious evolutions of fortune, which are not unusual in arbitrary states, where the greatest changes often turn on the whimsical freaks of a moment, may have been elevated to the highest place of power at the Persian court. The extreme jealousy he evinced in regard to the marks paid him of outward homage and respect, so far confirms this, that he appears to indicate a want of native nobility of rank; it bespeaks the temper of one who had sprung from comparatively low degree, and who could not afford to suffer any derogation from the customary forms of regard. Yet with so many things in favour of this supposition, one cannot hold it to be more than probable, if even probability is not too much to affirm respecting it. For there is no other passage in Old Testament scripture in which Agagite is put for Amalekite; and as there is reason to believe that the name Agag had much the same origin and use among the Amalekites that Pharaoh had among the Egyptians, and Abimelech among the Philistines (*see* AGAG), it would have been strange and unnatural for any of the Amalekite race to have turned it into a family designation. No doubt there are caprices in names as well as other things; and it is not impossible that a use not in itself natural or likely may have been made of this particular epithet. But in the circumstances it is not too much to say, that the fact of Haman's Amalekite descent is somewhat problematical; and if advanced at all, it should only be as an ancient opinion, which has certain probabilities on its side, and which, if true, would afford a ready explanation of some of the circumstances.

HA'MATH [*fortification, citadel*], an ancient city and province of Syria, in existence at the time of the conquest of Canaan, Nu. xiii. 21, and in later times of such importance that it is called "Hamath the Great," Am. vi. 2. The city was situated on the Orontes, at the northern extremity of the Lebanon range, about 76 miles north-east of Tripoli, and 81 south from Aleppo. Not Hamath itself, but rather the "entering in of Hamath," is often mentioned as the boundary on the north of the dominion of Israel, Nu. xxxiv. 8; Jos. xiii. 5, &c. There is some difference of opinion as to the point indicated by this expression. Robinson (Suppl. Res. p. 568) would place it on the western approach to Hamath, consequently farther off from Palestine than Hamath itself. But this seems improbable, and is not concurred in by Van de Velde, Stanley, and others. The entering in to Hamath is more naturally understood as given from the Palestinian point of view, therefore on the south of the land of Hamath, probably about Riblah (as Van de Velde thinks), a place about 30 miles beyond Baalbec, and a place where the two Lebanon ranges terminate, opening on the wide plain, which belonged to Hamath. This appears the remotest point to which the spies could possibly extend their personal inquiries, Nu. xiii. 21, and seems most naturally to accord with the general conditions of the geographical problem. In David's time Hamath appears to have formed the seat of an independent kingdom; for Toi the king of Hamath is mentioned among those who entered into friendly relations with David, 2 Sa. viii. 9, seq. In the age of Solomon it appears to have formed part of the extensive dominion of Israel, as he is spoken of as having built store-cities in it, 2 Ch. viii. 4; and long afterwards the second Jeroboam is said to have conquered it, 2 Ki. xiv. 28. Along with the whole of that part of Syria, it fell shortly afterwards under the sway of the king of Assyria, Is. xxxvii. 12, and then under that of the king of Babylon. After the period of the Alexandrian conquest it bore the name of Epiphania (Ἐπιφάνεια); but the old name has again supplanted this, and among the native population the latter probably never took root. Hamath has become one of the larger cities of the Turkish empire, and is supposed to contain about 30,000 inhabitants, of which 2500 belong to the Greek church. The modern town is "built in the narrow valley of the Orontes, and on both sides of the river, whose banks are fringed with poplars. Four bridges span the river; and a number of huge wheels, turned by the current, raise the water into aqueducts, which convey it to the houses and

mosques of the town. There are no antiquities in it. The mound on which the castle stood is in the midst of the town; but the castle itself, materials and all, has completely disappeared. The houses are built in the Damascus style, of sun-dried bricks and wood. Though plain and poor enough externally, some of them have splendid interiors. The city carries on a considerable trade with the Bedawîn" (Porter, in Murray's Handbook).

[318.] Hamath, Aqueduct and part of the town.—Laborde, Voyage en Orient.

HAM'MATH; the same word, with a different accentuation, appears as the name of a city belonging to the tribe of Naphtali, and apparently near the Sea of Galilee, Jos. xix. 35. It was probably the same with the HAMMOTH-DOR, a Levite city in the tribe of Naphtali, Jos. xxi. 32. But nothing particular is known respecting it.

HA'MOR [*he-ass*], the father of Shechem, and head of the Hivite tribe, that held possession of the fertile district of Shechem at the time of Jacob's return from Mesopotamia. Nothing is recorded of him personally, except the judicious and prudent part he took in endeavouring to avert the evil consequences of his son's rash and sinful behaviour in respect to Dinah, rendered unavailing by the still greater rashness and iniquity of Simeon and Levi, to which Hamor and many of his tribe fell victims. But the name of Hamor was long kept up in connection with the tribe, and generations afterwards was even used as a sort of watchword with the Hivite remnant, when rising in revolt against the dominant Israelites, Ju. ix. 28; Jos. xxiv. 32. In the reference made to the transaction by Stephen, the name is given in the Greek form, EMMOR, Ac. vii. 16.

HAMU'TAL [*relative of the dew*], the daughter of Jeremiah of Libnah, who became the wife of Josiah king of Judah, and mother of Jehoahaz and Zedekiah. If one may judge from the history of her sons, her character and influence were of a very different description from what her name might seem to import.

HAN'AMEEL [etymology unknown], the name of an uncle of the prophet Jeremiah. In token of the certainty with which a return from Babylon might be counted on, he is represented in one of the prophecies of Jeremiah, ch. xxxii. 6, seq., as coming to sell his inheritance to his nephew, who buys it, and pays the money according to the regular forms in such cases, in the assured confidence that he or his posterity should one day possess it. The transaction has sometimes been referred to as a proof that the original law, forbidding the alienation of the inheritance of the Levites, Le. xxv. 34, had by that time fallen into abeyance. The law, however seems to point to such an alienation as would transfer the property of a Levite to the family of one belonging to another tribe, not to the interchange of property between one Levite and another. But the transaction in the present case, though, like other things done in prophetical vision, described as an actual occurrence, seems to have taken place in the spiritual sphere alone; the whole chapter relates what came to Jeremiah by the word of the Lord; and that part which consists in action, as well as that which delivers a message in words, is most fitly understood of the spiritual agency of the prophet. The transaction therefore is not to be classed among the occurrences of every-day life. (*See* PROPHECY.)

HANA'NI [*favourable, gracious*]. 1. The name of one of the sons of Heman, and consequently one of the persons separated for the service of song in the temple, 1 Ch. xxv. 4. 2. A prophet who came before Asa, king of Judah, with a word of reproof and threatening, because of his having relied unduly on the king of Syria, for which the king improperly threw him into prison, 2 Ch. xvi. 7. 3. A brother of Nehemiah, who first brought him word of the depressed state of matters in Jerusalem, and afterwards took part with him in the charge and government of the city, Ne. i. 2; vii. 2.

HANANI'AH [*the gift* or *favour of Jehovah*]. 1. One of Heman's sons, and head of one of the twenty-four courses into which the singers were divided by David, 1 Ch. xxv. 4, 23. 2. A captain in the army of Uzziah, 2 Ch. xxvi. 11. 3. A prince in the time of Jeremiah, and father of a Zedekiah, Je. xxxvi. 12. 4. A false prophet from Gibeon, who also lived in the time of Jeremiah, and delivered counter-messages to those uttered by that prophet. He was denounced by Jeremiah as an impostor, and his judicial death predicted, Je. xxviii. 5. The original and proper name of one of the three Hebrew youths, who acted so noble a part at Babylon, better known by the Chaldean name of Shadrach, Da. i. 6. Many others bore the name, of whom nothing particular is known, Je. xxxvii. 13; 1 Ch. viii. 24; 1 Ch. iii. 19; Ezr. x. 28, Ne. xii. 12; vii. 5, &c.

HAND. With one exception, there is nothing very peculiar in the reference made to the hand in Scripture. Being the member of the body which is chiefly employed in doing active service, it is used in Scripture, as well as other writings, in a great variety of applications, founded upon and suggested by this natural employment: such as "the strength of his hand" for the possession of power generally, "the cunning or skill of the hand" for any natural accomplishment, "putting things into one's hand" for committing them to one's oversight and control, &c. The right hand being also, for the most part, the organ most used, and in consequence most skilled, in the execution of work, a variety of figurative applications quite naturally arise out of this fact, having respect to the right hand as the more, to the left as the less, honourable and efficient of the two; hence such expressions as "Let not thy left hand know what thy right hand doeth," "a wise man's heart

is at his right hand, but a fool's heart is at his left hand," "sitting at the right hand of power," "the man of thy right hand," &c. Such forms of expression are so common in all languages, and at all times, that they require no special explanation: nature itself furnishes a ready interpretation of them even to the most unlearned.

IMPOSITION OF THE HAND, or OF THE HANDS, however, forms a sort of exception to this general similarity; it may be regarded as a strictly scriptural usage—though it no doubt also had its foundation in nature, and may to some extent have been used in some of the nature-religions of antiquity. It occurs at a very early period in Scripture as a patriarchal usage, appropriate and becoming, perhaps, rather than strictly religious. Jacob laid his hands upon the heads of Joseph's children, when going to bestow upon them his peculiar blessing, Ge. xlviii. 14, precisely as in later times our Lord laid his hands on the little children when they were presented to him for *his* blessing, Mat. xix. 15. In like manner, and with a nearer approach to a religious service, Moses was instructed, before his departure, to lay his hand upon Joshua; and the reason of the action is at the same time given: "Take thee Joshua the son of Nun, a man in whom is the Spirit, and lay thine hand upon him. . . . . And thou shalt put some of thine honour upon him, that all the congregation of the children of Israel may be obedient," Nu. xxvii. 18-20. And so again, after the death of Moses, it is said, "And Joshua, the son of Nun, was full of the spirit of wisdom; for Moses had laid his hands upon him," De. xxxiv. 9. So that there was a conveyance in the matter of gifts from one who had to one who had not; and the laying on of the hand of him who imparted was the symbol of the conveyance—the hand being the usual instrument of communication from one to another in what pertains to giving and receiving. So also in regard to guilt; the people who heard the blasphemy of the son of the Israelitish woman in the wilderness had to lay their hands on his head—to signify that the guilt, which through him had been brought into the congregation, was solemnly transferred to him to whom it properly belonged. In this sense, undoubtedly, the action was used in the gospel age in connection with the bestowal of the supernatural gifts, or the miraculous effects of the Holy Spirit: the apostles laid their hands on sick folks, and healed them, Mat. ix. 18; Mar. vi. 5, &c., and at times also they laid their hands on the baptized, that they might receive the special gifts of the Spirit, Ac viii. 15-18; xix. 6. It was a quite natural extension of the same practice, to apply it to those who were set apart to sacred office in the church—the men already possessed of delegated power and authority in the church thereby proceeding, like Moses in respect to Joshua, to put some of their own honour upon those who were raised to a share in the same responsible and dignified position, Ac. xvii. 3; 1 Ti. iv. 14. Not that the mere act could confer it; but it was employed as a fit and appropriate symbol to denote their full and formal consent to the bestowal of the gift, and, being accompanied by prayer to Him, who alone could really bestow it, might ordinarily be regarded as a sign that the communication had actually taken place. On this account the action has been retained in most communions as a becoming service in the ordination of qualified persons to the ministry. And in those churches which retain confirmation as a distinct service, imposition of hands is also retained as an appropriate part of the service.

In Old Testament times the imposition of hands formed an essential part of the ritual of animal sacrifice. It is expressly mentioned in respect to all the kinds of offering by blood, Le i. 4; iii. 2; iv. 4-15; xvi. 21—with the exception alone of the trespass-offering; and it was doubtless omitted in regard to it on account of the affinity between it and the sin-offering, as it would be readily understood that the prescription on this point established for the one would equally apply to the other. The Jewish authorities held it as a fixed principle that "in all sacrifices, whether offered by express enactment, or of free-will, the offerer had to lay his hands on the victim while still alive, with the exception only of the first-fruits, tithes, and the paschal lamb" (Maim. Hilc. Korbanoth, 3) It was the formal act, by which the offerer identified himself with his victim, transferring, as it were, from himself to the victim the qualities or feelings in which that victim was to represent him, and be his substitute on the altar of God. In respect to the one great annual sin-offering it is thus explained, "Aaron shall lay both his hands upon the head of the live-goat, and confess over him all the iniquities of the children of Israel, and all their transgressions in all their sins, *putting them upon the head of the goat*," Le. xvi. 21. Here plainly the one thing conveyed by the hands of the offering high-priest to the goat was the collective guilt of the people—that guilt, however, as already atoned for by the slain goat, the other part of the offering, and now to be borne away into everlasting forgetfulness by the live goat, as graciously forgiven by God. In all sin and trespass offerings, which expressly brought to remembrance the transgressions of the offerer, and had for their object the atonement of his guilt, this guilt was undoubtedly the thing transferred by the action of the laying on of hands; it was the sad burden of the worshipper, which he sought to have removed from himself, and laid upon the victim, which by divine appointment was to bear for him its appointed doom. And in all offerings of blood there must have been something of this transference of guilt; for the blood, which bore in it the life of the animal, had in every case this significance; it was given to make atonement for sin; and in all approaches to God the worshipper could only come with acceptance, if he came with confession of sin, and relying on the presentation of sacrificial blood as the appointed medium of forgiveness. But in the burnt-offerings, and in the peace or thank offerings, as there were other feelings expressed on the part of the worshipper, so there were other things symbolically transferred to his victim by the imposition of hands, according to the nature of the sacrifice presented, and the occasion that called it forth. In every case the rite is to be viewed as retaining its native import, as the act of a symbolical transference of that in the offerer, for which he brought his victim, and in respect to which he wished it to be taken as his representative before God.

HA'NES, a city of middle Egypt, situated on an island, on the west of the Nile. It is commonly understood to be the place called by the Greeks Heracleopolis, and is said to have been formerly a royal city. It is mentioned only in Is. xxx. 4.

HANGING was a judicial form of treatment practised from early times among the Jews, but not explicitly enjoined. In the first notice that occurs of it, the only

notice taken of it in the law, it is introduced rather for the purpose of setting a limit to the term of suspension, than appointing it as a mode of execution. "If a man have committed a sin worthy of death, and he be to be put to death, and thou hang him on a tree, his body shall not remain all night upon the tree, but thou shalt in any wise bury him that day;" and this for the special reason, "that the land might not be defiled," De. xxi. 22, 23. The restriction manifestly has respect to the treatment of the dead, rather than the punishment of the living; as the touch of the dead defiled, and a special defilement could not but be regarded as attaching to the dead body of a criminal, hung up before heaven and earth as an accursed thing; so, if exposed thus at all it should be but for a brief space; the polluting spectacle should be removed and buried out of sight before the close of day. And this renders it probable that death was actually inflicted before the hanging took place; as in the passage quoted above, the "putting to death" seems to go before the "hanging on a tree;" and in the case of the kings who were vanquished by Joshua, and brought forth for execution from the cave in which they had taken refuge, it is said that Joshua first smote and slew them, and then hanged them on a tree till even, Jos. x. 26. Such seems to have been always the case when hanging was resorted to; death by the sword, or by stoning, was first inflicted, and as a mark of public reprobation the corpse, in certain cases, was exposed to open shame and ignominy, precisely as, in later times, it was the custom for state criminals to be first beheaded, then quartered, and the several quarters sent to different places for public exposure. In the accompanying woodcut, from the Assyrian sculptures, it will be observed, that the persons are in a position which bespeaks their death to have taken place before the suspension, and so confirms what has been said as to the usual practice in ancient times.

[319.] Hanging.—Assyrian sculptures, British Museum.

HANGING, or HANGINGS, is also very commonly used in the English Bible for curtains or coverings of the tabernacle, Ex. xxvi. 36, &c. It is proper to note, however, that two words are used in the original for what in the English Bible is called *hanging* and *hangings*. The hanging or curtain for the door of the tabernacle, also for the door of the outer court, is simply the covering—what conceals or hides from public view—מָסָךְ, *masak* (from the root *to cover*). But the hangings or curtains which surrounded and inclosed the court of the tabernacle are denoted by a word of uncertain etymology in this sense, and used only in the plural—קְלָעִים, *kelaim*. The sense is so plain, that we are fortunately not dependent on the etymology for understanding it. A different word from both of these denotes the veil which separated the holy from the most holy place. (*See* TABERNACLE.)

HAN'NAH [*grace, favour*], an honoured name in the roll of Israelitish female worthies, the name of one who in the highest and happiest sense was a mother in Israel. Hannah was unfortunately not the only, though she was the favourite, wife of Elkanah, a Levite of Ramathaim-zophim; and at her first entrance on the stage of sacred history, she appears as an object of pity, much more than of congratulation—a victim of the evils of polygamy. Peninnah, her rival in the household, though she shared less of the affection of the husband, had the marked advantage of being a mother of children, and ungenerously used it by taunting Hannah with her barrenness. To such a height did this bitter provocation grow, that Hannah lost all pleasure even in the festive solemnities which the family went yearly to hold before the Lord; instead of rejoicing on such occasions, she wept, and would not be comforted. This, of course, she might have done without any principle of grace, or feeling of genuine devotion. The vexation might have begun and ended with the frettings of disappointed ambition or wounded pride. But the current of grief in her bosom took a loftier direction. It drove Hannah to close and earnest dealing with God; and giving vent on one occasion to the desires and feelings which animated her bosom, she prayed before the tabernacle in so excited a manner that Eli took her for a person under the influence of drink, and addressed her in the language of reproof. This, however, he turned into a blessing, when he heard from her own lips how the matter really stood. But it is not merely the fact that Hannah prayed, and, as she said, "poured out her soul before the Lord," which indicates the depth and earnestness of Hannah's piety; it is rather the scope and object of her prayer. "She vowed a vow, and said, O Lord of hosts, if thou wilt indeed look on the affliction of thine handmaid, and remember me, and not forget thine handmaid, but wilt give unto thine handmaid a man child, then I will give him unto the Lord all the days of his life, and there shall no razor come upon his head," 1 Sa. i. 11. That is, she would devote him to the Lord's service, and from his very birth-place him under the restraints and obligations of the Nazarite vow. Hannah not only wished to be a mother of children, but sought the honour of giving birth to a seed, though it should be but a single individual, who might be a chosen vessel in the Lord's hands for reviving his cause, and advancing the interests of righteousness. This she could hardly have done in so peculiar a manner, namely, by destining her child from his birth to the fulfilment of the Nazarite vow, without having previously had much at heart the existing state of religion, and perceiving the need of some extraordinary instrument to turn again the prevailing tide of evil. The directions laid down in the law respecting the Nazarite vow proceed on the supposition of its being of a free-will nature. It was in all ordinary circumstances to be left to the promptings of the religious impulse in any individual, whether he would undertake it, or for what length of time he would impose it on himself; and only a peculiar and disorganized state of things could have justified the destination of any one to it as the perpetual rule of his life. There had been such a state of things some time prior to the period of Hannah's life, when an angel from heaven gave promise to the wife of Manoah (hitherto also without offspring) of a child who from his birth should be placed under the Nazarite

ordinance, as one destined to peculiar service for heaven; and the destination had its accomplishment in the singular, but somewhat erratic and mournful, career of Samson. There can be little doubt, that the history of that remarkable man—which was still fresh in the recollections of all, and of the close of which many still living had been eye-witnesses—had made a deep impression on the mind of Hannah; and probably from a conviction that the work for which he had been raised up was but partly accomplished—that his mission had in great part failed, and failed much because he had received so little of sympathy and support from the people—Hannah sought from the Lord another Nazarite who might resume the work; and from his official connection with the house of God, might even prosecute it in a higher and more hopeful manner.

Such appears to have been the spirit that animated this pious woman, and the objects on which she had set her heart. We need not, therefore, be surprised that the Lord heard her petition, and gave her the means of performing her vow. In due time a son was born, whom she named Samuel (*asked of God*), in perpetual remembrance of the manner in which she had obtained him; and in further acknowledgment of the same, and in pious celebration of the feelings and principles evoked by the occasion, when she returned to the tabernacle, bringing with her the child she had received, and now gave back to the Lord, she poured forth her heart in that song of thanksgiving of which the people of God have served themselves on many an occasion of joyfulness; and of which we hear, in a manner, the prolonged echoes in that corresponding strain of thanksgiving which was uttered by the Virgin Mary in anticipation of the birth of Jesus. Hannah's song was such an effusion as could only have come from one who had a right to regard herself as a sign and wonder to Israel—one, in whose condition and prospects were supernaturally exhibited the great principles of the divine government, which it was the part of God's administration to be ever unfolding, but which were to have their grandest development in the history and kingdom of Christ. She sees these principles—the principles especially of favour, blessing, and prosperity to the humbly pious; of rejection, opposition, and discomfiture to the ungodly proud—not only most strikingly exemplified in her own case, but like a sacred thread running through the history of God's dispensations, and at last rising to their final triumph in the full and glorious establishment of Messiah's kingdom: "The adversaries of the Lord shall be broken to pieces; out of heaven shall he thunder upon them; the Lord shall judge the ends of the earth; and he shall give strength unto his king, and exalt the horn of his Anointed (Messiah)."

It was, of course, the Spirit of the Lord which enabled Hannah to take such a comprehensive view of things, and speak in a tone so lofty and authoritative from the present to the future. She spoke as the Spirit gave her utterance—a prophetess in word, as in the circumstances of her condition she was a type and witness to Israel. Both in speech and in action she became the beginning and the herald of a new phase of the divine kingdom. She stood at the threshold of a general revival, of which her Nazarite son became the leader, and which was afterwards carried forward by David and his fellow-workers—a revival which in its immediate results raised Israel to the highest pinnacle they were destined to reach under the old covenant, and in its remoter and higher issues, found its culmination in the work and kingdom of Christ. Such was the long and glorious train of good that sprung from the humble prayer and piety of Hannah; and through which she, though dead, still speaks to the believing people of God; and speaks especially to persons in lowly rank and with straitened opportunities, who, if but strong in faith like her, and fervent in spirit, may help forward, or even originate, movements which shall diffuse blessings that extend to other ages than their own

HAN'UN [*gracious*], occurs as a Jewish proper name, but of persons respecting whom little is known, Ne. iii. 13, 30. It is chiefly thought of as the name of an Ammonite king, who insulted the messengers of David, and provoked a war which ended in the almost total annihilation of the Ammonites as a separate people. David, with all apparent sincerity and good feeling, sent, on the death of Nahash, the father of Hanun, an embassy of condolence, specially on the ground that he had himself been kindly dealt with in his distress by Nahash. But David was now viewed as a formidable rival to the Ammonite power, and his messengers were looked upon as spies; so that, instead of being received with respect, they were sent back with their garments cut away from the middle, and their beards half shaved. This insult was resented by David and his people; and though the war which ensued proved long, and in some respects humiliating to Israel, it ended in the complete subjugation of the Ammonite power, 2 Sa. x. xi.

HA'RA [*mountainous*], the name of a place or region, probably a mountainous region in the Assyrian empire, to which portions of the ten tribes were carried, 1 Ch. v. 26. The name nearly corresponds with the ancient Grecian name of Media, which was Aria; and the people were called Arii. But in Scripture itself the name occurs but once, and without any definite landmarks.

HA'RAN [*mountaineer*], a brother of Abraham, and father of Lot, Milcah, and Iscah, Ge. xi. 27, 29; of whom nothing more is known.

HAR'AN, but more properly CHARAN [Gr. Χαρράν, Latin CHARRÆ], was a place and district of Mesopotamia, at which for a certain time Abraham settled along with his father Terah; where also Terah died, Ge. xi. 31, 32. In future times it rose to some importance as a place of merchandise and strength; and is hence specially mentioned among the conquests of the king of Assyria, 2 Ki. xvi. 12; as also among the places with which Tyre carried on her extensive traffic, Eze. xxvii. 23 It seems afterwards to have sunk into decay, and has shared the fate of most ancient cities in that region.

HARE [ארנבת, *arnebeth*]. No doubt exists as to the propriety of this identification. The LXX. render the Hebrew by δασύπους, "the hairy foot," the significant term by which the Greeks designated the hare; and the modern Arabs still call the animal by the name *arneb*.

The word occurs only in the enumeration of animals clean and unclean, Le. xi.; De. xiv.; and the hare is classed in the latter category, "because he cheweth the cud, but divideth not the hoof." This character of dividing the hoof had been already more particularly defined in ver. 3; "whatsoever parteth the hoof and is cloven-footed;" and this, with the chewing of the cud, indicates the modern order *Ruminantia*. The hare has indeed a divided foot, but not a cloven hoof, and there-

fore is lacking in one essential character of ceremonial cleanness. The other attribute of chewing the cud does not belong to it either, in the sense in which it is possessed by a true ruminant; there is no regurgitation of food already swallowed for the purpose of a more complete mastication; and there is no division of the stomach

[320.] Egyptian carrying hares.—Painting from a tomb at Thebes, now in British Museum.

into compartments, a structure which invariably accompanies the habit of rumination.

Yet modern science, which has established this, cannot be allowed to have convicted the inspired legislator of mistake. It is obvious that the hare does in repose chew over and over the food which it has some time taken; and this action has always been popularly considered a chewing of the cud. Even our poet Cowper, a careful noticer of natural phenomena, who has recorded his observations on the three hares which he had domesticated, affirms that they "chewed the cud all day till evening." The cheeks of the *Rodentia* are for the most part capable of forming pouches for the retention of food, in a greater or less degree; the hare and the rabbit, though not possessing this peculiarity to the same extent as some other genera of the order, yet retain the cropped food within the hollows of the cheeks, and masticate it at leisure; so that the operation is a real re-chewing.

It is observable that many of the oriental nations consider the hare's flesh as unwholesome; and it has been prohibited by some, as our British ancestors, who regarded not the authority of the law of Moses. The Mahometan doctors have pronounced it abominable, though so far from being forbidden in the Koran, its use may be justified by the example of the Prophet himself. Notwithstanding this, however, the Arabs, the Kurds, the Eelauts of Persia, and other semi-barbarous Moslem tribes, eat it with avidity, though the meat is flabby and insipid. Russell thus describes the manner in which it is cooked by the Bedouins:—"A hole dug in the ground is furnished with such dry brushwood as the desert affords, and upon this, when thoroughly kindled, the hare is laid without any preparation, or even removing the flue or entrails. When the fire has ceased blazing, the earth that had been dug and laid round the edges, being now thoroughly heated, is raked over the hare, which is thus left covered up until sufficiently roasted. Its own gravy with a little salt composes the sauce, and the dish is said by those who have eaten it to be excellent."

The common hare of Palestine is a different species from any of those proper to Europe. It is of about the same size as our hare, with the fur buff-coloured or yellowish-gray. There is also a second species, abundant in the desert, smaller and darker in hue. The former of these is the *Lepus syriacus* of zoologists; the latter the *L. sinaiticus*. One of them is frequently depicted in the paintings of the ancient Egyptians; they coursed it with greyhounds as we do, and sometimes captured it alive and kept it in cages. [P. H. G.]

HA'RETH, FOREST OF, one of David's haunts, 1 Sa. xxii. 5, but quite unknown as to its precise locality, further than that it was in the land of Judah.

HARLOT. This word and another, "whore," seem to be used indiscriminately by our translators to denote a woman who leads a licentious life. The object of such a person is usually mercenary, Eze. xvi. 33, 34; and this is implied in the etymology of the word "whore," as well as of the word *πόρνη*, which with its connected terms is used in the original Greek. The noun commonly rendered "fornication" must, however, be taken, occasionally at least, in a wider sense, as including any act of licentiousness, in the married as well as in the unmarried, and this even though it should not be carried out into a habit of life. Thus in Matthew v. 32, "I say unto you, that whosoever shall put away his wife, saving for the cause of fornication, causeth her to commit adultery." At other times it is restricted to its proper meaning, as distinguished from adultery, He. xiii. 4; and so in several catalogues of sins.

In Hebrew the word which occurs much most generally in the Old Testament is זָנָה (*zonah*)—a term in its very nature thoroughly comprehensive; for it is the feminine participle of the verb which is in common use to express licentious acting on the part of either men or women, married or unmarried; as indeed it is used to describe the misconduct of a person occupying the unsatisfactory position of a concubine or secondary wife, Ju. xix. 2. In the book of Proverbs, whose treatment of practical, moral, and religious topics leads to frequent mention of licentiousness, besides occasional expressions, there are two other descriptive words which are so much used, that they may be regarded as appropriated to become equivalent to *zonah*—namely, זָרָה (*zarah*) and נָכְרִיָּה (*nocrīyah*), very well translated "stranger," or "strange woman." There is, however, some difference of opinion as to the circumstances in which such a name was given to harlots. The simplest account seems to be, that it refers to a man leaving his own rightful wife for another, who ought to be strange to him. "Let them be only thine own, and not strangers with thee. Let thy fountain be blessed, and rejoice with the wife of thy youth. . . . . And why wilt thou, my son, be ravished with a strange woman, and embrace the bosom of a stranger?" Pr. v. 17, 18, 20. Yet a different explanation has been sought in the fact, that the law of God in the seventh commandment forbade everything unchaste, of course the act of fornication, and emphatically the habit of it as a livelihood. But as this evil is sure to appear wherever fallen human nature is left to work its will in society, and as advancing civilization, and the growth of large centres of manufacture and commerce have commonly developed and fostered it, it is likely enough that the earliest and most frequent offenders were "strange women," in the sense of foreigners, like the Midianite women in

the days of Moses, Nu. xxv. Certainly *nocrīyah* is used many a time of a woman from a foreign country taken in marriage—a sin on the part of the Israelite man who married her, but not in any sense an immoral act on the part of the woman. (See the case of Solomon, 1 Ki. xi. 1, 8; and often in Ezr. ix., Ne. xiii.). There are cases in which there may be difficulty in determining the import of the phrase; but our translators have certainly gone too far, when after rightly relating that Jephthah's mother was a harlot, Ju. xi. 1, they make his brothers justify their act of disinheriting him by saying, "for thou art the son of a *strange woman*." The words assert no more than that he was the son of "another woman," or "another wife," as they are translated, 1 Ch. ii. 26. Josephus, indeed, steers a sort of middle course; says nothing of her bad character, but calls Jephthah a foreigner in reference to his mother, (Antiq. v. 7, 8). But we do not know the reason of his making the one assertion, more than of his withholding the other.

Another word, however, occurs in the Hebrew of the Old Testament, which had better have been kept more carefully apart than it has been by our translators, קְדֵשָׁה (*q'dheshah*), which occurs in three passages—Ge xxxviii. 21, 22; De. xxiii. 17; Hos. iv. 14. This is the feminine of the adjective *qadhesh*, also occurring repeatedly, De. xxiii. 17; 1 Ki. xiv. 24; xv. 12; xxii 46; 2 Ki. xxiii. 7; Job xxxvi. 14: and the word means "set apart to a sacred purpose," according to the infamous rites in use among the votaries of certain deities worshipped in Canaan and neighbouring countries. Allusion has already been made to this licentious worship of Baal-Peor by the Midianites. The passages just quoted from the books of Kings show with what difficulty it was kept down in the little kingdom of Judah, after the melancholy disruption of the people; and there is no reason to doubt that matters were worse in the kingdom of the ten tribes, on account of their weaker hold of the religion of their forefathers, and their mingling readily with heathenism. The same horrible mingling of vice with a worship of their gods, seems to have been set up among the Samaritan colonists who took the place of the ten tribes. At least, this is the commonest and simplest way of interpreting 2 Ki. xvii. 30, that "the men of Babylon made Succoth-benoth;" that is, booths of or for daughters. And the meaning is not essentially altered, if this be taken to be the name of an idol; for it would be a name taken from the worship. Herodotus (i. 199) informs us of one abominable form of this worship at Babylon. (See also in the Apocrypha, Baruch vi. 43.)

The law of Moses, De. xxiii. 18, follows up the prohibition of sacred harlots by another—"Thou shalt not bring the hire of a whore . . . . into the house of the Lord thy God for any vow:" forbidding any attempt to hallow a part of a common harlot's gains. Again, it is said, Le. xix. 29, "Do not prostitute," or rather, as in the margin, "profane thy daughter, to cause her to be a whore, lest the land fall to whoredom, and the land become full of wickedness." The law was enforced by a special sanction in the aggravated case of a priest's daughter: "if she profane herself by playing the whore, she profaneth her father; she shall be burnt with fire," Le. xxi 9. This was the very punishment which Judah assigned to his daughter-in-law, when she had gone astray, Ge. xxxviii. 24. Two Greek Jewish writers of the apostolic age go further in their account of the laws of Moses on this subject, but without any ground in the Bible, or anywhere else, so far as the learned Selden knew (Uxor Hebraica, i. 11; iii. 12); Josephus, who makes marriage forbidden to a harlot (Antiq. iv. 8, 23); and Philo, who says that all whoredom was punished with stoning. It is perhaps not safe even to infer that the sons of harlots were disinherited, on account of the case of Jephthah. (See above.)

That the laws against whoredom and harlots were not fully carried out need occasion no surprise. In Solomon's days we read of two such women, who lived together, coming before him with a case for judgment, 1 Ki iii. 16-28; and the commonness of the evil is indicated by his descriptions in the book of Proverbs. In later times the degeneracy was probably greater, as has been already stated in reference to the sacred harlots. We read, Mi. i. 7, of fearful judgments upon Samaria, "for she gathered it of the hire of a harlot, and they shall return to the hire of a harlot." So it is said of king Jehoram in Judah, 2 Ch. xxi. 11, 13, that "he made high places in the mountains of Judah, and caused the inhabitants of Jerusalem to commit fornication, and compelled Judah thereto," causing them "to go a whoring, like to the whoredoms of the house of Ahab." There might be something urged in these passages for the view that it was spiritual whoredom; and there is absolute certainty that the spiritual and the natural were often combined, as in Ho. iv. 10-14. But we should not make this the origin of the frequent expression, going a whoring after other gods, and the like, which are found in the law of Moses, Ex. xxxiv. 15, 16; Le. xx. 5; De. xxxi, 16; which is taken up in the Psalms, lxxiii. 27, and often in the writings of the Prophets; and which is resumed in the New Testament, especially in the symbolic language of the book of Revelation. It is rather the counterpart of the doctrine that the Lord and his church are bound together by the tie of marriage, which is sometimes represented as actually present, and sometimes as future, but already made certain by espousals. Unfaithfulness in the duties which this relation involves is therefore naturally represented by the words which express the same unfaithfulness in the earthly relation.

"The attire of a harlot," Pr. vii. 10, is not an expression which proves that this class of persons had a particular dress assigned to them: it may indicate nothing more than that her style of dress was wanting in modesty. Neither is it safe to connect the wearing of a vail to cover the face with this way of living, on account of what is said of Tamar, Ge. xxxviii. 14, 15. [G. C. M. D.]

HARNESS in its older meaning signified armour, and in that sense is used in the only passage in which it occurs in the English Bible, 2 Ki. xx. 11. But it is there inserted by the translators to make the sense more explicit; and there is nothing corresponding to it in the original.

HA'ROD [*fear, terror*], the name of a spring and stream in the valley of Jezreel, beside which Gideon's army pitched, Ju vii. 1. Nothing further is known of it, nor is it certain where precisely the fountain lay.

HARO'SHETH, with the additional epithet OF THE GENTILES, is mentioned only in connection with Sisera, the captain of the host of Jabin, king of Canaan, Ju. iv. 2, 13, 16. It must have been some town on the northern limits of the land of Canaan, and called Harosheth of the Gentiles, much as Galilee was afterwards called

Galilee of the Gentiles, because situated on the border territory, and having a certain intermingling of the Gentile races in its population. It is never mentioned in the later history. (*See* JABIN, SISERA.)

HARP. *See* MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS.

HARROW. *See* AGRICULTURE.

HART [אַיָּל, *ayâl;* HIND, אַיָּלָה, *ayâlâh*, אַיֶּלֶת, *ayeleth*]. With the exception of one or two places of different construction, the LXX. render the whole of the passages in which the above words occur by ἔλαφος; thus agreeing with our English translators. It is scarcely necessary to remark that *hart* is the old English name for the male of the red-deer or stag (*Cervus elaphus*), and *hind* is the female. The allusions in the sacred Word afford us some help in identifying if not the species, at least the genus intended. A wild quadruped, of the ruminant order, with palatable flesh, 1 Ki. iv. 23; et passim; swift and graceful in motion, Ca. ii. 9, addicted to leaping, Is. xxxv. 6, resorting to mountains, Ca. viii. 14, and to the level pastures, ch. iii. 5, sure-footed, 2 Sa. xxii. 34; Hab. iii. 19, bringing forth its young in secret or inaccessible places, Job xxxix. 1, proverbially impatient of drought, Ps. xlii. 1; Je. xiv. 5; La. i. 6, monogamous and constant in affection, Pr. v. 19; such a creature is indicated by the Hebrew words; and there can be but two families, the *Capradæ* or antelopes, and the *Cervidæ* or deer, in which we may search for it. Though most of the characters just enumerated are common to both families, yet there are some which indicate a deer rather than an antelope, especially the last-named, if we rightly understand the allusion to include not only the *loveliness* of the female in the estimation of the male, but also and principally her *singleness*—that she is *one* and not *many*. This would exclude the *Capradæ*, all of which we believe are polygamous; whereas the stag (and perhaps all the deer tribe) is strictly monogamous. Col. Hamilton Smith, whose authority on such a subject is very high, decides in favour of the stag. In opposition to the opinion of Sir Gardner Wilkinson, that a species of oryx is intended, he remarks that "an Ethiopian species could not well be meant where the clean animals fit for the food of Hebrews are indicated, nor where allusion is made to suffering from thirst, and to high and rocky places as the refuge of females, or of both, since all the species of oryx inhabit the open plains, and are not remarkable for their desire of drinking; nor can either of these propensities be properly ascribed to the true antelopes or gazellæ of Arabia and Syria, all being residents of the plain and the desert; like the oryges, often seen at immense distances from water, and unwilling to venture into forests, where their velocity of flight and delicacy of structure impede and destroy them. Taking the older interpretation, and reviewing all the texts where hart and hind are mentioned, we find none where these objections truly apply. Animals of the stag kind prefer the security of forests, are always most robust in rocky mountain covers, and seek water with considerable anxiety; for of all the light-footed ruminants, they alone protrude the tongue when hard pressed in the chase. Now, comparing these qualities with several texts, we find them perfectly appropriate to the species of these genera (those of the *Cervidæ*) alone" (Cycl. Bibl. Lit. art. "Ail").

It has been assumed that no species of deer inhabits Egypt, Arabia, or Syria, and that therefore we are precluded from this identification. But even if this were proved, it by no means follows that the like privation existed in ancient times; for how could we have known, in the absence of testimony to the fact, that wolves and bears once inhabited England, and lions Greece? Now decisive testimony is extant that some kind of deer was one of the beasts of chase among the ancient Egyptians, for it is depicted in their hunting scenes, though not commonly. Again, both the stag and the fallow-deer appear on the slabs recently exhumed from the ruins of Nineveh.

It is not correct, however, to say that no species of *Cervus* is found at this day in North Africa or Southwestern Asia. A true stag (*Cervus barbarus*) is spread over the whole Mediterranean region of Africa, from Morocco to the Red Sea. Sir Gardner Wilkinson was informed that it is found in the neighbourhood of the Natron lakes west of the Nile; and Col. H. Smith mentions, on the authority of a friend—an eye-witness—that it has been seen in the desert east of the Dead Sea, on the route from Cairo to Damascus. This of course is conclusive; but it may be added that a deer—doubtless this same species—is well known to the Arabs by the name of *ijial* (conf. אַיָּל), and that it is asserted by them to feed on fish. The common European stag has been abundant from the most ancient times in Greece, and appears to be spread over the Taurus and Caucasus ranges. Ainsworth mentions it in the Tigris valley, together with the fallow-deer; and Hasselquist—too good a naturalist to be easily mistaken—asserts that he saw this latter in the woods of Mount Tabor. Col. H. Smith, however, considers the stag of the Caucasus to be a distinct species; the maral of the Tartars, and the gewazen of the Armenians, a race of superior size to ours, with a copious mane, and wanting the bisantler, or second branch of the horn. "We believe this species," he adds, "to be the soëgur of Asiatic Turkey, and mara of the Arabs, and therefore residing on the borders of the mountain forests of Syria and Palestine. One or both of these species [viz. this and the Barbary stag] were dedicated to the local *bona dea* on Mount Libanus—a presumptive proof that deer were found in the vicinity" (Cycl. Bibl. Lit. art. "Ail").

Some of the scriptural allusions to this animal we may further consider. The security of the hind's footing in lofty and craggy places is used to express the believer's safety in trial, and especially in that peculiar spiritual danger which springs out of conspicuous exaltation. In that elegant psalm, which a master in criticism has pronounced one of the most beautiful specimens of Hebrew elegy, David's longing after restored communion with God in his appointed ordinances, during his persecution by Saul, is compared to the panting of the thirsty hart for the water-brooks. The grace and beauty of the young hart (literally "the fawn of harts"), and the swiftness of its motion, are attributes which the church in the Song of Songs uses to express her admiration of her divine Bridegroom and her longing for his speedy return.

The phrase אַיֶּלֶת הַשַּׁחַר, *aijeleth hashachar*, which occurs in the title of Ps. xxii., literally signifies "the hind of the morning," as rendered in the margin of our English version. Much uncertainty has been expressed as to what may be the purport of such a phrase, and its connection with this psalm. When we consider the

prophetic character of this utterance of David—that it presents the blessed Lord Jesus in his deepest darkness, under the wrath of God, surrounded on every side by devils and men animated with bitter hatred—like the hunted deer in the toils—and that this darkness and distress suddenly, ver. 22, et seq., break into light and joy—the morning of resurrection flashing upon the night of the cross—we think there cannot be much ground for doubting the application of the allusion. Like the patriarch Joseph, a type of Himself—"the archers sorely grieved him, and shot at him, and hated him." He was, as Cowper says,

> "One, who had himself
> Been hurt by th' archers. In his side he bore,
> And in his hands and feet the cruel scars."
> —*Task*, book iii. [P. H. G.]

HARVEST. *See* AGRICULTURE.

HASHABI'AH [*regarded by Jehovah*], a very frequent name among the Levites, although none bearing it came to be of note, 1 Ch. vi. 45; ix. 14; xxvii. 17; Ezr. viii. 19; Ne. x. 11, &c.

HA'ÛRAN [*the caverned*], Greek Αὐρανῖτις, a tract of country to the east of Jordan, stretching from the neighbourhood of Damascus southward as far as the Jabbok. It is mentioned only in Eze. xlvii. 16, 18, as a border-territory, in connection with Damascus on the one hand and Gilead on the other. It is supposed to have been greatly enlarged under the Romans, so as to include a much more extensive district than originally bore the name. It is now, and from ancient times has been, divided into three provinces, one only of which, and that by much the best, was probably the Haûran of Ezekiel. This is called En-nukrah, the Plain, an extensive level tract, stretching through the whole length of the entire district, and possessing a peculiarly rich and fertile soil. It still is the granary of Damascus, notwithstanding that hordes of wandering Arabs are ever and anon scouring it, and cultivation is in a most backward state. "The Haûran," says Lord Lindsey, "is an immense plain, very rich and fertile, sometimes slightly undulating, sometimes flat as a pancake, with here and there (if you will excuse another culinary simile) low rounded hills, like dumplings, conspicuous from a great distance, and excellent landmarks. The plain is covered in every direction with Roman towns, built of black basalt, some of them mere heaps of rubbish, others still almost perfect, the Arab villagers dwelling under the same stone roofs, and entering by the same stone doors, as the old Romans—*stone* doors and *stone* roofs, owing to the want of timber in the Haûran, which obliged the colonists to employ the more durable material. . . . Most of the chief towns of Auranitis exhibit traces of the architectural magnificence of Rome, so freely lavished on her remotest colonies; but what most struck me here was the consideration evinced, and the pains taken, even during the last ages of her decay, to promote the real welfare and comfort of her people. There is scarce a village without its tank—its bridge; plain, solid structures, so substantially built, that they are still almost invariably as good as new" (Letters, p. 291).

As the Haûran, in the stricter sense, belongs to the country which went by the name of Bashan, some notice of its present as contrasted with its ancient condition, will be found under that article. It may be mentioned, however, that while Lord Lindsey, in the preceding extract, characterizes the buildings as Roman, and other authorities give a general confirmation of the statement, some have been noticed of a different character. Mr. Cyril C. Graham, who explored the district, especially its extremely southern parts, in 1857, speaks of a town, at a little distance from Kureiyeh, with the name of Um-er-Rumân, with ruinous houses but fine tombs, where the style of building was not Roman, but approached nearer to that exhibited in the ruins of Palmyra (Jour. Royal Geol. Society for 1858, p. 254). In another place, near Bozrah, called Ed-Deir, he found certain square towers also not unlike those in Palmyra, and in many of the houses were simple crosses cut in the dark stone (p. 250). One of the most striking descriptions he gives is that of Um-el-Jemâl (mother of camels), a few miles straight south from Bozrah, and which he supposes to be the same as the Beth-Gamul (house of camels) of Scripture, Je. xlviii. 23. It had the appearance of an enormous city, standing alone in the desert, and one of the most perfect cities Mr. Graham saw in the region. It was surrounded by a high rectangular wall, inclosing a space nearly as large as the wall of Jerusalem. Many of the streets were paved; there were large public buildings, private dwelling-houses, with three rooms on the ground-floor, and two on the first story, which was reached by a stair outside: the doors, as usual, were of stone, and some of them folding-doors. Every street was traversed, many of the houses carefully inspected, but not a creature was to be seen, not a sound heard; it seemed like a city of the dead, or like an enchanted palace in the *Arabian Nights*, where the population of a whole city had been petrified for a century (p. 250). The general style of architecture Mr. Graham conceived to be indicative of a period long subsequent to the ancient kingdom of Bashan, which was overthrown by the Israelites, as indeed the frequent impressions of the cross bear evidence of Christian times for at least many of the erections. Amid the uncertainty, however, that prevails on particular points, and the terrible desolation that reigns where once a thriving population had its home, one thing impressed itself deeply on the traveller's mind—the strong confirmation lent by such scenes to the truth of Scripture. "Before the present century little was known (so Mr. Graham concludes his narrative) of these countries; but now each few years some researches bring to light more and more facts connected with the early history of the places with which we are so much concerned in Holy Writ. And we may be quite sure that every certain extension of our knowledge in this respect will afford us additional conviction of the scrupulous accuracy of the Holy Scriptures."

The inhabitants of this district are chiefly Muslems, who in manners and dress resemble the Bedawîn, but there is a sprinkling also of professed Christians, and latterly of the Druses (Murray's Handbook, p. 499). The other two divisions of the Haûran are called El-Lejah and El-Jebel, the former being a rocky plain lying on the north-west of the Haûran proper, and the other a mountainous district between the plain of Haûran and the eastern desert. The Lejah is inhabited by a very lawless class of Bedawîn, who continually issue forth from their rocky fastnesses on predatory excursions, and attack, plunder, or destroy as it suits their purpose. They have had the same character from a very remote period. The region is filled with deserted towns and villages which the Arabs leave unoccupied. The other division, El-jebel, the Mountain, is also of a rocky

character, but with fertile spots interspersed. The scenery is in many parts beautiful, and here also are extensive ruins, some of which bespeak great wealth and splendour, although they are altogether unknown to history. The Druses are now almost the exclusive occupants of the district.

HAVI'LAH appears first as the name of a region in the primeval earth, distinguished for its possession of gold and precious stones, also compassed by the river Pison, Ge. ii. 11, 12; then as the name of a grandson of Ham by his eldest son Cush; also of a son of Eber by Joktan, Ge. x. 7, 29; each of whom, probably gave their name to, or were themselves called from, a region occupied by their offspring, the one in Ethiopia, the other in Arabia; finally, as the name of a tract or place in the way between Canaan and Egypt on the line of Shur, 1 Sa. xv. 7, which is also mentioned in connection with the history of the Ishmaelites, Ge. xxv. 18. It is impossible that all these applications of the word can be understood of one and the same place; even in the post-diluvian times there must have been at least two places known by the name—one at no great distance from the land of Canaan, and another in the southern parts of Arabia, or the parts of Africa over against it. Many conjectures have been made as to the precise localities of each but nothing very definite or certain has been obtained. Niebuhr found in Yemen alone two districts bearing the name of Haulau, which is probably but a modification of Havilah. In regard to the antediluvian Havilah it has been already stated under Eden, that nothing certain can be known. But the probability is that it lay more towards India than Arabia.

HA'VOTH-JA'IR [that is, *living-places, villages of Jair*], the name given to a certain number of little towns in the land of Gilead, the possession of Jair, a descendant of Manasseh. They formed a portion of the country of Bashan, and were hence called in one place, BASHAN-HAVOTH-JAIR, De. iii. 14. The accounts referring to them are involved in some obscurity, but are quite explicable when the facts respecting Jair are correctly given. (*See* JAIR.)

HAWK [נֵץ, *netz*]. This is mentioned among other birds of prey as unclean in Le. xi. 16; De. xiv. 15. It also occurs in the book of Job, in that majestic utterance in which Jehovah challenges the strength, skill, and knowledge of his servant, ch. xxxix. 26, "Doth the hawk fly by thy wisdom, and stretch her wings toward the south?" The migratory instinct is here alluded to, which must be added to the other characters implied, in order to identify the species meant.

The LXX. render the word (the passage in De. xiv. is corrupt) by ἱέραξ, the Greek name for the sparrow-hawk (*Falco nisus*, Linn.); and *nisus* itself, by which the species was known to the Romans, is probably derived from נֵץ (*netz*). This small but courageous falcon, so familiar to us, is spread over the whole of Europe, and ranges on all sides of the Mediterranean. Mr. Strickland, an accomplished ornithologist, saw it at Smyrna, and the Zoological Society have received specimens from Erzeroum. It extends throughout central and southern Asia, and occurs even in Japan.

Our information on the natural history of Palestine is so meagre, that we do not know from recent observation whether the sparrow-hawk is migratory or not in those regions. Prince Bonaparte, who says that it is common about Rome, informs us that it is migratory there. Our own ornithologists write as if it were a permanent resident in these islands.

The sparrow-hawk is a bold and destructive depredator; the female especially, which is much stouter and more powerful than the male. She can easily kill a partridge or pigeon, and has been seen to swoop down

[321.] Sparrow-hawk—*Falco nisus.*

upon the poultry-yard, seize a chicken, and bear it away. It has been occasionally used in falconry, and may be one of the seven species enumerated by Dr. Russell as employed for hawking around Aleppo and Damascus. [P. H. G.]

HAZA'EL [*vision of God*], first the general of the forces of Benhadad king of Syria, then his murderer and successor. He appears to have been a man of great military skill and resolute spirit, but of lawless ambition and unscrupulous character. Without any previous notice of him, or any reason assigned for the elevation he was destined to occupy, his name was mentioned to Elijah at Horeb, as that of the person he was to anoint king over Syria, 1 Ki. xix. 15; but, from what afterwards occurred, there can be no doubt that the main reason of the appointment was, that from his determined and ferocious character, he might act the part of a severer scourge to Israel than Benhadad had done. The wars of Benhadad with Ahab had meanwhile ended in his own humiliation and the defeat of his projects against Israel; but this was no ground, Elijah was given to understand, for supposing danger to have ceased in the Syrian direction; a more formidable adversary than Benhadad was in store to be placed upon the throne, whom in due season God would use as his rod of correction. The purpose, however, though announced then, was kept for a time in suspense: there were relentings on the part of Ahab and his impious wife, and the forbearance of God allowed the actual elevation of Hazael to the throne to remain in abeyance for years to come. The prophet, doubtless, understood that such was the mind of God, as no step appears to have been taken by him to promote Hazael to the throne. The matter seems to have been committed by Elijah to his successor Elisha, as was that also of the appointment of Jehu to the throne of Israel; and when Elisha afterwards came into contact with Hazael, he simply intimated to him his destination to occupy the throne of Syria. Benhadad in his illness had sent him to inquire at the pro-

phet, whether he should recover of the disease under which he laboured; and after stating that he might, indeed, recover of that (*i.e.* that there was nothing fatal in the trouble itself), Elisha added, that he should still certainly die, and that Hazael should be king over Syria. Even then this was but incidentally brought out, the prophet neither told Hazael how Benhadad was to die, nor gave him any commission to usurp the throne. But setting his face earnestly upon that of Hazael, as if some serious and affecting matter was weighing upon his soul, he at last burst into tears; and on being asked by Hazael why he wept, Elisha said, "Because I know the evil that thou wilt do unto the children of Israel: their strongholds wilt thou set on fire, and their young men wilt thou slay with the sword, and wilt dash their children, and rip up their women with child," 2 Ki. viii. 12. The answer of Hazael bespoke the absence at the time of all such atrocious purposes on his part—his astonishment, indeed, that he should be thought capable of harbouring them, for he asked if he was a dog that he should do such a thing—but, at the same time, he betrayed his ignorance of self, and of the corrupting influence which unfavourable circumstances were going to produce upon his heart. He had no sooner left the prophet than he entered on his downward career, first traitorously putting an end to his master's life, and then seizing on the throne of Syria. And as we read that by and by bloody wars with Israel followed, in the course of which he laid waste extensive districts, and wrested from the hand of Jehoahaz many cities, we cannot doubt that the atrocities foretold by Elisha were to the letter executed by the forces of Hazael, 2 Ki. x. 32, 33; xii 17, 18; xiii. 3. He failed, however, to consolidate his empire; and the cities he had won from Israel were again recovered from his son, the second Benhadad, by Joash and Jereboam II., 2 Ki. xiii. 25; xiv. 28. So fruitless did his ambition and cruelty prove for his family and kingdom.

HAZ'ARMA'VEH [*court of death*], the third son of Joktan, who gave his name to a people and province of Arabia. It still subsists with little variation in the Arabic Hadramawt, which lies to the east of Yemen.

HAZER'OTH, the third station of the Israelites after leaving Sinai on their route toward Canaan, and supposed to be the same with 'Ain Hudhera, Nu. xi. 35. They rested there for some days; and their sojourn at it was marked by the unhappy revolt of Miriam and Aaron against the authority of Moses, which led to the infliction of leprosy on Miriam for a week.

HA'ZEZON-TA'MAR. *See* ENGEDI.

HA'ZOR [the *inclosed*, *fenced*, or *fortified*], a town, which lay within the bounds of the tribe of Naphtali, Jos. xix. 36, but which occupied relatively a much higher place under the old masters of Canaan than it ever did under the Israelites. At the time of the conquest it was the capital of a king or chieftain (Jabin), who headed one of the strongest combinations of the native forces with which Joshua had to contend. The multitudes that assembled under his leadership are said to have been "like the sand that is upon the sea shore, with horses and chariots very many." It is said also, that they pitched together at the waters of Merom, Jos. xi. 1-5. These waters of Merom are what now goes by the name of the Lake Hûlah; and somewhere in its neighbourhood Hazor is understood to have been placed. But the exact site has not been ascertained. After defeating those assembled forces Joshua returned and smote Hazor, and burned it with fire. It partially recovered however from this disaster; for in the time of the judges we find another Jabin, called king of Canaan, "who reigned at Hazor," Ju. iv. 2, and who, like his predecessor, headed a most formidable combination of the heathen princes, and drew together an immense force, that for a time appalled the people of Israel. But he was defeated by the efforts of Deborah and Barak. Hazor is mentioned at a later period as one of the cities which Solomon fortified, 1 Ki. ix. 15, and still later as one of the larger places taken by the king of Assyria, 2 Ki. xv. 29. Its position on the northern borders of Palestine naturally rendered it a place of some importance, as well for the possessors of Canaan, as for those who had designs of conquest respecting it.

HEART. In the language of Scripture this word is used somewhat more generally than it is in the present day; it often indicates the intellectual, as well as the moral and emotional part of our natures; precisely as, on the other side, the mind (*νοῦς*) comprehends the seat of feeling as well as of thought. Undoubtedly the most common use of the term has reference to the will and the affections; yet not to these exclusively, since we read of persons "understanding in their heart," having "the eyes of their heart opened," or inversely having their "foolish hearts darkened," Mat. xiii. 15; Ep. i. 18, according to the correct text, Ro. i. 21, &c. It always is, of course, the intellectual part of one's nature of which the apprehension of truth is to be predicated; it is with the understanding that the truth has directly to do, either for discernment and acceptance, or for misconception and rejection. But the capacity of knowing and apprehending always depends materially upon the state of the heart; and, written as the Bible is, not in philosophical, but in popular language, the reference it makes to the heart in connection with the understanding or the not understanding of divine truth, conveys the important and salutary lesson, that in this department of things the moral to a large extent rules the intellectual. In all moral questions these necessarily act and react on each other; but in those matters which are more directly spiritual, and affect the soul's relation to God, it is emphatically the case, that as the state of the heart is, so will be the thoughts and apprehensions of the mind.

HEATHEN. *See* GENTILES.

HEAVEN. This word is employed to describe the upper and nobler region of God's universe, in contrast with the earth, the lower portion assigned to men for their habitation. And since the earth or ground is the abode of sinful man, and has been subjected to a curse on account of him, Ge. iii. 17, the same contrast gives prominence to heaven as the holy place where God shows himself to his holy creatures, where there is no more curse, and where nothing enters that defiles or works abomination or makes a lie, Re. xxi. 27; xxii. 3, 4. The name "heaven" in our own language has been explained, according to its etymology, that which is *heaved* or lifted up; and a similar origin has been assigned to the Greek Οὐρανός, *Uranus*, and the Hebrew שָׁמַיִם (*shamaim*), by which it is represented in the original Scriptures. This explanation is confirmed by the frequent use of "height" or "heights," in either the singular or the plural; the Hebrew מָרוֹם (*marom*), sometimes rendered "the heights," sometimes "on high," Job xvi. 19; xxxi. 2; Ps. xciii. 4; cxlviii. 1; Is. xxiv. 18, &c., else-

where not so well "high places," Job xxv. 2, "above," Ps. xviii. 16; and similarly the Greek ὕψος, Lu. i. 78; xxiv. 49; ὑψηλά, He. i. 3; as also ὕψιστα, "the highest places," Mat. xxi. 9, &c.

This somewhat indefinite word is used in various senses, or perhaps rather in one sense with various applications more or less indefinite and remote from us who make them. We may apply it to the *visible* heavens over our head; or again to the *invisible* and more glorious heavens, of which the former may be regarded as the mere fringe or exterior nearest to ourselves. The visible heavens themselves stretch away into the unknown depths of space, in which are the sun, moon, and stars, Ge. i. 16, 17, &c.; but equally they may be taken to be the atmosphere at any distance, even the most insignificant from the surface of the globe. Thus we read of the birds or fowls of heaven, occasionally expressed "the fowls of the *air*" in the authorized version, Ge. i. 26; Lu. viii. 5, &c. So also we read of the rain and the hail of heaven, De. xi. 11; Re. xvi. 21, the dew of heaven, Ge. xxvii. 28, the hoar-frost of heaven, Job xxxviii. 29, and many a time the clouds of heaven. Thus also it is applied to the entire surface of the atmosphere, "I will make *your heaven* as iron," Le. xxvi. 19. "The fountain of Jacob shall be upon a land of corn and wine; also *his heavens* shall drop down dew," De. xxxiii. 28. And sometimes our translators have rendered this by the word "sky," as, "the sky is red," Mat. xvi. 2, 3. From this comes naturally the phrase "under heaven," or more emphatically "under the whole heaven," to denote the surface of our globe. This is also expressed more graphically in other phrases which involve something metaphorical: "from the *one side* of heaven unto the other," De. iv. 32; "from *one end* of heaven to the other," Mat. xxiv. 31, (varied into "from the uttermost part of earth to the uttermost part of heaven," Mar. xiii. 27), "the *four quarters* of heaven," Je. xlix. 36; whereas at other times it is "the *circuit* of heaven," Job xxii. 14. These heavens are besides compared to a tent which God has pitched, "who stretchest out the heavens like a curtain," Ps. civ. 2; Is. xl. 22. By a similar yet somewhat bolder metaphor they are compared to a solid building, with foundations and pillars on which they rest, 2 Sa. xxii. 8; Job xxvi. 11, with a gate for entrance, Ge. xxviii. 17, and with windows which are opened for pouring out the rain, Ge. vii. 11; viii. 2; Is. xxiv. 18. This last representation has its metaphorical character confirmed by its occurrence in such passages as 2 Ki. vii. 2; Mal. iii. 10. Yet all these descriptions are literally understood by many interpreters, in spite of the inconsistencies to which their opinion unavoidably conducts: and they have some support from the Septuagint and Vulgate, which have rendered רָקִיעַ (*raqia*), Gen. i. 6, "firmament;" though a translation in the margin of our Bible, "expansion," or expanse, is unobjectionable in every point of view, and etymologically is preferable. A favourite passage with some of these writers, whose object seems to be to fasten a charge upon the Word of God, that it authoritatively teaches the crude notions which the ancient Hebrews may have entertained, is Is. xxxiv. 4, where they shelter themselves under the authority of the excellent Vitringa, whose bad taste in this instance has led him to explain the imagery as if the stars of heaven were conceived of as resembling wax candles set in the vault of heaven. Another text is Job xxxvii. 18, "Hast thou with him spread out [the verb from which *firmament* or *expanse* is derived] the sky, which is strong and as a molten looking-glass?" But the word here and in other passages rendered "sky" is very difficult when we come to determine its precise meaning; though the balance of authority and probability inclines us to identify it with the light clouds in the highest elevation at which we see them: and the whole verse is manifestly, whether we look at it by itself or along with the context, a highly poetical figure. Those who insist upon a prosaic interpretation may proceed to inform us what are "the *bottles* of heaven," which are named in ch. xxxviii. 37. And having satisfied themselves that the Bible pronounces heaven to be at once a circle and a figure with four corners which rests on pillars, they may perhaps find mathematical data for determining the ratio of its height to its superficial extent in the familiar passage, Ps. ciii. 11, 12, "For as the heaven is high above the earth, so great is his mercy toward them that fear him. As far as the east is from the west, so far hath he removed our transgressions from us."

The indefiniteness of the application of this word *heaven* or *heavens* is not improbably indicated by the frequent use of the plural in English, as also often in the original where this does not appear in our translation. In the New Testament this plural does not seem to occur in the writings of John, whereas it is extremely common in Matthew, who clings very closely to the thought and diction of the Old Testament: in Hebrew it is always plural. This explanation, the indefinite or infinite spaces included under the notion of heaven, is also given by many eminent scholars in reference to the phrase "the heavens of heavens," Ps. lxviii. 33; cxlviii. 4. A simpler and probably more satisfactory explanation is, "the highest heavens," the heavens *par excellence*, and in the highest and most emphatic sense, analogous to other Hebrew phrases, "the song of songs," "the holy of holies." This also agrees better with the fuller phrase, "the heaven and the heaven of heavens," De. x. 14, &c; and with the language of Paul, 2 Co. xii. 2, that he was caught up into the *third* heaven, as it were into heaven in the superlative degree, or into that heaven which is the abode of the blessed, after having passed through two lower regions, that of the atmosphere and that of the heavenly bodies, to both of which also the name of heaven is applied. There is certainly nothing to warrant our explaining this *third* heaven in accordance with a Jewish notion of *seven* heavens, a notion it may be of unknown antiquity, but which at any rate is not discovered in Scripture, or even in the Apocrypha, as Ecclesiasticus xvi. 18 does not go beyond the language of Scripture when it speaks of the heavens and the heaven of heavens of God. Some succession of heavens up to the highest point, though without implying anything more than this third heaven, is favoured by three other texts. It is said, He. iv. 14, that we have a great high-priest "that is passed *into* the heavens," but more correctly "that has passed *through* the heavens." Again, He. vii. 26, our glorified high-priest is said to have been "made *higher than* the heavens." And similarly, Ep iv. 10, he has "ascended up *far above all* heavens," or "all the heavens." In this epistle there also occurs five times the peculiar phrase τὰ ἐπουράνια, "the heavenly," or possibly "the super-celestial," ch. i. 3, 20; ii. 6; iii. 10; vi. 12, in our version always "the heavenly [places]" (though once in the margin "heavenly [things]", except in the last, where it is "high places," probably on account of the difficulty about finding

spiritual wickedness in *heavenly* places, which is however mentioned in the margin.

In general it may be said that in the language of Scripture as of common life, heaven and earth are employed as terms which exclude one another, but which taken together constitute the universe of God. Thus, Ge. i. 1, "In the beginning God created the heaven and the earth." Compare the same usage in Ge. ii. 1; Mat. v. 18; 1 Co. viii. 5; He. xii. 26, &c. In accordance with this is Melchizedek's title, "the Most High God, possessor of heaven and earth," Ge. xiv. 19, 20, 22; and our Saviour's, "I thank thee, O Father, Lord of heaven and earth," Mat. xi. 25. At times again one or other or both of these terms must be taken in a somewhat modified extent, when the description runs thus, "heaven and earth," or more accurately, "the heaven and the earth, the sea, and all that in them is," Ex. xx. 11; or, "the heaven and the things that therein are, and the earth and the things that therein are, and the sea and the things which are therein," Re. x. 6; and yet again differently, "the heaven and the earth and the sea and the fountains of waters," Re. xiv. 7. Yet another variation, perhaps like our own "heaven and earth and hell," occurs in Phi. ii. 10, "that at the name of Jesus every knee should bow, of things in heaven and things in earth, and things under the earth." But the original simple distribution of all things under the phrase "heaven and earth," is by far the commonest in Scripture; and as it appears at the commencement of time, so it reappears at the close. The psalmist, Ps. cii. 25-27, tells how they shall pass away, while Jehovah shall remain and his servants before him. And Isaiah, ch. lxv. 17; lxvi. 22, announces the creation of new heavens and a new earth, which shall abide for ever and cause the former creation to be forgotten. In the New Testament the announcement is made more clearly, that the heavens and the earth which are now are reserved unto fire, while there is the promise of new heavens and a new earth, wherein dwelleth righteousness, 2 Pe. iii. 7, 13; Re. xxi. 1. And again, He. xii. 26-28 takes up the prophecy in Haggai, "Yet once more I shake not the earth only but also heaven," and expounds that "the things which are made" are to be removed, inasmuch as they are "things which are shaken," in order that those "things which cannot be shaken," or which are not shaken, "may remain," constituting "a kingdom which cannot be moved," or shaken, which we receive. In whatever sense this be taken, more or less metaphorically, it includes the perfecting in glory of that state of grace which has already commenced on earth. Thus John the Baptist preached, saying, "Repent, for the *kingdom of heaven* is at hand;" and this message was also the commencement of our Lord's preaching; and the first of the beatitudes in his sermon on the mount was, "Blessed are the poor in spirit, for theirs is the kingdom of heaven," Mat. iii. 2; iv. 17; v. 3. This expression is peculiar to Matthew, for the parallel passages of the other gospels have instead of it "the kingdom of God." Yet it is not an expression (we do not speak of the *idea*, which pervades the theocracy) borrowed from the Old Testament, with which Matthew has a peculiarly close connection; unless the germ of it may possibly be found in the promise to Israel, "that your days may be multiplied, and the days of your children, in the land which the Lord sware unto your fathers to give them, as the days of heaven upon the earth," De. xi. 21, compared with Ps. lxxxix. 29, "His seed also will I make to endure for ever, and his throne as the days of heaven." The *idea* being especially prominent in the visions of the book of Daniel, it is also possible to find the origin of the *expression* in his assurance to Nebuchadnezzar that his kingdom should be sure to him after he had come to know "that the heavens do rule," Da. iv. 26. Probably with reference to the expression which is common in Matthew, yet referring not to the present commencement but to the completion in the future, Paul declares his confidence, "And the Lord shall deliver me from every evil work, and will preserve me unto his heavenly kingdom," 2 Ti. iv. 18. (*See* KINGDOM OF GOD.)

As for descriptions of heaven, in its strictest and highest sense, as something more than the atmosphere or the region of the stars, it cannot be said that Scripture withholds these or gives them sparingly. Nevertheless, in spite of the dreams of enthusiasts, and the wordy statements which have been made by those who have attempted to say more upon the subject than Scripture warrants, it must be admitted that our conceptions are extremely vague and indistinct, and that we are almost at once involved in difficulty when we attempt to expand and illustrate the inspired language. This has often been noticed as one of the great contrasts between the religion of the Bible and all the religions which men have invented, that they are full of minute, trivial, unworthy, and manifestly false accounts of the heavenly state, while nothing of the sort can be alleged of the representations in Scripture upon the subject. Two characteristics of its descriptions may be noticed by any careful reader. *First*, They are very much *negative*. For instance, "the children of this world," or age, "marry and are given in marriage: but they which shall be accounted worthy to obtain that world, and the resurrection from the dead, neither marry nor are given in marriage; neither can they die any more," Lu. xx. 34-36. "And God shall wipe away all tears from their eyes: and there shall be no more death, neither sorrow, nor crying, neither shall there be any more pain; for the former things are passed away. . . . And there shall in no wise enter into it anything that defileth. . . . And there shall be no more curse. . . . And there shall be no night there, and they need no candle, neither light of the sun," Re. xxi. 4, 27; xxii. 3, 5. These descriptions, like many of the descriptions of God himself, rather suggest than directly assert; that is, they mention limitations and defects which are familiar to us at present, and assert that these shall have no existence in heaven. *Secondly*, The descriptions are very much *figurative*, and it is out of our power to represent these heavenly things except in this figurative language. The figurative language is often *symbolical*, in the narrowest theological sense; that is to say, it sends us back either to the descriptions of the unfallen world in which Adam was placed at first, or to those of the Jewish worship in the tabernacle and the temple. On the one hand it receives the name of paradise, and it has the tree of life and the river of the water of life, Lu. xxiii. 43; 2 Co. xii. 4; Re. ii. 7; xxii. 1-3. On the other hand, it is the Jerusalem which is above, the new Jerusalem, the holy city, the true tabernacle and temple, Ga. iv. 26; Re. xxi. 2; xv. 5, &c. One passage indeed, He. viii. 1-6, seems to point to something in heaven that is really and substantially of the nature of a temple; as if this were either the very model and pattern which Moses had shown to him in Mount Sinai, as that which the sanctuary of Israel was to resemble, or else as if

this heavenly temple were the great original, of which he saw a model or copy. In like manner the argument in the following chapter contains this sentence of comparison between animal sacrifices and the sacrifice of Christ. "It was therefore necessary that the *patterns of things in the heavens* should be purified with these, but the *heavenly things themselves* with better sacrifices than these. For Christ is not entered into *the holy places made with hands, which are the figures of the true, but into heaven itself,* now to appear in the presence of God for us," He. ix. 23, 24. The language of these two chapters suggests that heaven as a whole is the temple on high. A similar impression will probably be left with any careful reader of Re. iv. v. And so at other times in the symbols of that book. In ch. vi. 9, when the fifth seal was opened, John saw *under the altar* the souls of them that were slain for the word of God and for the testimony which they held. The language in ch. vii. 15 suggests that the occupations of the redeemed and glorified is a *priestly service in the presence of the Divine Majesty* upon the throne, as of old it was upon the Jewish mercy-seat. And, ch. viii. 3, John saw how "another angel came and stood at the *altar* having a golden *censer,* and there was given unto him much *incense* that he should offer it with the prayers of all saints upon *the golden altar which was before the throne.*" In none of these passages is there even a hint of a line which circumscribed this sanctuary; and the natural inference is that all heaven is included in it, with which might be compared the language of Ezekiel, ch. xliii. 12, "This is the law of the house; upon the top of the mountain, the whole limit thereof round about shall be most holy," or "a holy of holies." And in fact John bears express testimony in his final vision that this was the case, Re. xxi. 22, "And I saw no temple therein: for the Lord God Almighty and the Lamb are the temple of it." On the other hand, there are two or three texts in the course of the prophecy which do specify some one place as properly "the temple in heaven," and distinguish this from heaven in its full extent, Re. xi. 19; xiv. 17; xv. 5, 8.

The solution of this difficulty, as of many others, may be impossible, owing to our present imperfect understanding of the symbolical language. But, in conclusion, we must express our strong dissent from the views of those who press the symbolical as a proof that there is nothing literal, and so dwell upon the truth as to the moral character being the thing of pre-eminent importance, as to draw from it the one-sided inference that heaven is merely a state and not a place. Our conceptions of that place may be very crude and erroneous: but a place there must be. For, (1.) There must be a place where God is present in an especial sense, where he manifests himself as ruling, judging, and above all, communicating grace and glory. "The heaven, even the heavens, are the Lord's; but the earth hath he given to the children of men," Ps. cxv. 16. He is therefore called, not only "our heavenly Father," but more unmistakably "our Father which is in heaven." At times he is styled "the God of heaven," Ge. xxiv. 7; Jonah i. 9, repeatedly in Ezra and Nehemiah and Daniel, and also Re. xi. 13; xvi. 11. In heaven he sits upon his throne and rules, Ps. ii. 4; xi. 4; Is. lxvi. 1; Mat. v. 34; Re. iv. &c.; from which he looks down on men, De. xxvi. 15; Ps. xiv. 2; cii. 19; ciii. 19. He dwells on high in his holy habitation, Is. xxxiii. 5, 17; lvii. 15. "The Lord shall roar from on high, and utter his voice from his holy habitation," Je. xxv. 30. "The God of Jeshurun rideth upon the heaven in thy help, and in his excellency on the sky," De. xxxiii. 26. In heaven, his habitation, or on high, he hears prayer, 1 Ki. viii. 30, &c.; Is. lviii. 4. From heaven he rained fire and brimstone upon Sodom; and from heaven also he rained bread for his people in the wilderness. From heaven he called to his servants upon earth, Ge. xxii. 11; and from heaven he sent his Son to seek us and die for us, Jn. iii. 31; vi. 38, &c.; as he has been ever sending down from heaven his Holy Spirit, Mat. iii. 16; 1 Pe. i. 12; Ac. ii. 33 (2.) There must be a place where the glorified body of the Saviour now is, that heaven which "must receive him until the times of restitution of all things," Ac. iii. 21. Up to that heaven he is repeatedly said to have ascended, and there he who is man as well as God now is at the right hand of God; and where he is, there must also his servants be, Jn. xii. 26. Heaven is a place to which Elijah was translated, soul and body together, 2 Ki. ii. 1, 11. And there all Christ's people are to be along with him, 1 Th. iv. 17; as he expressly taught his disciples that he was going away to prepare a place for them, to which in due time he would conduct them, Jn. xiv. 2-4; He. vi. 20. In that place their treasure is laid up by them, Mat. v. 12; vi. 20, and there an eternal inheritance is reserved for them, 1 Pe. i. 4; 2 Co. v. 1. (3.) There must be some place where are to be found assembled "the angels which are in heaven," Mat. vi. 10; xviii. 10; Ep. i. 10; He. xii. 22, and from which they are sent down to this world, Lu. xxii. 43, and to which they return when they have executed their commission, Lu. ii. 13-15. In this last passage they receive the name "a multitude of *the heavenly host,*" which is plainly connected with, and yet different from, "the host of heaven," Ac. vii. 42; for the latter expression denotes the stars, while the former has respect to the angels; in the one the inanimate, in the other the animated hosts are indicated by which the heavenly regions are occupied. A similar comprehensive expression is very frequent in the Old Testament, and leads to the designation of Jehovah, the God of heaven, as "God of hosts," just as in New Testament prophecy the Son of God is represented in the open heaven riding forth to victory, and followed by the armies which are in heaven, Re. xix. 11, 14. [G. C. M. D.]

HE'BER, or EBER [עֵבֶר—*beyond*], the name of several individuals mentioned in the Old Testament. 1. The patriarch Eber, Ge. x. 24, 25; xi. 14-16, the father of Peleg, and ancestor of Abraham. 2. A priest, Ne. xii. 20. 3. A Gadite, 1 Ch. v. 13. 4, 5. Two Benjamites, 1 Ch. viii. 12, 22. But the names of 2, 3, 4, 5 are doubtful, the LXX. giving 'Αβέδ as the name of 2, and 'Ωβήδ as the name of the other three. It is not certain, therefore, that the name Eber (עֵבֶר) was borne by any except the patriarch 1. (*See* further under HEBREW.) [D. H. W.]

HE'BER [חֶבֶר, once חֵבֶר, Nu. xxvi. 45, *society, company*], also the name of several individuals. 1. A grandson of Asher, Ge. xlvi. 17; Nu. xxvi. 45, (LXX. Χοβόρ, Χοβέρ). 2. A Jew, 1 Ch. iv. 18, (LXX. 'Αβέρ). 3. A Benjamite, 1 Ch. viii. 17, (LXX. 'Αβάρ). But the best known is 4. Heber the Kenite, Ju. iv. 11, 17; v. 24 (LXX. Χαβέρ), the husband of Jael, immortalized in the song of Deborah. (*See* JAEL.) [D. H. W.]

HEBREW, HEBREWS, עִבְרִי, עִבְרִים. The following are the points of distinction between the names Hebrew and Israelite:—

1. Hebrew is a name of wider import, at least in its earlier use. Every Israelite was a Hebrew, but every Hebrew was not an Israelite. This is evident from the very first passage in which the word is met with, Ge. xiv. 13, where Abram the Hebrew is mentioned along with Mamre the Amorite, and also from Ge. xxxix. 14; xl. 15; xli. 12, where Joseph is spoken of as a Hebrew, and the land of Palestine is called the land of the Hebrews. From these passages we naturally conclude that the Hebrew element in the population of Palestine could not have been confined to the family of Jacob. Also, in Ge. x. 21, Shem is called the "father of *all* the children of Eber" or Hebrews; and in Nu. xxiv. 24, it is not probable that by Eber, which is mentioned along with Asshur, the children of Israel, and they alone, are meant. But after the conquest of Palestine by the Israelites the name Hebrew was no longer used with its original latitude, and Israelite and Hebrew became synonymous, though not by any means employed interchangeably by the sacred writers. For

2. When the name Hebrew is used in preference to Israelite, there is always a reference to the foreign relations of Israel. It is used (1.) by foreigners, Ex. i. 16; ii. 6; 1 Sa. iv. 6, 9; xiv. 11, &c.; or (2.) by Israelites when addressing foreigners, Ex. ii. 7; iii. 18, &c.; Jonah i. 9; or (3.) when Israelites are opposed to foreign nations, Ge. xliii. 32; Ex. ii. 11; xxi. 2; De. xv. 12; Je. xxxiv. 9, 14. (See Gesenius, Thes.) The only exceptional passage is 1 Sa. xiii. 3, "And Saul blew the trumpet throughout all the land saying, Let the Hebrews hear"—in which, however, and also in ver. 7, it is possible we ought to read עִבְרִים instead of עִבְרִים. Even if the exception be allowed, it cannot affect the conclusion to which all the other passages point, viz. that *Hebrew* was the international designation, *Israel* the local and domestic name, the family name, if we may so speak, surrounded with all the sacredness of home associations, and thus capable of having attached to it a spiritual import, which never was and never could be associated with the name *Hebrew*. Quite in harmony with this conclusion is the fact that the Greek and Roman writers seem to have known nothing of the name *Israelite; Hebrew* and *Jew* are the names they employed. (Gesenius, Hebräische Sprache, sect. 5, 1.) Even in the Old Testament the name Hebrew is comparatively rare, being found only thirty-two times. In what we call the Hebrew poetry the word Hebrew never occurs. No Hebrew prophet ever prophesies of the Hebrews.[1] In the Hebrew history also the name Hebrew is not met with after the accession of David. It is found more frequently in Genesis and Exodus than in all the other books of the Old Testament. The reason is obvious. Hebrew is the name which linked the descendants of Jacob with the nations: Israel the name which separated them from the nations. We cannot wonder that after the legislation of Sinai the former name should fall almost entirely into disuse. In later times, toward the commencement of our era, the use of the name Hebrew, as an ancient and venerable name, was revived. Compare Ac. vi. 1; 2 Co. xi. 22; Phi. iii. 5.

As to the origin of the name, there is great diversity of opinion. (1.) By some it has been regarded as a patronymic from Eber or Heber (עֵבֶר), just as חֲבְרִי from חֶבְרִי, Nu. xxvi. 45; and though we can assign no reason why the descendants of Jacob should bear the name of Eber rather than that of any other of their patriarchal ancestors, yet the close connection of בְּנֵי עֵבֶר, *sons of Eber*, Ge. x. 21, with עֵבֶר, *Eber*, in ver. 24, 25, of the same chapter, and the use of Eber as a national name in Nu. xxiv. 24, give to this opinion a certain measure of probability. (2.) By others it has been regarded as an appellative from עֵבֶר, *beyond*, denoting either "*an immigrant from beyond*," *i.e.* an immigrant into Canaan from beyond the river Euphrates, *advena transeuphratensis, Gesen. Thes.* (compare Jos. xxiv. 2, *beyond the river*, בְּעֵבֶר הַנָּהָר, *your fathers dwelt of old*), or *an emigrant beyond* or across the Euphrates westward from Mesopotamia. Those who hold this view appeal to a similar use of קֶדֶם, *before*, to denote the east, and compare בְּנֵי קֶדֶם with בְּנֵי עֵבֶר, Ge. x. 21. The derivation of עִבְרִי from עֵבֶר also is supported by the analogy of תַּחְתִּי from תַּחַת, *under*.[2] In the Chaldee portion of the book of Ezra, עֵבֶר נַהֲרָה, *beyond the river*, occurs frequently as a geographical designation of the region west of the Euphrates, Ezr. iv. 10, 11, 20, &c., that region being *beyond* the river with reference to the seat of empire in the east; and the Samaritan antagonists of the Jews designate themselves "*the men beyond the river*," no doubt with reference to their compatriots in Babylon, Elam, and the other eastern regions from whence they had been transplanted into Samaria, Ezr. iv. 10, 11. For the same reason the Hebrews may have been so called with reference to the cradle of their race east of the Euphrates. It is not necessary, on this hypothesis, to suppose that the name Hebrew originated with the Canaanites. The name may have been assumed by the Hebrews themselves, while there remained with them a vivid consciousness that they were strangers in a strange land, and that beyond the Euphrates lay the land to which they were bound by the strongest ties —the land of their fathers and their kindred, Ge. xii. 1; xxiv. 4; xxviii. 2. This view is favoured by the LXX., in which אַבְרָם הָעִבְרִי of Ge. xiv. 13 is rendered Ἀβράμ ὁ περάτης, Abraham who had *crossed* the river, and the objections of its antagonists, such as that עֵבֶר, *beyond*, is nowhere = עֵבֶר הַנָּהָר, *beyond the river*, do not appear of sufficient importance to outweigh the evidence in its favour.

If required to make choice between the two opinions just stated, our decision would be given in favour of the latter. But it does not appear by any means certain that the two opinions are incompatible, and that the adoption of the one involves the rejection of the other. The name Eber, like Peleg, and many other of the early patriarchal names, may have been prophetic, and may include a pre-intimation of the migratory tendencies and life of his posterity. [D. H. W.]

[1] In the prophetic writings *Hebrew* is found only in the story of Jonah (i. 9), and in Je. xxxiv. 9, 14, where the Pentateuch is quoted. Compare Ex. xxi. 2; De. xv. 12.

[2] With regard to nominal forms in ִי, Ewald remarks that they are properly *relative adjectives* containing the idea: *welcher von.* —*Lehrbuch*, sect. 164 *a*.

HEBREW LANGUAGE, the language of the Hebrew people, and of the Old Testament scriptures, with the exception of the few chapters written in Chaldee. (*See* CHALDEE LANGUAGE.) In the Bible this language is nowhere designated by the name *Hebrew;* but this is not surprising when we consider how rarely that name is employed to designate the nation. (*See* HEBREW.) In Is. xix. 18, it is called *the language of Canaan*, as distinguished from that of Egypt, and in 2 Ki. xviii. 26, 28, it is called *the Jewish language*, יְהוּדִית, as distinguished from the Aramean. It is in the introduction to the book of Ecclesiasticus that we find the earliest mention of a Hebrew language; but it is by no means certain that the language there so named is the language which we call Hebrew, and not the Chaldee or Syro-Chaldee, which, having superseded the ancient language of the Hebrew people, was therefore called the Hebrew language—the name which it bears in the New Testament.[1]

But, passing from the name, let us proceed to examine the language itself, which, by whatever name known in ancient times, has come down to us hallowed by the most sacred and venerable associations—the language of a people who, in the words of M. Renan, alone of all eastern nations were privileged to write for the entire world.

The Hebrew language belongs to the class of languages called Semitic or Shemitic—so called because spoken chiefly by nations enumerated in Scripture among the descendants of Shem. The Sanscrit, Persian, Greek, Latin, with the Germanic and Celtic languages, are the principal members of another large class or group of languages, to which have been affixed the various names of Japhetic, Indo-European, Indo-Germanic, and Aryan. This latter class embraces most of the languages of Europe, including of course our own. The student, therefore, who besides mastering his own language, has passed through a course of Greek, Latin, French, and German, (and few of our students, except with a professional view, extend their linguistic studies farther), has not after all his labour got beyond the limits of the same class of languages to which his mother tongue belongs, and of which it forms one of the most important members. But when he passes to the study of the Hebrew language he enters a new field, he observes new phenomena, he traces the operation of new laws.

The name Semitic, when employed to designate a class of languages, has sometimes been taken in a more large, sometimes in a more restricted sense. Bunsen, in his *Philosophy of Universal History*, includes under the head *Semitism* the ancient Egyptian—the language of the hieroglyphic inscriptions—and its descendant, the Coptic. And it is true that between these languages and those which are universally recognized as belonging to the Semitic class, there are some very striking correspondences, especially in the pronouns; but these correspondences, though quite sufficient to establish the fact of a connection at some remote period between the Egyptian and the Hebrew, Syriac, and Arabic, are not sufficient to justify the philologist in at once ranking all these languages as members of the same class. There is another language which has a much better claim to take rank as a member of the Semitic family, but of which our knowledge is as yet so imperfect that we cannot assign to it a definite position in relation to the other members of that family; I mean the language of the Assyrian and Babylonian inscriptions, in the decipherment of which Rawlinson and his coadjutors have laboured with singular success. As the result of their labours, we may now regard it as an ascertained fact that the Assyrians spoke a language much more closely allied to the Semitic than to any other family of languages; yet not so closely related to the recognized members of the Semitic family as these are to one another. In the meantime we await the progress of discovery, in the expectation that at no distant period the Assyrian will take its place among the Semitic languages, and that thus a new and copious source of illustration will be opened to the student of Hebrew.

Excluding, therefore, these languages and some others, with regard to which our information is still more scanty, we include under the head *Semitic* three closely related groups of languages, whose original seat lay in south-western Asia, from which they spread out in various directions.[2] These are 1. The *Aramean*, or north-eastern group, including the *Chaldee* and *Syriac;* 2. The *Arabic* or southern; 3. The middle group, including the *Hebrew* and *Phœnician* or *Canaanitish*. The *Samaritan* holds an intermediate place between the Aramean and Hebrew; the *Ethiopic*, between the Hebrew and Arabic, though more closely related to the latter.

I. *Characteristics of the Semitic Languages, and in particular of the Hebrew.*—The characteristics of a language or class of languages must be sought for in one or other of three directions: 1. In the laws which regulate its *sounds*. 2. In the laws which regulate the formation of *roots* and *words*. 3. In the laws which regulate the structure of *sentences*.

1. With respect to *sounds*, the chief characteristics of the Semitic languages are the four following:—

(1.) The predominance of *guttural* sounds. The Hebrew has four or (we may say) five guttural sounds, rising from the slender and scarcely perceptible throat-breathing represented by the first letter of the alphabet (א) to the strong rough *ghain* and *cheth*. To these we must add the Semitic R, which partakes largely of the guttural character. And these sounds were not sparingly employed; on the contrary, they were in more frequent use than any other class of letters. In the Hebrew dictionary the four gutturals occupy considerably more than a fourth part of the whole volume; the remaining eighteen letters occupying considerably less than three-fourths. This predominance of guttural sounds must have given a very marked character to the ancient Hebrew, as it does still to the modern Arabic.

(2.) The use of the very strong letters *teth*, *tsade*, *koph*, which may be represented by *tt*, *ss*, (or *ts*), *kk*; in pronouncing which the organ is more compressed and the sound given forth with greater vehemence. These letters, especially the two last, are also in frequent use.

When the Greeks borrowed their alphabet from the Phœnicians they softened or dropped these strong letters (ט being softened into *θ*, and ק ץ being dropped except as marks of number), and changed the guttural letters into the vowels *α*, *ε*, *η*, *ο*.

(3.) The Semitic languages do not admit, like the Indo-European, of an accumulation or grouping of

[1] A similar confusion of names is found in the appendix to the LXX. translation of Job, in which the Hebrew is called Syriac.

[2] "All the original population of North Africa appears to have been a race of the Semitic stock."—Barth, *Travels*, i. 224, 380.

consonants around a single vowel sound. In such words as *craft, crush, grind, strong, stretch,* we find four, five, and six consonants clustering around a single vowel. The Semitic languages reject such groupings, usually interposing a vowel sound more or less distinct after each consonant.[1] It is only at the end of a word that two consonants may stand together without any intermediate vowel sound;[2] and even in that case various expedients are employed to dispense with a combination which is evidently not in accordance with the genius of the language.

(4.) The vowels, though thus copiously introduced, are nevertheless kept in strict subordination to the consonants; so much so that it is only in rare and exceptional cases that any word or syllable begins with a vowel. In Hebrew we have no such syllables as *ab, ag, ad,* in which the initial sound is a pure vowel; but only *ba, ga, da.*[3] If Sir H. Rawlinson is correct, it would appear that the Assyrian language differed from the other Semitic languages in this particular. In his syllabic alphabet a considerable number of the syllables begin with a vowel.

If we endeavour to calculate the effect of the foregoing peculiarities on the character of the language, we cannot avoid the conclusion that the Semitic languages are of a more primitive type than the European—much less matured, polished, compacted—the natural utterance of a mind vehement and passionate, impulsive rather than calmly deliberative.

2. With respect to *roots* and *words,* the Semitic languages are distinguished in a very marked manner:

(1.) *By the three-letter root.* This is one of the most striking characteristics of these languages, as it does not appear that there is any language not belonging to this class in the formation of whose roots the same law has been at work. It is very difficult to ascertain the origin of this singular phenomenon. It may possibly be regarded as a kind of equivalent for the compound roots of other languages (which are altogether wanting in the Semitic); an original *two-letter* root being enlarged and expanded into a greater or less number of *three-letter* roots, for the purpose of giving expression to the various modifications and shades of the primitive root idea. The attempt has indeed been made, and with no small measure of success, to point out and specify the two-letter roots from which the existing three-letter roots have been derived; but it has been properly remarked that such an investigation carries us quite away from the Semitic province. When we reach the two-letter root we have left behind us the Semitic languages altogether, and drawn forth a new language, which might be regarded, did we not know that the most ancient is not always the most simple, as the one primeval language of mankind.

(2.) The consideration of the Hebrew three-letter root, and its possible growth out of a more original two-letter root, leads on to the notice of another prominent feature of the Semitic languages—viz. *the further growth and expansion of the three-letter root itself into a variety of what are called conjugational forms, expressing intensity, reflexiveness, causation,* &c. A similar formation may be traced in all languages; in some non-Semitic languages, as the Turkish, it is very largely and regularly developed (Max Müller, Lectures on Science of Language, 318, &c.). In English we have examples in such verbs as *sit* and *set, lie* and *lay, set* being the causative of *sit, lay* of *lie;* or we may say *sit* is the reflective of *set,* and *lie* of *lay.* So in Latin *sedo* and *sedeo, jacio* and *jaceo,* &c., in which latter root the conjugational formation is still farther developed into *jacto* and *jactito.* But what in these languages is fragmentary and occasional, in Hebrew and the cognate languages is carried out and expanded with fulness and regularity, and consequently occupies a large space in the Semitic grammar. The conjugations are of three sorts (*a*) Those expressing *intensity, repetition,* &c., which are usually distinguished by some change *within* the root; (*b*) those expressing *reflexiveness, causation,* &c., which are usually distinguished by some *addition to* the root; (*c*) the *passives,* distinguished by the presence of the *u* or *o* sound in the first syllable.

(3.) Another prominent distinction of the Semitic languages is, *the extent to which modifications of the root idea are indicated, not by additions to the root, but by changes within the root.* "The Semitic roots," says Bopp (Comparative Grammar of the Indo-European Tongues, i. 99), "on account of their construction possess the most surprising capacity for indicating the secondary ideas of grammar by the mere internal moulding of the root, while the Sanscrit roots at the first grammatical movement are compelled to assume external additions." These internal changes are principally of two sorts:—

(*a*) *Vowel changes.* Nothing is more remarkable in the Semitic languages than the significance of their vowel sounds; the sharp *a* sound, formed by opening the mouth wide, being associated as a symbol with the idea of activity, while the *e* and *o* sounds are the symbols of rest and passiveness. In the Arabic verb this characteristic is very marked; many of the roots appearing under three forms, each having a different vowel, and the signification being modified in accordance with the nature of that vowel. The same law appears in the formation of the passives. Thus *katala* —pass. *kutela.*

(*b*) *Doubling of consonants,* usually of the middle letter of the root. By means of this most simple and natural device, the Semitic languages express *intensity* or *repetition* of action; and also such qualities as prompt to repeated action, as *righteous, merciful,* &c. By comparing this usage with the expression of the corresponding ideas in our own language, we observe at once the difference in the genius of the two languages. We say *merciful, sinful, i.e.* full of mercy, full of sin. Not so the Semitic. What we express formally by means of an added root, the Semitic indicates by a sign, by simply laying additional stress on one of the root letters. And thus again the observation made under the head *sound* recurs, viz. that in the formation of the Semitic languages the dominant influence was that of instinctive feeling, passion, imagination—the hand of nature appearing everywhere, the voice of nature heard in every utterance: in this how widely separated from the artificial and highly organized languages of the Indo-European family.[4]

[1] In this respect there is a gradation in the different Semitic languages; the Arabic being richest in vowels, the Aramean poorest, and the Hebrew and Ethiopic holding a middle place.—Dillmann's *Ethiopic Grammar,* p. 55.

[2] The exception *shtayim, two,* is only apparent.

[3] Words and syllables, however, of which the initial letter is א, may be said virtually to begin with a vowel, the sound of א being scarce perceptible by our ears.

[4] "Der ursprüngliche Naturlaut tönt in ihr stärker nach, als fast in irgend einer andern Sprache."—Adelung, *Mithridates,* i. 361, writing of the Hebrew language.

(4.) The influence of the imagination on the structure of the Semitic languages is further disclosed in *the view which they present of nature and of time.* To these languages a neuter gender is unknown. All nature viewed by the Semitic eye appears instinct with life. *The heavens declare God's glory; the earth showeth his handiwork. The trees of the field clap their hands and sing for joy.* This, though the impassioned utterance of the Hebrew poet, expresses a common national feeling, which finds embodiment even in the structure of the national language. Of inanimate nature the Hebrew knows nothing: he sees life everywhere. His language therefore rejects the neuter gender, and classes all objects, even those which we regard as inanimate, as masculine or feminine, according as they appear to his imagination to be endowed with male or female attributes.

And as his imagination thus endowed the lower forms of nature with living properties; so on the other hand, under the same influence, he clothed with material and sensible form the abstract, the spiritual, even the divine. In Hebrew the abstract is constantly expressed by the concrete—the mental quality by the bodily member which was regarded as its fittest representative. Thus *hand* or *arm* stands for *strength;* אף (*aph*), *nostril,* means also *anger;* the *shining of the face* stands for *favour* and *acceptance,* the *falling of the face* for *displeasure.* So also to *say* often means to *think;* to *speak with one mouth* stands for *to be of the same sentiment.* The verb to *go* is employed to describe *mental* as well as bodily *progress.* One's *course of life* is his *way, the path of his feet.*

And not only in its description of nature, but also in its *mode of indicating time,* do we observe the same predominant influence. The Semitic tense system, especially as it appears in Hebrew, is extremely simple and primitive. It is not threefold like ours, distributing time into past, present, and future, but twofold. The two so-called *tenses* or rather *states* of the verb correspond to the division of nouns into abstract and concrete. The verbal idea is conceived of either in its realization or in its non-realization, whether actual or ideal. That which lies before the mind as realized, whether in the actual past, present, or future, the Hebrew describes by means of the so-called preterite tense; that which he conceives of as yet to be realized or in process of realization, whether in the actual past, present, or future, he describes by means of the so-called future tense. Hence the use of the future in certain combinations as a historical tense, and of the so-called preterite in certain combinations as a prophetic tense. Into the details of the tense usages which branch out from this primitive idea we cannot now enter. It is in the structural laws of the Hebrew language that its influence is most strongly marked: in the Aramean it is almost lost.[1]

(5.) The influence of the imagination upon the structure of the Semitic languages may also be traced in the *absence of not a few grammatical forms which we find in other languages.* Much that is definitely expressed in more highly developed languages, is left in the Semitic languages, and especially in the Hebrew, to be caught up by the hearer or reader. In this respect there is an analogy between the language itself and the mode in which it was originally represented in writing. Of the language as written, the vowel sounds formed no part. The reader must supply these mentally as he goes along. So with the language itself. It has not a separate and distinct expression for every shade and turn of thought. Much is left to be filled in by the hearer or the reader; and this usually without occasioning any serious inconvenience or difficulty. The Semitic languages, however, do not all stand on the same level in this respect. In the Syriac, and still more in the Arabic, the expression of thought is usually more complete and precise than in Hebrew, though often for that very reason less animated and impressive. A principal defect in these languages, and especially in the Hebrew, is the fewness of the particles. And also the extreme simplicity of the verbal formation does occasion to the European student difficulties which can be surmounted only by a very careful study of the principles by which the verb-usages are governed.

In this respect the Hebrew occupies a middle position between those languages which consist almost entirely of roots with a very scanty grammatical development, and the Indo-European class of languages in which the attempt is made to give definite expression even to the most delicate shades of thought. The Greek, says Paul, seeks after wisdom: he reasons, compares, analyzes. The Jew requires a sign—something to strike the imagination and carry conviction to the heart at once without any formal and lengthened argument. The Greek language, therefore, in its most perfect form, was the offspring of reason and taste: the Hebrew of imagination and intuition. The Shemites have been the quarriers whose great rough blocks the Japhethites have cut and polished and fitted one to another. The former, therefore, are the teachers of the world in religion, the latter in philosophy. This peculiar character of the Semitic mind is very strongly impressed upon the language.

A national language being an embodiment and picture of the national mind, there is thus thrown around the otherwise laborious and uninteresting study of grammar, even in its earliest stages, an attractive power and value which would not otherwise belong to it. It was the same mind that found expression in the Hebrew language, which gave birth, under the influence of divine inspiration, to the sublime revelations of the Old Testament scriptures. And it would be easy to trace an analogy between these revelations and the language in which they have been conveyed to us. It is curious to find that even the divinest thoughts and names of the Old Testament connect themselves with questions in Hebrew grammar. Thus, when we investigate the nature and use of the Hebrew plural, and discover from a multitude of examples that it is employed not only to denote *plurality,* but likewise *extension* whether in space or time, as in the Hebrew words for *life, youth, old age,* &c., and also whatever bulks largely before the mind, we are unwittingly led on to one of the most important questions in the criticism of the Old Testament, viz. the origin of the plural form of the divine name אלהים (*Elohim*), in our version rendered *God.* Or, again, when we study the difficult question of the *tenses,* and endeavour to determine the exact import and force of each, we speedily discover that the grammatical investigation we are pursuing is one of unspeakable moment, for it involves the right appre-

[1] Ewald, *Lehrbuch,* sect. 134 *a.* This subject was discussed by the present writer in the *Journal of Sacred Literature* for Oct. 1849. To the general principles of that article he still adheres, though the experience of fourteen years has necessarily suggested not a few modifications in the details.

hension of that most sacred name of God, which the Jew still refuses to take upon his lips, the four-letter name יהוה, *Jahveh* or *Jehovah*. This, however, is a topic which we cannot pursue further: it is sufficient to have noticed it.

3. In the *syntax* and *general structure* of the Semitic languages and writings we trace the operation of the same principles, the same tendencies of mind which manifest themselves in the structure of *words*. In this respect the Hebrew language exhibits a more simple and primitive type than any of the sister-tongues. The simplicity of the Hebrew composition is very obvious even to the reader of the English Bible, or to the scholar who compares the Greek Testament, the style of which is formed on the model of the Old Testament, with the classical Greek writers. We observe at once that there is no such thing as the building up of a lengthened period, consisting of several propositions duly subordinated and compacted so as to form a harmonious and impressive whole. Hebrew composition consists rather of a succession of co-ordinate propositions, each of which is for the moment uppermost in the view of the speaker or writer, until it is superseded by that which follows. This results at once from the character of the Semitic mind, which was more remarkable for rapid movements and vivid glances than for large and comprehensive grasp. Such a mind would give forth its thoughts in a rapid succession of independent utterances rather than in sustained and elaborated composition. It is a consequence of the same mental peculiarity that the highest poetry of the Semitic nations is lyrical.

The Hebrew composition is also extremely *pictorial* in its character—not the poetry only but also the prose. In the history the past is not described; it is painted. It is not the ear that hears; it is rather the eye that sees. The course of events is made to pass before the eye; the transactions are all acted over again. The past is not a fixed landscape but a moving panorama. The reader of the English Bible must have remarked the constant use of the word *behold:* which indicates that the writer is himself, and wishes to make his reader also, a spectator of the transactions he describes. The use of the tenses in the Hebrew historical writings is specially remarkable. To the young student of Hebrew the constant use of the *future* tense in the description of the *past* appears perhaps the most striking peculiarity of the language. But the singular phenomenon admits of an easy explanation. It was because the Hebrew viewed and described the transactions of the past, not as all past and done, but as in actual process and progress of evolvement, that he makes such frequent use of the so-called future. In imagination he quits his own point of time, and lives over the past. With his reader he sails down the stream of time, and traces with open eye the winding course of history. It is impossible to reproduce in English this peculiarity of the Hebrew Bible.

Further, in writing even of the commonest actions, as that one *went, spoke, saw,* &c., the Hebrew is not usually satisfied with the simple statement that the thing was done, he must describe also the process of doing. We are so familiar with the style of our English Bibles that we do not at once perceive the pictorial character of such expressions as these, recurring in every page:—*he arose and went—he opened his lips and spake—he put forth his hand and took—he lifted up his eyes and saw—he lifted up his voice and wept.* But what we do not consciously perceive we often unconsciously feel; and doubtless it is this painting of events which is the source of part at least of the charm with which the Scripture narrative is invested to all pure and simple minds.

The same effect is also produced by the *symbolical way of representing mental states and processes* which distinguishes the Hebrew writers. Such expressions as *to bend* or *incline the ear* for "to hear attentively," to *stiffen the neck* for "to be stubborn and rebellious," to *uncover the ear* for "to reveal," are in frequent use. Even the acts of the Divine Mind are depicted in a similar way. And in the study especially of the Old Testament we must keep this carefully in view, lest we should err by giving to a symbolical expression a literal interpretation. Thus when we read, Ex. xxxiii. 11, that "the Lord spake unto Moses face to face as a man speaketh unto his friend," we must remember that it was a Hebrew who wrote these words, one who was accustomed to depict to himself and others the spiritual under material symbols, and thus we shall be guarded against irreverently attaching to them a meaning which they were never intended to bear. But though such modes of expression are open to misapprehension by us whose minds are formed in so very different a mould, nevertheless, when rightly understood, they have the effect of giving us a more clear and vivid impression of the spiritual ideas which they embody, than could be conveyed to us by any other mode of representation or expression.

The simplicity and naturalness of the language further appears in the prominence which is constantly given to the word or words embodying the leading idea in a sentence or period. Thus the noun stands before the adjective, the predicate stands before the subject, unless the latter be specially emphatic, in which case it is not only put first, but may stand by itself as a nominative absolute without any syntactical connection with the rest of the sentence.

The constant use of the *oratio directa* is also to be specially noted, as an indication of the primitive character of the language. The Hebrew historian does not usually inform us that such and such a person said such and such things; he actually as it were produces the parties and makes them speak for themselves. And to this device (if it may be so called) the Bible history owes much of its freshness and power of exciting and sustaining the interest of its readers. No other history could be so often read without losing its power to interest and charm.

Lastly, in a primitive language, formed under the predominating influence of imagination and emotion, we may expect to meet with many elliptical expressions and also with many redundancies. Not a little which we think it necessary formally to express in words, the Hebrew allowed to be gathered from the context; and, conversely, the Hebrew gave expression to not a little which we omit. For example, nothing is more common in Hebrew than the omission of the verb *to be* in its various forms; and on the other hand a very striking characteristic of the Hebrew style is the constant use of the forms וְהָיָה וַיְהִי (*vay'hi, v'haya*), *and it came to pass—and it shall come to pass,* which, in translating into English, may be altogether omitted without any serious loss. In the Hebrew prose also we often meet with traces of

that echoing of thought and expression which forms one of the principal characteristics of the poetic style; as in Ge. vi. 22, "And Noah did according to all that God commanded him—*so did he;*" and similar passages, in which we seem to have two different forms of recording the same fact combined into one, thus:—

> And Noah did according to all that God commanded him;
> According to all that the Lord commanded him, so did he.

II. *History of the Hebrew Language.*—Under this head are embraced three important topics, which we must rapidly glance at: 1. The origin of the language; 2. The nature and effects of the various influences which modified the form of the language, so long as it continued a living language; and, 3. The date at which it ceased to be a living language.

1. *Origin of the Hebrew Language.*—The primeval seat of the Hebrew language, so far as can be gathered from extant historical notices, was Palestine. These notices carry us back to the age of Abraham, but no farther. Whether Hebrew was the language of paradise, as the older critics and theologians fondly imagined, is a question for the solution of which we have no historical data. It is true that the names, *Adam, Eve, Abel,* &c., receive explanation from the Hebrew; but the argument formerly founded on this circumstance, and confidently relied on, is now generally allowed to be by no means conclusive. These names are in fact picture names; their meaning forms an important part of the story; and whether they were real names of ancient personages, or Hebrew equivalents for the real names, we have no means of certainly determining. The Hebrew may have been the primeval language; but there is no decisive historical evidence that it was.

So far as history informs us, Palestine was the earliest seat of the Hebrew language. And, what is somewhat surprising, when we do first meet with it, it is not confined to the families of the patriarchs, but appears to be the common language of the numerous tribes by whom Palestine was then occupied. There is no doubt that a language substantially the same as the Hebrew was the language of Canaan in the days of the patriarchs. The immigrants from beyond the Euphrates, and the tribes among whom they sojourned, and with whom they maintained frequent intercourse, spoke the same language. This fact at once suggests an important question for solution, viz. Was Hebrew the language of Abraham previous to his entrance into Canaan? or did Abraham, after his entrance into Canaan, acquire and transmit to his descendants the language of his adopted country? This is a question to which it is impossible at present to give a decisive reply, in consequence of our ignorance of the earlier history of the Phœnician and Canaanitish tribes, and the relations subsisting between them and the Semitic nations to whom by their language they were so closely allied. Still we must confess that the balance of probability appears to us to incline to the latter alternative. The evidence is scanty, but not without weight. (1.) In De. xxvi. 5, Abraham is called a Syrian or Aramean (ארמי); from which we naturally conclude that Syriac was his mother-tongue, especially when we find (2.), from Ge. xxxi. 47, that Syriac or Chaldee was the language spoken by Laban, the grandson of Nahor, Abraham's brother. Moreover, it has been remarked (3.), that in Is. xix. 18, the Hebrew is actually called the *language of Canaan;* and (4.) that the language itself furnishes internal evidence of its Palestinian origin in the word ים (*yam*), *sea*, which means also *the west*, and has this meaning in the very earliest documents. And (5.) finally, Jewish tradition, whatever weight may be attached to it, points to the same conclusion (Gesenius, Geschichte, sect. vi. 4).

If we inquire further, how it was that the Canaanites, of the race of Ham, spoke a language so closely allied to the languages spoken by the principal members of the Semitic family of nations, we shall soon discover that the solution of this difficulty is impossible with our present means of information; it lies beyond the historic period. It may be that long before the migration of Abraham, a Semitic race occupied Palestine; and that, as Abraham adopted the language of the Canaanites, so the Canaanites themselves had in like manner adopted the language of that earlier race, whom they gradually dispossessed, and eventually extirpated or absorbed. However this may be, leaving speculation for fact, is it not possible to discover a wise purpose in the selection of the language of Tyre and Sidon—the great commercial cities of antiquity—as the language in which was to be embodied the most wonderful revelation of Himself and of his law which God made to the ancient world? When we remember the constant intercourse which was maintained by the Phœnicians with the most distant regions both of the East and of the West, it is impossible to doubt that the sacred books of the Hebrews, written in a language almost identical with the Phœnician, must have exercised a more important influence on the Gentile world than is usually acknowledged.

Of course the Canaanitish language, when adopted by the Hebrews, did not remain unchanged. Having become the instrument of the Hebrew mind, and being employed in the expression of new and very peculiar ideas, it must have been modified considerably thereby. How far, may possibly be yet ascertained, should accident or the successful zeal of some explorer bring to light the more ancient monuments of the Phœnician nation, which may still have survived the entombment of centuries.

2. *Influences modifying the form of the Hebrew Language, and the style of the Hebrew writings.* These influences are (1.) *Time,* (2.) *Place,* (3.) *the individual peculiarities of the Hebrew writers,* and (4.) *the character and subject-matter of their compositions.* It is only the first two of these that fall to be considered in the present article.

(1.) *Time.*—The extant classical Hebrew writings embrace a period of more than a thousand years from the era of Moses to the date of the composition of the books of Chronicles, which stand last in the Hebrew Bible. And we naturally expect that the language of the earliest books should differ considerably from that of the later. Nay, we might probably expect to be able to trace a gradual change in the form of the language, becoming more and more decided as century followed century, and new influences were brought to bear upon it. This expectation, however, is not realized. There is indeed to be observed a very decided difference in language and style between the earliest and the very latest Hebrew writings; but this difference was the result, not of a gradual process of change extending over centuries, but of a very sudden and rapid revolution. Hence the extant Hebrew writings, when

classified with respect to language, have usually been arranged in two great divisions[1]—the former including those of a date earlier than the Babylonish captivity, the latter including those of a subsequent date. In passing from the book of Genesis to the books of Samuel and Kings, we do not mark any very striking difference in the language. Doubtless there is a difference; but not such a difference as we might expect to find in writings separated from one another in date by so considerable a period; not such a difference as we do actually find when we take up an English author of the seventeenth century, or even later, and compare his language with the English of our own day. Here then is a very remarkable phenomenon which requires explanation. Now this explanation is not to be found in the rejection of the traditional belief as to the age and authorship of the Pentateuch. Even those critics who endeavour to bring down the Pentateuch as a whole to a comparatively late date, allow that a portion at least of its contents is to be assigned to the age of Moses (Ewald, Lehrbuch, sect. 2, *c*): and thus, unless it can be shown that this most ancient portion bears in its language and style the stamp of high antiquity, and is distinguished in a very marked manner from the other portions of the Pentateuch (which has not been shown), the phenomenon still remains unexplained. But indeed the phenomenon is by no means unexampled. It does not stand alone. It is said, for example, that the Chinese language displays the same tenacity and aversion to change still more decidedly; the books of the great teacher Confucius being written in language not essentially different from that of his commentators fifteen hundred years later. So, we are informed by a writer of the fifteenth century, that the Greeks, at least the more cultivated class, even in his day spoke the language of Aristophanes and Euripides, maintaining the ancient standard of elegance and purity (Gibbon, viii. 106). Or to take another example more closely related to the Hebrew, it is well known that the written Arabic of the present day does not differ greatly from that of the first centuries after Mohammed. In each of the cases just mentioned, it is probable that the language was as it were stereotyped by becoming the language of books held in highest esteem and reverence, diligently studied by the learned, frequently committed to memory, and adopted as a model of style by succeeding writers.[2] Now, may not the sacred writings of the Mosaic age have had a similar influence on the written Hebrew of the following ages, which continued undisturbed till the captivity, or even later? We know how greatly the translations of the Bible into English and German have affected the language and literature of England and Germany ever since they were given to the world. But among a people like the ancient Hebrews, living to a certain extent apart from other nations, with a literature of no great extent, and a learned class specially engaged in the study and transcription of the sacred writings, we may well suppose that the influence of these writings upon the form of the national language must have been much more decided and permanent. The learned men would naturally adopt in their compositions the language of the books which had been their study from youth, and large portions of which they were probably able to repeat from memory. Thus the language of these old books, though it might differ in some respects from that spoken by the common people, would naturally become the language of the learned and of books, especially of books on sacred subjects, such as have alone come down to us from ancient Israel. I shall only further observe, that, in explanation of the fact under discussion, appeal has also been made (*a*) to the permanence of eastern customs; and (*b*) to the simple structure of the Hebrew language, which rendered it less liable to change than other more largely developed languages. It has also been remarked that some of the peculiarities of the early writings may be concealed from view by the uniformity of the system of punctuation adopted and applied to the Scriptures by the Hebrew grammarians.

The writings which belong to the second age—that subsequent to the Babylonish captivity—differ very considerably from those which belong to the first; the influence of the Chaldee language, acquired by the Jewish exiles in the land of their captivity, having gradually corrupted the national tongue. The historical books belonging to this age are the books of Chronicles, Ezra, Nehemiah, and Esther. In the prophets who prophesied during and after the captivity, with the exception of Daniel, the Chaldee impress is by no means so strong as we might anticipate, they having evidently formed their style on that of the older prophets. It is important, however, to observe, that the presence of what appears to be a Chaldeism, is not always the indication of a later age. Chaldee words and forms occasionally appear even in the most ancient Hebrew compositions, especially the poetical; the poet delighting in archaic and rare words, and substituting these for the more usual and commonplace. But between the Chaldaic archaisms and the Chaldeisms of the later Scriptures there is this marked distinction, that the former are only occasional, and lie scattered on the surface; the latter are frequent, and give a peculiar colour and character to the whole language.

A still more corrupt form of the language appears in the Mishna and other later Jewish writings, in which the foreign element is much more decided and prominent.

(2.) *Place.*—Under this head is embraced the question as to the existence of different dialects of the ancient Hebrew. Was the Hebrew language, as spoken by the several tribes of Israel, of uniform mould and character? or did it branch out into various dialects corresponding to the leading divisions of the nation? In attempting to answer this question, there is no direct historical testimony of which we can avail ourselves. From Ne. xiii. 23, 24, we learn nothing more than that the language of Ashdod differed from that of the Jews after their return from captivity, which is only what we might have anticipated. And the notices in Ju. xii. 6 and xviii. 3, which are more to the purpose, refer rather to a difference in pronunciation than in the form of the language. Notwithstanding, it seems *prima facie* probable, (*a*) that the language of the transjordanic tribes was in course of time modified to a greater or less extent by the close contact of these

[1] The threefold division of some recent writers has not been established.

[2] A young friend (now a missionary in China) informs me that he has had great difficulty in getting his Chinese pupils to understand how it happens that some words used in the authorized version of the Bible have become obsolete; the imitation and reproduction of the ancient language being regarded as one of the principal beauties of Chinese composition.

tribes with the Syrians of the north and the Arab tribes of the great eastern desert; and (*b*) that a similar dialectic difference would be gradually developed in the language of Ephraim and the other northern tribes to the west of the Jordan, especially after the political separation of these tribes from the tribe of Judah and the family of David. Possibly in the *Jewish language* of 2 Ki. xviii. 28, we may discover the trace of some such difference of dialect; as we can scarcely suppose the name *Jewish* to have been introduced in the very brief period which intervened between the taking of Samaria and the transaction in the record of which it occurs; and, if in use before the taking of Samaria and the captivity of the ten tribes, it must have been restricted to the form of the Hebrew language prevailing in Judea, which, being thus distinguished *in name* from the language of the northern tribes, was probably distinguished in other respects also. It is not improbable that some of the linguistic peculiarities of the separate books of Scripture are to be accounted for on this hypothesis.

3. *When the Hebrew Language ceased to be a living language.*—The Jewish tradition is to the effect that the Hebrew language ceased to be spoken by the body of the people during their captivity in Babylon; and this is the opinion of many Christian scholars also. There can be no doubt that the Hebrew was never spoken *in its purity* after the return from captivity; but that it ceased altogether to be the language of the people after that period, and was retained only as the language of books and of the learned, has not been established. The principal evidence relied on by those who hold this opinion is derived from Ne. viii. 8: "So they read in the book, in the law of God, *distinctly*, and gave the sense, and caused them to understand the reading." *Distinctly*, מְפֹרָשׁ (*m'phorash*), *i.e.* says Hengstenberg, "with the addition of a translation" (Genuineness of Daniel, ch. iii. sect. 5). But though this gloss has some support in Jewish tradition, it is at variance both with Hebrew and with Chaldee usage. מְפֹרָשׁ (*m'phorash*), means *made clear or distinct*, as is evident from Nu. xv. 34 (the meaning of מְפֹרָשׁ, *m'pharesh*, in Ezr. iv. 18 is disputed); and וַיִּקְרְאוּ מְפֹרָשׁ (*vayikr'u m'phorash*), can scarcely be otherwise rendered than "*they read distinctly*" (see the Lexicons of Cocceius, Gesenius, and Fürst; Buxtorf and Gussetius render by explanatè, explicatè.) This, indeed, is evident from the context; for if we should render with Hengstenberg, "*they read with the addition of a translation*," to what purpose the clause which follows, "*and gave the sense*," &c.? At the same time, though this passage does not furnish sufficient evidence to prove that in the time of Nehemiah Hebrew had ceased to be the language of everyday life, it does seem to point to the conclusion that at that time it had considerably degenerated from its ancient purity, so that the common people had some difficulty in understanding the language of their ancient sacred books. Still we believe that the Hebrew element predominated, and instead of describing, with Walton (Prolegom. iii. sect. 24), the language of the Jews on their return from exile as "*Chaldee with a certain admixture of Hebrew*," we should rather describe it as *Hebrew with a large admixture of Chaldee*. Only on this hypothesis does it appear possible satisfactorily to account for the fact that Hebrew continued even after this period to be the language of prophets and preachers, historians and poets, whilst there is no trace of any similar use of the Chaldee among the Jews of Palestine (comp. also Ne. xiii. 24).

At what time Chaldee became the dominant element in the national language it is impossible to determine. All political influences favoured its ascendency; and with these concurred the influence of that large portion of the nation still resident in the East, and maintaining constant intercourse with a Chaldee-speaking population. To these influences we cannot wonder that the Hebrew, notwithstanding the sacred associations connected with it, by and by succumbed. On the coins of the Maccabees, indeed, the ancient language still appears; but we cannot conclude from this circumstance that it maintained its position as a living language down to the Maccabean period (Renan, Langues Sémitiques, p. 137). The fragments of the popular language which we find in the New Testament are all Aramean; and ever since the Hebrew has been preserved and cultivated as the language of the learned and of books, and not of common life. On the history of the *post-biblical Hebrew* we do not now enter.

III. *Of the Written Hebrew.*—The Semitic nations have been the teachers of the world in religion; *by the invention of the alphabet* they may likewise lay claim to the honour of having laid the foundation of the world's literature.

The Semitic alphabet, as is well known, has no signs for the pure vowel sounds. All the letters are consonants; some, however, are so weak as easily to pass into vowels, and these letters we accordingly find in use, especially in the later Scriptures, as vowel marks.

Two interesting questions here present themselves: 1. As to the age and origin of the characters or letters which appear in all extant Hebrew MSS. and in our printed Hebrew Bibles; and 2. As to the origin and authority of the punctuation by which the vowel sounds are indicated.

1. On the former of these questions there are two conclusions which may be relied on as certain: (1.) That the present square characters were not in use among the Jews previous to the Babylonish captivity. The Jewish tradition is that they were introduced or reintroduced by Ezra (Gesenius, Geschichte, p. 150; Lightfoot, Horæ Hebraicæ, Mat. v. 18). (2.) That the square characters have been in use since the beginning of our era (Hupfeld in Stud. und Krit. for 1830, p. 288). But between these two limits several centuries intervene; is it not possible to approximate more closely to the date of their introduction? The only fact to which appeal can be made with this view is this—that on the coins of the Maccabees the square characters do not appear; but whether we are entitled to conclude from this that these characters had not then come into use in Judea is very doubtful (Gesenius, Geschichte, sect. xliii. 3). The probability is that the introduction of these characters, called by the Jewish doctors Assyrian, and generally admitted to be of Aramean origin, had some connection with the introduction of the Aramean language, and that the change from the ancient written characters, like that from the ancient language, was not accomplished at once, but gradually. It is possible that in the intensity of national feeling awakened during the Maccabean struggle, there was a reaction in favour of the ancient language and writing.

The characters in use before the Babylonish exile have been preserved by the Samaritans even to the

present day without material change (Gesenius, Monum. Phœn. sect. li. 1; comp. on this subject also Kopp, Bilder und Schriften, ii. sect. 165-167; Ewald, Lehrbuch, sect. lxxvii.; Gesenius, Geschichte der Hebräischen Sprache und Schrift, sect. 41-43; Winer, Realwörterbuch, ii. 420-424).

2. *As to the origin and authority of the punctuation,* the controversy which raged so fiercely in the seventeenth century may be said now to have ceased; and the views of Ludovicus Cappellus, from the adoption of which the Buxtorfs anticipated the most dangerous consequences (pessimas et periculosas consequentias), now meet with almost universal acquiescence. The two following conclusions may now be regarded as established: (1.) That the present punctuation did not form an original part of the inspired record, but was introduced by the Jewish doctors long after that record had been closed, for the purpose of preserving, so far as possible, the true pronunciation of the language; and (2.) That the present pointed text, notwithstanding its comparative recency, presents us with the closest possible approximation to the language which the sacred writers actually used. It would be tedious to go over the evidence by which these positions are established. Those who wish to do so will find the fullest information in the great work of Ludovicus Cappellus, entitled *Arcanum Punctationis Revelatum,* with the reply of the younger Buxtorf; compare also Hupfeld in the *Studien und Kritiken* for 1830, p. 549, &c. Keeping these conclusions in view in interpreting the Hebrew Scriptures, we shall be careful neither on the one hand to neglect the traditional text, nor on the other hand servilely to adhere to it, when a change of the points would give a better sense to any passage.

[The aids to the study of the Hebrew language and Scriptures are numerous. The principal are, Fürst's *Concordance,* which ought to be in the hands of every student; Gesenius' *Thesaurus Linguæ Hebraeæ,* completed by Rödiger, and also his *Lehrgebäude* and *Geschichte der Hebräischen Sprache und Schrift.* The best Hebrew grammar is Ewald's, one of the earlier editions of which has been translated by Dr. Nicholson. On the Semitic languages in general, Renan, *Histoire Générale et Système comparé des Langues Sémitiques,* and Walton's *Prolegomena.*] [D. H. W.]

HEBREWS, EPISTLE TO THE. One of the longest and most didactic compositions of its class in the New Testament; and in these respects most resembling the epistle to the Romans. We commence with some observations upon its

CANONICITY.—"That the epistle to the Hebrews," writes Bleek, in the learned and generally candid introduction to his *Commentary,* "if it be the production of the apostle Paul, possesses canonical authority admits of no doubt," (p. 437). And he proceeds in the attempt to prove that in the ancient church it was only where St. Paul was regarded as the author that the canonicity of the epistle was acknowledged. The learned commentator appears to us to be wholly mistaken in this view, and to have confounded two distinct questions, the authorship and the inspiration of the epistle. An *inspired* writing necessarily, in our opinion, forms part of the canon, so that inspiration and canonicity may be considered synonymous terms: but it does not follow that every epistle of an apostle was written under the influence of inspiration. Can we suppose that St. Paul, in the course of his long and active ministry, wrote only the fourteen which have been preserved in the canonical Scriptures? What has become of the rest, *e.g.* the lost epistle to the Corinthians, of which he himself makes mention? 1 Co. v. 9; for it is most difficult to interpret the passage otherwise than as an allusion to one of his epistles no longer extant. Can we suppose that if all the writings of the apostles were also necessarily inspired ones, the divine Ruler of the church would have permitted such an irreparable loss as must actually have taken place? The question is a difficult one, for no doubt it might be maintained that the lost inspired writings contained nothing further, nothing more necessary, than those which have been preserved: but to us it has always appeared the preferable supposition that, while the great mass of the apostolic compositions (and the same holds good of those of the fellow-helpers of the apostles, Luke, Mark, &c.) were not directly dictated by the Spirit of God, and therefore were permitted to fall into oblivion, these chosen organs of the Spirit at *certain times,* and upon *certain subjects,* did receive a special commission to write; that they were conscious of the supernatural impulse, and able to distinguish it from their ordinary teaching; and that what they *thus* wrote has, by the superintending providence of God, been so preserved that no portion of it has been lost. The same holds good of their oral teaching. Were they *always,* when they spoke, under that special inspiration which our Lord promises, Jn. xvi. 13-15, and which they unquestionably enjoyed at certain times, perhaps upon all *important* occasions? The question has never yet been sufficiently ventilated in connection with that of the formation of the canon of Scripture: but if the above supposition be thought well-grounded, it removes many of the difficulties which have been raised upon the scantiness of the evidence as to the authorship of certain books of Scripture. It is well known that in respect to several books of the Old Testament this is very doubtful: and to this day it remains, and unless fresh evidence turns up, it must ever remain, a question whether St. Paul wrote the epistle to the Hebrews. But the question becomes comparatively immaterial if it be true that even if he was the author, this alone would not establish its canonicity; while, on the other hand, the doubts which exist upon this point in no respect detract from its authority, if only it is capable of proof that from the first it was on the whole received by the church as an inspired composition. The consequences of the other view, which makes canonicity depend upon authorship, are seen in the theories of inspiration which even the more orthodox divines of Germany, who for the most part adopt this view, such as Bleek and Tholuck (in their commentaries upon our epistle), and Twesten in his *Dogmatik,* are led to propound; or rather their theories of the relative value of particular books: the writings of Luke and Mark, *e.g.,* and the epistle to the Hebrews, being supposed of a lower grade of inspiration, *because* the authors were not, or it is uncertain whether they were, apostles.

In our view, the human authorship, though an important, is not the decisive, consideration in this matter. We believe that such of their own writings, or of the writings of their fellow-labourers, as were inspired by the Spirit of God, and so were intended to be of premanent use and authority in the church, *i.e.* to form the canon, were during the apostles' lifetime authenticated by them, and delivered to the custody of the church. And thus that ecclesiastical tradition is, and always must be, the first moving cause towards our reception of the canon as it stands. Authorship, or internal

evidence, important as either is, can never form the primary basis of our faith. Into what rash conclusions Luther was led by the contrary hypothesis is known to all.

If these observations are well founded, very much of what even the best German commentators are wont to urge upon the *inferior* position of the epistle to the Hebrews, as compared with the undoubted compositions of St. Paul, becomes irrelevant. We do not subordinate the gospels of St. Mark or St. Luke to those of St. Matthew or St. John because the writers of the former were not apostles: we need not place the epistle to the Hebrews below that to the Romans *merely* because the author was Luke or Apollos, should either supposition prove to be the true one. The Holy Spirit did not confine himself to apostles in selecting the organs of his special inspiration.

How then stands the evidence of antiquity as regards the simple question of the canonical authority of the epistle? We are not disposed to insist upon a supposed allusion in 2 Pe. iii. 15, in which the writer speaks of the approaching day of the Lord, to a corresponding passage in He. x. 25; and to draw the inference which many have done that this latter must be the epistle in which "our beloved brother Paul wrote" concerning these things. Were this beyond doubt, it would of course go far towards establishing not only the authorship but the canonicity of the epistle. But the allusion seems too vague to warrant the conclusion. The epistles to the Thessalonians possess, in our opinion, a prior claim to be thought those which St. Peter had in view. We pass therefore out of Scripture into the field of uninspired history. And here fortunately there meets us in the first century a witness of unquestioned authenticity—Clement of Rome—probably the "fellow-labourer" of whom St. Paul makes mention in Phi. iv. 3. Clement's first epistle to the Corinthians, the latest date assigned to which is A.D. 96, is one of the most valuable and important relics of that age; at one time it possessed almost canonical estimation. Now there is no writing of the canon which, in thought and expression, Clement has so entirely incorporated in his own epistle as the epistle to the Hebrews. This was subject of remark in ancient times. "Clement," writes Eusebius (E. H. iii. 38), "transfers into his first epistle many of the ideas of the epistle to the Hebrews; and even adopts several of its expressions." In Bleek's or Stuart's Commentary parallel tables are given which amply bear out the historian's observation. It is true that he does not quote the epistle as a work of St. Paul's; it is not his custom to name the writers of the books from which he quotes. His epistle is full of citations from St. Paul's epistles; yet he only once alludes to him by name, viz. in connection with a passage from 1 Co. i. 12. Now the question is not whether Clement believed the writer of the epistle to have been Paul, though even upon this point it is not without weight that he cites it exactly as he does the other epistles of the apostle; but whether he would have so largely adapted it to his own uses if he had not regarded it as an inspired composition. There is no fact more remarkable than the abstinence of the early Christian writers from the use of the (Christian) Apocryphal writings: even those books the apostolical origin of which, for whatever reason, they doubted, are seldom quoted by them; as, in reference to our epistle, may be seen in the instance of Tertullian and other writers of the Latin church. Speaking of the epistle of St. James, Eusebius (ii. 23), after mentioning that by some it was thought spurious, adds, "not many, at least, of the ancients quote it;" the fact being, in his opinion, evidence of the suspicion which they entertained respecting it. If so ancient and conspicuous a writer as Clement intersperses his principal remaining work with copious reminiscences of our epistle, in what light must he have regarded it? We may go further, and argue with Hug (Einleit. ii. s. 479), that since Clement writes in the name of the Roman church, he furnishes indirect proof of the estimation in which, *at that early period*, the epistle was held by that important Christian community.

Allusions to our epistle are faintly traceable in the apostolical fathers, more distinctly in Justin Martyr; while Irenæus, from whatever reason, hardly ever cites it.[1] Bleek insists much upon a passage, preserved by Photius, of Stephanus Gobaras, a tritheist writer of the sixth century, in which both Irenæus and Hippolytus are said to have held that the epistle is not one of Paul's; but that they held it not to be part of Scripture, the point now before us, remains to be proved.

Throughout the whole Eastern church the epistle was received as canonical. It is found in the Peshito version, and even in the old Latin (A.D. 170), though probably in the latter it was inserted as an epistle of Barnabas, from the doubts entertained respecting its author. All the great writers of the Alexandrian school, commencing with its founder, Pantænus, and comprising the distinguished names of Clemens Alexandrinus, Origen, Dionysius, and Alexander, place it upon the same level as the other writings of the inspired volume. Some of them, indeed, among whom Origen is the principal, take notice of the difficulties which the Pauline authorship involves: thus, in a well-known passage, preserved by Eusebius (E. H. vi. 25), Origen observes that while the matter of the epistle is in every respect worthy of the apostle Paul, the style differs from that of his acknowledged epistles; whence he infers that possibly the ideas belong to Paul, but that some friend or fellow-labourer, such as Clement or Luke, actually composed it. Still there is not a hint of its inferiority, on that account, to the other books of Scripture. In all the catalogues of the Alexandrian writers the epistle occupies a place.

Eusebius, our principal authority upon questions of this kind, speaks of the "fourteen epistles of Paul as well known to all" (E. H. iii. 3); though at the same time he mentions the scruples which individuals (*τινές*) entertained respecting the canonicity of that to the Hebrews, on account of the hesitation of the Romish church to admit it. For himself he does not share in these doubts; holding it, as he does, to be an undoubted work of the apostle. Thenceforward in the Eastern church the question was regarded as settled.

The result of the whole is that throughout the East, including Egypt, a firm, historical tradition existed from the first in favour of the canonicity of the epistle; though here and there particular persons seem to have called it in question. When, however, we turn to the West, a very different state of things is found to prevail. It cannot be denied that for a considerable period the Western church does not appear to have shared the conviction of the Eastern. The chain of tradition so

[1] According to Eusebius (v. 26), Irenæus did quote the epistle in a work now lost, entitled *βιβλιον διαλεξεων διαφορων*.

clearly (as we have seen) commenced by Clement, was, for some reason not very apparent, interrupted for several centuries. Various hypotheses have been proposed to account for the fact; but none of them very satisfactory. The most plausible is that of Wetstein, afterwards reasoned out with great acuteness by Hug, that it was the opposition of the Roman church to the Montanists and their followers the Novatians that first led the writers of that communion to depreciate the authority of the epistle to the Hebrews. These sectaries, it appears, eagerly availed themselves of the passage, Heb. vi. 4–6, in support of their severe treatment of the lapsed. Their opponents, unable to refute their interpretation of the passage, adopted, it is conceived, the hazardous expedient of undermining the canonicity of the book in which it occurs. But however ingenious this theory may be, it is hardly credible that such an extreme measure as throwing doubts upon an acknowledged book of Scripture, would for any purpose be resorted to by the writers of an orthodox communion. In the absence of any better solution, we may suppose that, after the destruction of Jerusalem, the intercourse between the Latin churches and those of the East becoming more or less interrupted, the traditions of the latter passed out of the recollection of the former, or had some difficulty in propagating themselves beyond their original seat. However it may be accounted for, the fact remains. We have already seen that Irenæus, in none of his extant remains, cites our epistle. Tertullian (A.D. 218) may be regarded as the representative of ecclesiastical opinion in Proconsular Africa. He only once (De. Pud. c. 20) alludes to the epistle to the Hebrews, and then cites it as a subordinate authority, *ex redundantia*. That he ascribes it to Barnabas as its author is of less moment. As an additional proof of his opinion respecting it, we may remark that, charging the heretic Marcion with reducing the number of St. Paul's epistles to ten, he mentions the three pastoral epistles among the excluded ones, but not the epistle to the Hebrews (Adv. Marc. v. 20). Towards the close of the second century, Caius, a Roman presbyter, in controversy with the Montanist Proclus, admitted only thirteen of St. Paul's epistles (Euseb. vi. 20). The Muratori fragment of about the same date also makes the number thirteen, adding two spurious epistles—one to the Laodiceans, the other to the Alexandrians. Neither does Cyprian nor Novatian (of the African church) cite the epistle; though the passage already alluded to, He. vi. 4-6, offered a temptation to them to do so; seeming, as it does, to favour their peculiar sentiments respecting the lapsed. The same may be said of writers who lived a century later, such as Phŏbadius, a Gallic bishop; Zeno, bishop of Verona; Optatus; and the author of the commentary on St. Paul's epistles inserted in the works of Ambrose.

About this time however, *i.e.* the middle of the fourth century, the epistle begins to recover credit with the Latin writers. Hilary (A.D. 368), Ambrose, Philastrius, Gaudentius, and others, cite it as Scripture. The Latin church seems to have been led finally to abandon its scruples by the weighty authority of its great leaders, Jerome and Augustine. The former, in his epistle to Dardanus, thus expresses himself: "This must be said to our communion" (the Latins), "that the epistle to the Hebrews is received as an epistle of St. Paul, not only by the churches of the East, but by all the Greek writers, though most think it the work of Clement or Barnabas" (in its actual composition Jerome must mean; yet even in this sense it is difficult to explain the term *plerique* which he uses.) "Furthermore, *that it is of no consequence who the author was, since the book is daily read*" (as Scripture) "*in the churches.* But if the Latins do not reckon it among the canonical Scriptures, the Greeks on the other hand reject the Apocalypse of St. John. We nevertheless receive both, *following not modern custom, but the authority of the old writers,* who cite both as canonical books." Accordingly, he makes frequent use of it. Augustine follows in the steps of Jerome. In a well-known passage (De Doc. Christian. ii. 12, 13) he enumerates the canonical books, and among those of the New Testament reckons *fourteen* epistles of St. Paul. The fifth Carthaginian synod (A.D. 419), at which Augustine was present, in its canon formally adopts this number, and thenceforward there seems to have been no difference of opinion upon the subject. How far the decision of this synod may have influenced the Roman church is uncertain; but in an epistle of Innocent I. (A.D. 405) to Exsuperius, bishop of Tolouse, fourteen epistles are ascribed to St. Paul; from which it may be inferred that either the conclusions of the African synods, or the authority of Jerome, had materially influenced opinion in the metropolis of Christendom. Traces of the old doubts are found as late as the seventh century, but after that time they disappear.

The question, thus set at rest, slumbered until the dawn of the Reformation, when a Romish theologian, Cardinal Cajetan, was the first to revive it. He not only disputed the received opinion as to the authorship of the epistle, but pronounced it unworthy of an apostle; so that he was not unreasonably charged with disparaging its canonicity. In the former, but not in the latter, particular he was followed by Erasmus. All discussion however on the part of Romish theologians was speedily cut short by the decisions of the Council of Trent, which inserts the epistle among the canonical books of the New Testament.

The Lutheran churches, or at least writers, for a considerable time seem to have been influenced by the great Reformer's precipitate conclusions respecting the canon of Scripture. In his edition of the New Testament Luther divided the books into two classes, "the genuine principal books," and those "of inferior authority." The latter class comprised the epistle to the Hebrews, those of James and Jude, and the Apocalypse: these therefore he placed after the rest. Some of the writers of this communion, such as Chemnitz and Schröder, go so far as to call these books "apocryphal," in the same sense in which Jerome speaks of the corresponding books of the Old Testament, as fit "for example of life," but not for the "establishing of doctrine." About the middle of the seventeenth century this mode of speaking begins to be discouraged. The great John Gerhard (1625) disapproves of the term apocryphal, as applied to these books; and properly observes that the doubts of the early church related rather to the human composer (auctor secondarius) than to their canonical authority; and that with the same justice the book of Judges, the author of which is unknown, might be termed apocryphal. He therefore, for his part, prefers the title Deuterocanonici—a word, we cannot but think, of ill sound (see his Exeg. Art. de Scrip. Sac.) We see no middle position between a book's being canonical or not being so. He did not succeed in estab-

lishing this theological term; and before the close of the century, all our present books came to be received by the Lutheran church as of equal authority.

In the reformed branch of the Protestant community the same decision was arrived at much earlier. "What avails it," writes Beza (N. T. p. 335), "to dispute concerning the name of the author, which he himself wished concealed? Let it suffice that the epistle was truly dictated by the Holy Spirit."

We may say, then, that at present all Christian churches are unanimous in their reception of our epistle into the canon. The controversies of modern times have turned not so much upon the canonicity as the authorship of the epistle; the next point which comes to be considered.

AUTHORSHIP.—This, as has been already intimated, is not, in our view, a point of equal importance with the former. Still it is one of great interest, and according as it is decided it lends a strong confirmation, or the reverse, to the conclusions just established. By far the largest part of modern Introductions is taken up with its discussion; the questions of canonicity and authorship being for the most part confounded. The evidence to be considered is partly external, and partly internal.

External evidence.—The case may be thus stated: all ancient writers who ascribe the epistle to St. Paul hold it to be canonical; but not all who place it among the acknowledged books of Scripture deem it a work of the apostle, or, at any rate, his own composition. Clement of Rome, as we have seen, though evidently ranking it with the other epistles of Paul, nowhere expressly names him as the author. We revert then to the Alexandrian church. Pantænus, A.D. 180, Clement, and Origen entertain no doubt of Paul's being directly or remotely the author; nevertheless each of these fathers, particularly the last named, notices, as differing from St. Paul's manner, the anonymous character of the epistle and its style. The solution of Pantænus is, that Paul does not describe himself as an apostle to the Hebrews, partly out of reverence to our Lord, the true "minister of the circumcision," and partly because properly he was the apostle of the Gentiles; that of Clement, that the epistle was originally written in Hebrew, and afterwards translated by Luke, whence the similarity between its style and that of the book of Acts. Clement further argues that Paul did not affix his name to it, because, being obnoxious to the Hebrews, it might have prevented their perusal of it (Euseb. vi. c. 14). Origen speaks more fully. His opinion is that the language of the epistle belongs to some one expounding the apostle's sentiments. "If any church therefore hold it to be a production of Paul, let it on this account receive commendation; for not without reason have the ancients handed it down as an epistle of Paul. Who the amanuensis (ὁ γράψας) was, God knows; some say Luke, others Clement" (Euseb. E. H. vi. 25). The important question here is, Are these explanatory suggestions of the nature of a *defence* against a tradition or a party which denied the Pauline authorship? Do they imply an historical line of testimony on *that* side of the question? Such, in fact, is the use made of them by Eichhorn, Bertholdt, and even the more impartial Bleek. These critics infer from the observations of Origen, &c., that, at that time at least, there was a body of opinion in the Alexandrian church adverse to the received tradition. In our opinion they have signally failed in their inference. It seems very evident that one and all of these ancient writers are merely stating difficulties suggested to their own minds by the peculiarities of the epistle—difficulties very probably shared by many of their contemporaries—while, at the same time, they felt that they could not contend against the authentic tradition of the churches. They entertain their private conjectures in attempting to account for these peculiarities; but they let fall no hint of an adverse tradition. On the contrary, Origen expressly admits that "the ancients" handed down the epistle as one of Paul's—referring, not surely, as Bleek would have it, to Clement or Pantænus, the contemporaries of his youth, but to writers or authorities of much earlier date. As Origen was born A.D. 185, his "ancients" must have been the contemporaries or immediate successors of the apostles. After Origen, the Alexandrian church exhibits no difference of opinion upon this point.

Of the other branches of the Eastern church the extant testimony is more scanty, until we arrive at Eusebius. Lardner, however, discovers a probable allusion to He. xii. 1 in Methodius (A.D. 290), Bishop of Olympus, in Lycia, involving also the apostolic authorship of the epistle. And an explicit testimony to this effect exists in the address of the synod assembled at Antioch to Paul of Samosata, in which He. xi. 26 is quoted as from the same hand as 1 Co. x. 4 (Mansi Collect. Council. t. i. p. 1038). Of Eusebius we have already spoken. From the remarks occurring in various parts of his works we gather that, even in the East, there were persons (not churches or parties) who doubted whether the epistle be Paul's, and who, in support of their hesitation, appealed to the Roman church; but that his own opinion was decisive in favour of the common tradition: "fourteen epistles are clearly and certainly Paul's" (l. iii. c. 3.) It is to be remarked that those who entertained doubts upon the point were compelled to fortify themselves by the judgment of the Roman church, evidently in the lack of an *oriental* tradition in their favour. Writers subsequent to Eusebius need not be quoted; they all ascribe the epistle to Paul.

In the Western church the temporary rejection of the epistle from the canon necessarily involved a denial of its apostolic origin. Irenæus, as we have seen, is said by Gobar to have declared the epistle not to be one of Paul's; and it is very probable that the unfavourable judgment of this influential father was the primary source of the doubts entertained for a long time by the Latins. Tertullian ascribed the epistle to Barnabas. Jerome and Augustine transplanted the eastern tradition to the West; and there, too, it eventually took firm root.

Upon a review of the whole, it must be admitted that the external evidence vastly preponderates in favour of the Pauline authorship. On the one hand we have the almost unanimous testimony of the Eastern churches, who must be supposed the best authority upon the subject: on the other we have the dissent of churches remote from those to which the epistle was originally addressed—dissent which seems to have had no solid, *i.e.* historical basis, and which, in fact, prevailed but for a time. The German critics for the most part appear to us to have greatly understated the force of the historical evidence.

Internal evidence.—Under this head the difficulties are unquestionably greater, and the questions that arise more numerous.

So far as the epistle itself betrays its author, the

evidence on either side is nearly balanced. The closing verses agree well with the supposition that St. Paul wrote the epistle at the close of his first captivity at Rome. The author seems deprived of liberty, ch. xiii. 19; he hopes to be speedily restored to it; he mentions Timothy as his companion and (apparently) sometime fellow-prisoner; he sends salutations from "them of Italy," ver. 23, 24. (Compare Ph. ii. 19, 25; Phile. 22.) Whether with some we take the word ἀπολελυμένον, ver. 23, to signify "sent on a journey," or with the majority of critics, "freed from captivity," is immaterial: either event may have happened to Timothy. That no mention is found in the book of Acts of such a captivity of Timothy does not prove that it may not have occurred. To whom but the great apostle do these various circumstances point? No one else so likely meets us in the inspired history. Is it probable, we may also ask, that during St. Paul's lifetime Timothy would be found in such close connection with any other apostolic teacher? The improbability of this latter circumstance has led Bertholdt to the ungrounded hypothesis that the Timothy here mentioned must be a different person from the well-known fellow-labourer of the apostle. With respect to the expression in ver. 24, οἱ ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰταλίας, modern criticism has reversed the opinion of the elder interpreters that it may be a periphrasis for οἱ Ἰταλοί; and certainly the more probable meaning is, fugitives or travellers from Italy, which would imply that the writer was at the time not in that country: still the explanation of Hug and Storr is quite tenable —"persons from various parts of Italy then present at Rome."

On the other hand, from early times ch. ii. 3 has been a stumbling-block in the way of those who suppose Paul to have been the author. Nothing is more characteristic of the apostle than his references to the direct revelation of Christ as the source of his mission and his Christian knowledge (see Ga. i. 1, 11, 16; 2 Co. ii. 5): yet here the writer seems to imply that he had been instructed at second-hand "by those who heard" the Lord. Euthalius, Theophylact, and Œcumenius in ancient times, Luther and Calvin in more modern, have—especially the two reformers—considered this as almost decisive against the claims of Paul. Still, it may be replied, that under the term "us" the writer does not intend to include himself—or not necessarily so: but employs the rhetorical figure ἀνακοίνωσις (*consociation*), as in the passages: "knowing the time, that now it is high time for us to awake out of sleep," Ro. xiii. 11; "neither let us commit fornication, as some of them committed," 2 Co. x. 8; having in his eye rather those to whom he writes than himself.

The *sentiments* of the epistle are entirely such as we should expect from the apostle of the Gentiles. This is conceded by the strongest opponents of the Pauline authorship. Origen pronounces the νοήματα (*thoughts*) to be those of Paul, whatever peculiarities he discovers in the style. The following are some of the points of resemblance in the matter of doctrine between the acknowledged epistles of Paul and that to the Hebrews: 1. The representation of Christ as the image (ἴκων) of God, and the actual agent in the creation and upholding of the universe, He. i. 2, 3; comp. Col. i. 15-17; 2 Co. i . 4. 2. The humiliation of Christ, and his consequent exaltation, He. ii. 4-9; comp. Phi. ii. 8, 9. 3. Christ has abolished death and its consequences, He. ii. 14, 15; comp 1 Co. xv. 26, 54. 4. The death of Christ is a propitiatory sacrifice for the sins of the world, and this sacrifice is not to be repeated, He. ix. 26, 28; comp. Ro. vi. 9, 10. 5. Christ is the one mediator between God and man—our great "High-priest," He. ix. x.; comp. Ep. ii. 18; Ro. viii. 34. 6. Christ reigns at the right hand of God, until all his enemies be subdued, He. x. 12, 13; comp. 1 Co. xv. 25. 7. He will come again to judgment, He. x. 27, 28; comp. 2 Co. v. 10; 1 Th. iv. 16-18. 8. The relation of the old to the new dispensation is that of body to spirit, shadow to substance, He. vii. 15-19; ix. 9-14; viii. 8-13; comp. Ga. iii. 24-26; iv. 1-6. 9. The old dispensation having fulfilled its purpose, awaits its abolition, He. viii. 13; comp. 2 Co. iii. 13. Here certainly is a most remarkable coincidence of favourite topics, and such as exists in its integrity between no other writers of the New Testament. At the same time, it must not be concealed that some points upon which St. Paul is wont to enlarge are not found in our epistle; such are the resurrection of Christ, with its place and import in the Christian scheme, and the free admission of the Gentiles to the privileges of the gospel. Others are presented under a somewhat different aspect: *e.g.* the idea of the Mediator as a high-priest is peculiar to the epistle to the Hebrews, and the "faith" of the latter seems to have a more extended signification than is usual with St. Paul, see He. xi. Still these discrepancies weigh but little against the far more numerous points of agreement above mentioned.

Language and style.—These were the original ground of the doubts entertained by some of the early fathers; and to this day they undoubtedly present the most formidable difficulties to the biblical student. Origen was the first to remark how much purer the Greek of our epistle is than that of the rest of the New Testament: the only portion, indeed, which admits of comparison with it is the latter half of the Acts of the Apostles. At the same time it can make no pretension to classical purity. Hebraisms, both in single words and in grammatical construction, occur in sufficient numbers to prove that the author was a Jew: but not so frequently as to lead us to reverse the judgment of Origen. As regards ἅπαξ λεγόμενα which some writers, such as Schulz and Seyffarth, have collected in abundance from the epistle, we are disposed to assign little weight to them: what can it prove if against Seyffarth's 118 unusual words occurring in the Hebrews, Stuart produces 230 from the first epistle to the Corinthians? Mechanical comparisons of this kind are foreign from the spirit of philosophic criticism; and Bleek shows his discernment in adducing only six peculiar phrases (Introduction, p. 333). Before we can estimate the importance of ἅπαξ λεγόμενα (*peculiar expressions*), we must examine whether a great part of them be not owing to ἅπαξ νοούμενα (*peculiar thoughts*). The unusual expressions, undoubtedly to be found in the epistle, are to be explained by the style which the writer adopts, viz. the rhetorical: and here lies the real difficulty. If the epistle be one of Paul's, it must be admitted that it is the only one in which he has adopted this style, with its peculiarities: a *dialectic* tone pervades all his others. The rhetorical character of the epistle appears in the choice of dignified and poetical expressions, as ὁρκωμοσία, ἀιματεκχυσία; in the harmonious flow of the sentences; in the freer use of the Greek particle; and in the grammatical finish of the sentences, whereas in St. Paul's epistles *anacolutha* (breaks in the sequence) are very frequent.

In addition to the general character of the style of

this epistle, critics have remarked minor peculiarities which seem to distinguish it from those of St. Paul. As the result of a minute investigation Bleek discovers that whereas Paul, in his citations from the Old Testament, does not hesitate to abandon the LXX. version where it does not correctly represent the sense of the Hebrew, the writer of the epistle before us adheres most closely to that version, even where it is manifestly incorrect; of which the most notable example, perhaps, is the citation in ch. x. 1–5 from Ps. xl., where, instead of "mine ears hast thou opened," the writer follows the Greek, "a body hast thou prepared me." Bleek remarks also that Paul in quoting the LXX. usually follows the readings of the Vatican MS., whereas in the epistle to the Hebrews those of the Cod. Alex. seem to have been familiar to the writer. There is a difference too in the mode in which the two writers introduce their quotations; St. Paul commonly prefacing them with the formulas, "as it is written," or "as the Scripture saith," or "as David says," while in our epistle the *auctor primarius*, the Holy Spirit, is for the most part introduced as speaking. (See ch. i. 6-8; iv. 4, 7; x. 30).

Thus, then, the matter stands. Whatever ecclesiastical tradition (the period of the Roman scepticism excepted) exists upon the subject is in favour of the Pauline authorship: while internal evidence seems to militate against that hypothesis. Which of the two deserves the preference? For our part, we cannot hesitate in permitting the former to outweigh the latter. It seems to us that the very difficulties which the style, phraseology, &c., of the epistle present, enhance the force of the external testimony: for nothing, surely, but a well-known and thoroughly authentic tradition could have maintained itself against these difficulties. The aspect of things is this: the historical evidence contends against, and finally overcomes, the doubts suggested by a critical examination of the epistle. The German critics seem to us far from giving due weight to this consideration. It remains to ask whether the acknowledged discrepancies from Paul's usual manner which the structure of the epistle exhibits admit of explanation. Not perhaps of a satisfactory one. At least that of Hug—that Paul, not being the founder of the churches to whom the epistle is addressed, could not adopt so familiar a tone as he does in his other epistles; and that the subject, moreover, being of a particularly elevated nature, demanded a corresponding dignity of style—will hardly be thought so. The same might be said of the epistle to the Romans, yet it presents all the well-known features of the apostle's style. Nor does it appear why Paul, when writing to Christians of Palestine, should have been more solicitous about the graces of composition than when he wrote to the polished Corinthians. On the other hand, when we consider the marvellous versatility with which, in other respects, he could "become all things to all men," and the mastery which he possesses over the resources of the Greek language such as it is found in the common dialect of the time, it is quite within the range of possibility that he may, for some reason unknown to us, have for once clothed his ideas in a style different from that which he usually adopts. St. Paul's speeches in the book of Acts, especially that before Festus and Agrippa, are not in language quite such as we should expect from him. Instances are not unfrequent in which writers have successfully composed in a style not natural to them. Cicero's book *De Officiis* presents a great contrast to his *Tusculans*, or his *Orations:* and who could suppose that the author of the treatise on the *Sublime and Beautiful* was the same that poured forth the *Reflections on the French Revolution?*

Thus much may at least be affirmed; that if St. Paul be not the author, it must ever remain a problem who was. None of the theories that have been broached upon the subject can boast of traditionary support. Ever since Semler (1763) questioned the Pauline authorship, the continental critics have been exercising their ingenuity on the same side, and the result is an abundant harvest of involuntary candidates for the honour. Clemens Romanus, Titus, Luke, Mark, Silvanus, Barnabas, Aquila, and Apollos, have their respective advocates; the last mentioned, originally suggested by Luther, seems at present to be the favourite. Bleek and Tholuck argue strongly in his behalf. Barnabas may boast the sole authority of Tertullian; but the author of the epistle which goes under his name could by no possibility have produced a work like that to the Hebrews. Apollos, from his birth, culture, and biblical knowledge, Ac. xviii. 24, may be supposed capable of such an effort; but his claims rest upon pure conjecture: not a particle of ancient testimony can be adduced in his favour.

Upon the whole, it is a case in which probabilities must decide, for certainty is unattainable. We hold that much more may be said in favour of the Pauline authorship and less against it than is the case with any of the other hypotheses: and we acquiesce in Origen's judgment, that "not without reason the epistle has been handed down as one of Paul's."

THE PERSONS TO WHOM THE EPISTLE WAS ADDRESSED. —That this book of the New Testament is really an epistle, and not, as some have imagined, a treatise, is sufficiently evident from the personal allusions at the close, which point to a specific circle of readers. Who these were seems very plain. The whole structure of the epistle shows that it was addressed to Christians of Jewish descent; and, moreover, to those of a certain locality; not, like the epistles of St. Peter and St. James, to the nation at large. Now the intimate acquaintance with, and strong attachment to, the Levitical ritual which the epistle throughout supposes, indicate Jewish believers who lived in the immediate vicinity of the temple; we infer therefore that it was addressed to the Christian congregations of Jerusalem. To the same conclusion we are led by the inscription πρὸς Ἑβραίους, which may possibly be from the author's hand. For though this term *may* signify merely descent, as in the passage, "Are they Hebrews? So am I," 2 Co. xi. 22, yet in the apostolic age it is more frequently found as a description of the Jews of Palestine, as distinguished from those who resided in other countries (Ἑλληνισταί, *i.e.* those who spoke Greek, whereas the Ἑβραῖοι spoke Aramaic). It is remarkable too that throughout the epistle no allusion occurs to the admission of heathens to the church, no directions how the Jewish believers were to conduct themselves towards their uncircumcised brethren. These are topics which in writing to a *mixed* church St. Paul, or any one who had imbibed his sentiments, could hardly have failed to introduce: their absence must be accounted for by the supposition that the original readers comprised no Christians of heathen descent.

The opinion of the early church, as expressed by Clement, Eusebius, Jerome, and Theodoret, is decisive in favour of the above conclusion: and it is not worth while to do more than mention the others that have been advanced. J. C. Schmidt maintained that the epistle was addressed to Jewish believers of Alexandria; Storr, that it was intended for those of Galatia: Macedonia in like manner, Asia Minor, and Spain, have had their respective advocates. But no show of probability attaches to any of these suppositions.

ORIGINAL LANGUAGE.—In order to account for the difference of style between our epistle and the acknowledged ones of St. Paul, several ancient writers, holding that it is to be ascribed to the apostle, supposed that it was originally written in Aramaic and then translated into Greek. But no historical tradition exists in favour of this opinion, and it is contradicted by the whole structure of the epistle. The comparative purity of the Greek; the periodic style, so foreign from the Hebrew and its dialects; the use of Greek expressions which can only be rendered in Hebrew by a periphrasis; the frequent paronomasia, ch. vi. 8; xiii. 14; and the constant use of the LXX. version—all prove that our present text is the original one. No trace of any other exists. If it be asked, Why should an epistle intended for the Jews of Palestine be composed in Greek and not in their native tongue? we reply, in the first place, that Greek was probably more extensively understood and spoken in Judea than is commonly supposed. The Roman procurator transacted public business in this language; and it was spoken by the vast multitudes who thronged Jerusalem at the feasts of passover and pentecost. The people *expected* that Paul would have addressed them in Greek, and were surprised into silence by his use of the Aramaic, Ac. xxii. 2. We may add that the extensive use of the LXX. even in Palestine must have familiarized the native Jews with the language in which that version is written. And in the next place, the same reason exists for our epistle being written in Greek as for any other book of the New Testament; viz. that Greek was at that time the current language of the world. Tholuck argues that if Paul were the author, he would have addressed his countrymen in their own tongue: he forgets that the epistle was for the benefit of the church at large, and to be a κτῆμα ἐς ἀεί, even unto the end of time.

TIME AND PLACE OF WRITING.—The epistle itself enables us to place a limit *beyond* which it cannot be supposed to have been written. The temple, and the temple services, are manifestly in existence: the epistle therefore must have been composed before A.D. 70, the year of the final destruction of the city. If it be admitted to be a production of St. Paul, the passages at the close agree best with the supposition that it was written by the apostle during, or shortly after the close of, his first captivity at Rome: if the latter, from some place in Italy. The particular place remains an unsolved problem: and this whether Paul or Apollos be considered the author.

CONTENTS.—This epistle is hortatory rather than argumentative in character; and though dogmatical as well as practical, the doctrinal portion, important as it is, is so intermingled with the practical, that we cannot, as in most of St. Paul's epistles, distinctly separate the two. The readers are supposed to be wavering in their allegiance to Christ; doubtful whether to go forward in the path pointed out to them, or to retrace their steps to the "beggarly elements" of Judaism. The general scope therefore of the epistle is to prove that the gospel not only contains all that was valuable in the ancient religion, but supplies what was wanting in it, and confers infinitely greater spiritual blessings. The writer commences with a contrast between Christ the mediator of the new covenant, and those created beings (Moses and the angels) who assisted at the promulgation of the old. Christ is the eternal Son, the Creator of "the worlds," whose throne is everlasting, to whom even the angels are commanded to bow the knee; whereas these exalted beings, however glorious, are but "ministering spirits," obeying their Master's will, ch. i. Yet this divine person became, in one sense, lower than the angels, by taking our nature upon him with all its innocent infirmities; a humiliation necessary to the fulfilment of the divine purpose and the welfare of the church. But in proportion to the dignity of the Saviour and the greatness of his salvation, will be the guilt of those who reject him, ch. ii. iii. 1, 2. As regards Moses, his relation to Christ was that of a servant to the son of the house; in every respect an inferior one, ch. iii. 3-6. Let them therefore hold fast their profession, and take warning from the example of their forefathers, who, refusing to follow the command of God, forfeited the earthly rest which he had promised them, and perished in the wilderness, ch. iii. 7-19. This temporal rest was but the figure of a future and eternal one, to which the people of God look forward, and to which, if they be not wanting to themselves, they may attain through the merits and intercession of their great High-priest, who, though passed into the heavens, retains a fellow-feeling for their infirmities, and will supply grace for every emergency, ch. iv.

The writer hence takes occasion to pass to the main topic of the epistle, the priesthood of Christ as compared with the Jewish priesthood. He commences with observing that the sacerdotal office comes from above, and is necessarily discharged by men, as those who, from the consciousness of their own infirmities, can sympathize with the imperfections of the worshippers. Both conditions were fulfilled in Christ, who, in our nature, became experimentally acquainted with suffering, and who, by the express appointment of God, was constituted an high-priest after the order or manner of Melchizedek, ch. v. 1-10. Considering the time that had elapsed since their conversion, they ought to have advanced from the elements to the deeper doctrines of their religion; let them beware of provoking the Holy Spirit to depart from them, and, in firm reliance upon the immutable promise of God, press forward in the way of life, ch. vi. After this digression the writer returns to the subject he had opened. Christ was made an high-priest after the manner of Melchizedek. He is superior therefore to the Jewish priests, first, inasmuch as Abraham, and through him Levi, paid tithes to Melchizedek, thereby acknowledging his superiority; and secondly, inasmuch as our Lord's priesthood is of eternal duration, as contrasted with the constant succession of the Levitical priests—a circumstance prefigured by the absence of genealogical records relating to the family of Melchizedek. The inferiority of the Jewish priesthood carries with it that of the whole dispensation; which, according to the famous prophecy, Je. xxxi. 31-34, was intended, in due time, to give place to a better and eternal covenant, ch. vii. viii. It is true that in the Levitical ritual and sacrifices we have a typical representa-

tion of the atoning work of Christ; still it was but a typical one, and in itself wholly inadequate to the proposed end. Christ is the substance, of which it was the shadow; the most holy place of the earthly tabernacle has given place to heaven itself, the blood of bulls and goats to that of Christ, the annual entrance of a human mediator to the perpetual appearance before God of the divine Mediator, "ever living" to plead the merits of his sacrifice and to second our prayers. As a consequence of this fulfilment of the type, the sacrifice of Christ can never, and does not need to, be repeated, ch. ix., x. 1-17. The epistle concludes with various hortatory remarks. After a solemn warning against the danger and the consequences of apostasy, ch. x. 19-39, the writer encourages his readers by the examples of a number of famous Old Testament characters, who, in their several ways, furnish signal illustrations of the nature and efficacy of faith; and bids them, amidst their present sufferings, which all Christians must expect, and which are intended for their benefit, look off this earthly scene to their exalted Saviour, who himself only reached the crown through the cross, ch. xi. xii. The last chapter is occupied with the inculcation of particular moral duties and some personal allusions, ch. xiii.

Commentaries, &c.—The epistle to the Hebrews has, as might have been expected, attracted to itself a large share of the attention of commentators. Chrysostom has expounded it with the good sense and piety for which his homilies are conspicuous. The same, though not to the same extent, may be said of the commentary of Theodoret, and the Catenæ of Theophylact and Œcumenius. Of the Romish expositors the best are Erasmus (his doctrinal indifferentism excepted), Cornelius à Lapide, and Calmet—none of them, however, of great philological value. In the reformed branch of the Protestant church the principal names are Calvin, Beza, Piscator, to which may be added the divines of Holland and France, such as De Dieu, Heinsius, and the two Capelli. The commentaries of most of these are comprised in the *Critici Sacri*. Cocceius and his school expounded the epistle with a particular view to their system of typology. The Arminians can boast of Grotius, Clericus, and Wetstein—the last valuable for his classical citations. Michaelis (1747) may be said to lead the van of the more modern continental criticism. He was followed by Carpzovius and Schmidt. The first important contribution of this period was the work of Schulz (1818), which, in spite of its erroneous dogmatical tendencies, materially promoted the grammatical exposition of the epistle. The same may be said of Böhmes' commentary (1825). Tholuck has written upon our epistle (1836) with the piety, though with the looseness of doctrinal statement, which are characteristic of that commentator. The most comprehensive and scholarlike exposition of the epistle is unquestionably that of Bleek; unhappily what has just been said of Tholuck applies still more strongly to this learned and conscientious writer. Two commentaries have recently appeared in Germany, one by Ebrard, forming one of Clark's Foreign Theological Series, the other by Delitzsch. The latter is of great value, especially for the insight it exhibits into the connection between the Old and New Testaments, its interpretation of the passages from the Old Testament, and the able manner in which it meets the theories of the atonement which have been recently ventilated in Germany.

In English we have few commentaries equal to the wants of the age. The great work of Owen will always remain a storehouse of doctrinal and experimental divinity; but in a philological point of view it is inadequate. Hammond is of little value. The work of Stuart displays diligence and learning; but, like the other commentaries of the same writer, it is deficient in accuracy and refinement of tact. (Witness his translation of πολυμερῶς καὶ πολυτρόπως, "often and in various ways." It should have been, "by sections," *i.e.* a little at a time, intimating the *progressive* nature of revelation; and "in divers manners," *i.e.* by type, prophecy, &c.) [E. A. L.]

HE'BRON. An ancient city of southern Palestine. Its original name was KIRJATH-ARBA, or the *city of Arba*, Jos. xv. 13; and it is now called *El Khalil*, or "the friend." It is situated in the hill country of Judea, about twenty miles south of Jerusalem, and is 2800 feet above the Mediterranean. It is commonly reckoned one of the oldest of cities, being built seven years before Zoan in Egypt, Nu. xiii. 22. The modern town, which occupies nearly the same site as the ancient, is on the slope of a hill on the eastern side of the plain of Mamre. Perhaps the best view of it is obtained by the traveller who approaches it from the southern desert. After several days' journey, in which the parched wilderness of Petra is gradually exchanged for wild encampments of Bedouins, with their flocks of goats; and these again for scattered corn-fields interspersed with thickets and stunted trees; one more of the long succession of undulating hills is climbed, and before the eyes is the wide valley rich with trees, and fields, and vineyards, and beyond is the white and straggling city stretched out along the dark gray mountain side. Behind it is the road to Bethlehem, Jerusalem, and the heart of the country. The position of Hebron in the journey from the desert into Palestine is very similar to the place it occupies in the world's religious history. It greets the traveller on the confines of the inhabited country, just as its name meets the student at the outset of historic times. For a while all our interest and attention are centred upon the home of Abraham—the sojourner in a strange land—the first to whom a special revelation was given—the first with whom a special covenant was made. Once more the page of sacred history dwells upon it, when the rejected dynasty of Saul was passing away, and David, the man after God's own heart, sets up his kingdom there. And as Hebron and its neighbourhood gives the traveller but a sorry foretaste of the interest of Jerusalem and the beauty of Galilee, so its name fades away from scripture history, as it is not mentioned by the prophets, and does not appear to have been even once visited by our blessed Lord. There remain, however, to be mentioned two occasions—both of them in early times and of lesser importance—on which its name occurs in the Bible. At the settlement of the Israelites in the Land of Promise, the territory of Hebron fell to Caleb, who drove out thence the Anakim, Jos. xv. 13, 14, and it became a city of refuge, Jos. xx. 7, and was assigned to the Levites, Jos. xxi. 11. Absalom first set up his standard of revolt at Hebron, and his position here seems to have been so strong, that David was at once compelled to flee from Jerusalem. At the present day the streets are narrow, irregular, and ill-paved, and the houses are white-washed, and covered with flat or domed roofs. The bazaars are small, and are covered over as in most eastern cities. The most conspicuous object is the mosque of El Haran, built over the cave of Machpelah, the burying place of Abraham's family. It is 200 feet long, 150 wide, and 60 high, and is surrounded by a colonnade of square pilasters forty-eight in number. It is guarded by Moslem fanaticism from the "infidel" gaze of Jew and Christian, with even greater jealousy than the mosque of Omar at Jerusalem. In consequence, for 600 years no European has been admitted to its precincts, except an Italian who entered in disguise, and Ali Bey, a Spanish renegade. But M. Pierotti, as engineer to the pasha of Jerusalem, has lately had an opportunity of leisurely examining the building; and in the spring of the year 1862 the Prince of Wales and his suite were allowed to visit the interior, of which a description is given in the subjoined extracts from App. ii. to Dr. Stanley's *Lectures on the Jewish Church*, part i.

"We reached the south-eastern corner of the massive wall of inclosure, the point at which inquiring travellers from generation to generation have been checked in their approach to this, the most ancient and the most authentic of all the holy places of the Holy Land. Up the steep flight of the exterior staircase, gazing close at hand on the polished surface of the wall, amply justifying Josephus' account of the marble-like appearance of the huge stones which compose it, we rapidly mounted. At the head of the staircase, which by its long ascent showed that the platform of the mosque was on the uppermost slope of the hill, and therefore above the level where, if anywhere, the sacred cave would be found, a sharp turn at once brought us within the precincts and revealed to us for the first time the wall from the inside. . . . We passed at once through an open court into the mosque. With regard to the building itself, two points at once became apparent. First, it was clear that it had been originally a Byzantine church. To any one acquainted with the cathedral of S. Sophia at Constantinople, and with the monastic churches of Mount Athos, this is evident from the double narthex or portico, and from the four pillars of the nave. Secondly, it was clear that it had been converted at a much later period into a mosque. . . . . I now proceed to describe the tombs of the patriarchs, premising always that these tombs, like all those in Mussulman mosques, and indeed like most tombs in Christian churches, do not profess to be the actual places of sepulture, but are merely monuments or cenotaphs in honour of the dead who lie beneath. Each is inclosed within a separate chapel or shrine, closed with gates or railings similar to those which surround or inclose the special chapels or royal tombs in Westminster Abbey. The two first of these shrines or chapels are contained in the inner portico or narthex, before the entrance into the actual building of the mosque. In the recess on the right is the shrine of Abraham, in the recess on the left that of Sarah, each guarded by silver gates. The shrine of Sarah we were requested not to enter as being that of a woman. A pall lay over it. The shrine of Abraham, after a momentary hesitation, was thrown open. The chamber is cased in marble. The so-called tomb consists of a coffin-like structure, about six feet high, built up of plastered stone or marble, and hung with three carpets —green embroidered with gold.

"Within the area of the church or mosque were shown the tombs of Isaac and Rebekah. They are placed under separate chapels, in the walls of which are windows, and of which the gates are grated, not with silver, but iron bars. Their situation, planted as they are in the body of the mosque, may indicate their Christian origin. In almost all Mussulman sanctuaries, the tombs of distinguished persons are placed, not in the centre of the building, but in the corners. To Rebekah's tomb the same decorous rule of the exclusion of male visitors naturally applied as in the case of Sarah's. But on requesting to see the tomb of Isaac, we were entreated not to enter; and on asking, with some surprise, why an objection which had been conceded for Abraham should be raised in the case of his far less eminent son, were answered that the difference lay in the characters of the two patriarchs: 'Abraham was full of loving-kindness; he had withstood even the resolution of God against Sodom and Gomorrah; he was goodness itself, and would overlook any affront. But Isaac was proverbially jealous, and it was exceedingly dangerous to exasperate him. When Ibrahim Pasha (as conqueror of Palestine) had endeavoured to enter, he had been driven out by Isaac, and fell back as if thunderstruck.' The chapel in fact contains nothing of interest; but I mention this story both for the sake of the singular sentiment which it expresses, and also because it well illustrates the peculiar feeling which has tended to preserve the sanctity of the place—an awe, amounting to terror, of the great personages who lay beneath, and who would, it was supposed, be sensitive to any disrespect shown to their graves, and revenge it accordingly. The shrines of Jacob and Leah were shown in recesses, corresponding to those of Abraham and Sarah, but in a separate cloister opposite the entrance of the mosque. . . . .

[322.] Hebron—the Great Mosque and part of the Town.—Laborde, Voyage en Orient.

"It will be seen that up to this point no mention has been made of the subject of the greatest interest; namely, the sacred cave itself, in which one at least of the patriarchal family may possibly still repose intact—the embalmed body of Jacob. It may well be supposed that to this object our inquiries throughout were directed. One indication alone of the cavern beneath was visible. In the interior of the mosque, at the corner of the shrine of Abraham, was a small circular hole, about eight inches across, of which one foot above the pavement was built of strong masonry, but of which the lower part, as far as we could see and feel, was of the living rock. This cavity appeared to open into a dark space beneath, and that space (which the guardians of the mosque believed to extend under the whole platform) can hardly be anything else than the ancient cavern of Machpelah. This was the only aperture

Drawn by H.C Selous From a Sketch by Lieut Col.Mc Niven

Engraved by S Bradshaw

HEBRON.

which the guardians recognized. Once, they said, 2500 years ago, a servant of a great king had penetrated through some other entrance. He descended in full possession of his faculties and of remarkable corpulence; he returned blind, deaf, withered, and crippled. Since then the entrance was closed, and this aperture alone was left, partly for the sake of suffering the holy air of the cave to escape into the mosque, and be scented by the faithful; partly for the sake of allowing a lamp to be let down by a chain, which we saw suspended at the mouth, to burn upon the sacred cave. We asked whether it could not be lighted now? 'No,' they said, 'the saint likes to have a lamp at night, but not in the full daylight.'

"With that glimpse into the dark void we and the world without must for the present be satisfied. Whether any other entrance is known to the Mussulmans themselves must be a matter of doubt. The original entrance to the cave, if it is now to be found at all, must probably be on the southern face of the hill, between the mosque and the gallery containing the shrine of Joseph, and entirely obstructed by the ancient Jewish wall, probably built across it for this very purpose."

The above account of the entrance to the sacred cave is somewhat at variance with the results of the researches of M. Pierotti, who states, in a letter to the *Times*, April 30, 1862, "The true entrance to the patriarchs' tomb is to be seen close to the western wall of the inclosure, and near the north-west corner; it is guarded by a very thick iron railing, and I was not allowed to go near it. I observed that the Mussulmans themselves did not go very near it. In the court opposite the entrance gate of the mosque there is an opening, through which I was allowed to go down for three steps, and I was able to ascertain by sight and touch that the rock exists there, and to conclude it to be about five feet thick. From the short observations I could make during my brief descent, as also from the consideration of the east wall of the mosque, and the little information I extracted from the chief santon, who jealously guards the sanctuary, I consider that a part of the grotto exists under the mosque, and that the other part is under the court, but at a lower level than that lying under the mosque."

There are two ancient pools outside the town which still supply the inhabitants with water. It may be that one of these is the "pool in Hebron," over which the hands and feet of the murderers of Ishbosheth were hung up by David's orders, 1 Sa. iv. 12. At some distance down the valley is a wide-spreading evergreen oak, called "Abraham's oak," under which the patriarch is said to have pitched his tent. It is a fine tree, and stands well in the plain; but is of no remarkable antiquity. The whole valley is rich with vineyards (the vine according to Jewish tradition being indigenous at Hebron) in each of which is a watch-tower occupied by the owner at the time of vintage. The inhabitants being Moslems, no wine is made of these grapes; but they are dried into raisins, or their juice is boiled down into a sort of mast or molasses, and exported into Egypt. This is probably the same as the Hebrew *debash* mentioned in Ge. xliii. 11, Eze. xxvii. 17, and translated *honey* in Eng. version. (*See* HONEY.) These grapes of the vale of Hebron cannot but recall to the thoughtful traveller the cluster borne by two of the spies from Eshcol, which tradition places in this neighbourhood, Nu. xiii. 23. [C. T. M.]

HEIFER, RED, THE ORDINANCE OF. This ordinance, which is described at length in Nu. xix., is one of the most peculiar connected with the ancient economy, and stands in some degree apart from the more strictly religious sacrifices. It was, indeed, an ordinance of cleansing rather than of atonement, in the usual acceptation of the term. There are three points concerning it that require consideration—the nature of the defilement that called for it, the special means of cleansing provided, and the manner in which these were to be applied to the persons interested.

1. In regard to the first point, the defilement contemplated was of a simply external and ceremonial kind, it was such as arose from incidental contact with the dead—touching a dead body, entering into or dwelling in a tent where a dead body lay, lighting on the bone of a dead man in the field, or being employed about a grave wherein the ashes of the dead reposed. In short, corporeal intercourse with the dead in any of the forms and circumstances under which it might happen, was held to constitute a defilement, and a defilement which could not be got rid of, even by the appointed means of purification, in a shorter period than seven days; a complete revolution of one of the shorter cycles of time must pass over a man before he could be restored to his former condition. Why should it have been so? Defilement in such a case implied sin; indeed, the ordinance is expressly called "a purification from sin," ver. 9; and yet one does not readily perceive how it should have been so, since the occasion of it was something so entirely outward, often also purely accidental, and most frequently even must have come in the very act of discharging relative and social duties. Sin when spoken of in such circumstances, with the defilement occasioned by it, must have been understood in a looser sense than when considered as the actual and conscious transgression of a divine command: it must have been sin in its more general aspect, as making itself known by its effects in the community, and conveying a certain taint of pollution, a kind of social defilement, to all who might anyhow come into contact with them. Now, death is emphatically the wages of sin; it is the visible earthly penalty with which God in his providence attests his abhorrence of the evil. And as it is the appointed fruit, so it is also the proper image of sin—being the corruption of all good, the consummation of all evil in respect to men's natural life; and so is in utter contrariety to the nature of Him, who is life itself incorruptible and full of glory. Most fitly, therefore, in a symbolical religion like the Mosaic, in which the circumstances and relations of the body were ever made to represent and image those of the soul, was death in every form treated as the great witness and remembrancer of sin; and since, whenever men found themselves in the presence of death, or were called to handle the bodily remains of the dead, the evidence was brought home to them of their connection with a death-stricken, therefore sinful community, the occasion was wisely turned into a practical admonition—teaching them to regard it as bringing a sort of interruption to their intercourse with heaven, and calling for an act of purgation, before they were prepared for free intercommunion with the living in Jerusalem.

2. In perfect accordance with the nature of the defilement, was the appointed medium of purification: it also was quite outward, and directed mainly to the

end of improving the occasion, for the purpose of keeping up a lively sense of sin in the conscience, and engaging men's efforts against all that might lead them into transgression. One might say it was a ritual purification from a ceremonial defilement, for the purpose of conveying instruction regarding what constituted a real defilement. and the necessity of purification from it. Hence, all the explanations, which go on the supposition of the ideas respecting sin and purification being here presented in a peculiarly intense and aggravated form, must be viewed as somewhat strained and unnatural. The circumstances and occasion of the ordinance manifestly point in the opposite direction: they would lead us to expect some marked inferiority in the outward appliances of the service, as having directly to do with only a corporeal defilement and a ceremonial cleansing. Such we find was actually the case. The victim ordered to be employed for the occasion was a female—a heifer; while all the greater offerings for the sins of the people consisted of males. Then, of this particular offering no part came upon the altar; even the blood was not presented there, but was only sprinkled before the tabernacle, and sprinkled, not by the high-priest, but by the son of the high-priest. Further, while the carcase was to be burned without the camp, no special charge was given in respect to its being done upon a clean place, and it was to be burned entire, with the skin, and even the dung about it. In regard to the red colour of the victim great diversity of opinion has existed, and still continues to do so. The elder typologists usually sought to explain this by a reference to the blood of Christ, and Bähr would understand it of blood generally—blood as the bearer and symbol of life. But the question naturally arises, Why such a special reference either to life-blood generally or to the life-blood of Christ in this ordinance, which has so many palpable marks of inferiority about it? Why not much rather such a reference to the fundamental principles of atonement in the great sin and burnt offerings, where it might more readily have been looked for? We miss it where atonement in the stricter sense is concerned, and would find it only here where everything assumes a lower and looser form. If the colour were to be viewed as having reference to life—*intensive life*, as Delitzsch puts it (Com. Heb. p. 395)—it should be simply as pointing by way of contrast to death, from the pollution of which the rite was intended to deliver. So it is understood by several writers, who bring the colour into connection with the other qualities required in the heifer; viz. that it should be perfect or maimless, without blemish, and unaccustomed to the yoke—all indicative of life, and life in its freshest and purest form. Such qualities might certainly be regarded as expressive of this idea; they naturally pointed in that direction; but the connection between the colour and life (red = blood = life) is scarcely of the same kind, and, as Baumgarten remarks (part ii. p. 334), looks rather abstract and far-fetched. Possibly it may have been viewed merely as the earth-colour (*edom*, red, whence man as to his fleshly form got the name *Adam*), and so may have had special respect to the flesh, as that which in this ordinance was the more immediate subject of purification. Thus understood, it would fitly accord with the other points; and so also does the portion of the whole set apart for the act of personal purification, which was not the blood but the ashes. The blood was sprinkled before the tabernacle (in later times before the temple) to indicate that it had in some way to do with atonement; but the ashes alone were brought into direct contact with the person labouring under the ceremonial defilement. These ashes had first to be mixed with living or fresh water; which beyond all doubt was a symbol of pure and blessed life. Viewed naturally, the ashes of course rather formed a defiling than a purifying intermixture—as the blood also did in those cases in which it was applied to the person of the worshipper: and it is foolish to speak, as some have done, of their being employed along with the water as a sort of wash. Scripture knows nothing of such a natural use of ashes; and, as we have here to do with a sacrifice, though a sacrifice of an inferior kind, it is simply from being the ashes of a slain victim that they are to be understood as deriving the purifying virtue that attached to them. See Nu. xix. 17. The circumstance, it may be added, of both the officiating priest and the person who gathered the ashes being rendered unclean till the evening, arose not from there being uncleanness about the heifer, but merely because the whole action with it had respect to a state of defilement and its means of purification.

3. In regard, finally, to the manner in which this medium of purification was to be applied, the following directions were given: the ashes were to be gathered together and kept in a clean place; then, from time to time, as persons became unclean by contact with the dead, a portion of the ashes was to be taken, mixed with running water, and sprinkled on the unclean, first on the third, and again on the seventh day; this sprinkling was to be done with a bunch of hyssop in the hand of a clean person (not necessarily a priest, another note of inferiority in the rite); and then, after washing his clothes and bathing his person, the subject of the ordinance became clean on the seventh day at even. Why hyssop was appointed to be used in this application of the material of cleansing, and hyssop, cedar wood, and a bit of scarlet thrown into the fire that turned the carcass of the heifer into ashes, cannot be very certainly determined. The hyssop, it would appear, was supposed by the ancients to possess some sort of abstergent properties, and its employment on this occasion has often been associated with that idea; but this must be held doubtful as regards the particular plant in question (*see* HYSSOP), and also as regards its specific use in the administration of the rite. And why scarlet should have been so employed, and a bit of cedar, no reasons quite satisfactory have been discovered, but the more common opinion now is, that both were taken as emblems of life—cedar from its durability, and scarlet as being the blood or life colour. [It could not have been the lofty cedar of Lebanon that was meant; for wood of that description could not have been had in the desert where the ordinance was first instituted; some smaller species of tree, probably a taller sort of juniper, must have been meant.] The general design, however, of the sprinkling was plain enough; it was to impart to the body of the defiled person the virtue of an appropriate cleansing medium; so that whatever of purity was in the one, passed over in a manner upon the other. And thus at the end of a week of separation he who had been excluded from free intercourse with the living, on account of his commerce with the dead, was again restored to the privileges of God's acknowledged children.

The service of sprinkling had also to be performed upon

the tent (or house) of the defiled, and the utensils and articles of furniture in it, as having all shared in the ceremonial defilement of the owner, Nu. xix. 18. But it was only of course from being popularly viewed as in a sense identified with him; he alone was still the proper subject either of the defilement or of the purification. And the chief bearing of the service in Christian times has been thus indicated by an inspired writer: "If the ashes of an heifer sprinkling the unclean, sanctified to the purifying of the flesh, how much more shall the blood of Christ, who through the eternal Spirit offered himself without spot to God, purge your consciences from dead works to serve the living God?" He. ix. 13, 14. Here, the design of the ordinance is expressly limited to the sanctifying of the flesh; (not, however, that all the ordinances of the law, as is very often represented, were equally outward in their bearing and effects); and the conclusion drawn is, from the less to the greater: if a corporeal defilement could be purged by such materials of cleansing, how much more the guilty conscience by the infinite preciousness and efficacy of the blood of Christ! The ever-recurring promptitude and confidence with which throughout the families and generations of Israel the one kind of purification was effected, ought to be viewed as a blessed pledge and assurance that the other and higher shall without fail be accomplished in the case of every one who, under a sense of sin, makes earnest application to the blood of the Lamb!

HEIR. *See* INHERITANCE.

HEL'BON [*fat*], a city, mentioned only by Ezekiel, and mentioned as one of the places which supplied Tyre with articles of merchandise, "the wine of Helbon and white wool," ch. xxvii. 18. Its wine was renowned at a much later period than that of Ezekiel, for Strabo notices it among the luxuries of the kings of Persia, that they required to have Chalybonian wine from Syria (l. xv.) The same fact is also reported by Athenæus (Sympos. i. 22). Until recently this place was supposed to be the same with the Greek Chalybon and the modern Aleppo. But recent investigation has led to another, and apparently more correct view. The Helbon of Ezekiel is celebrated for its wine, and is also in the prophet immediately connected with Damascus; but, as Robinson justly states, "Aleppo produces no wine of any reputation, nor is Damascus the natural channel of commerce between Aleppo and Tyre" (Suppl. Researches, p. 472). He therefore thinks the missionaries are right in fixing on a place that still bears the name of Helbon—a valley about three and a half hours distant on the north from Damascus. Of this sweet valley Porter says, "It is a winding glen through a gravelly torrent-bed, shut in by the mountains that rise in steep white acclivities 1000 feet or more, here and there crowned with cliffs, that look in the distance like Gothic castles. The banks of the winter torrent are lined with vineyards, fig-trees, pomegranates, and a few walnuts, whose dark-green foliage contrasts well with the snowy limestone. The terraced vineyards run away up the mountain sides, clinging to spots where one would think no human foot could rest. . . . Its trade with the shepherd Bedawîn made, and still makes, it a wool depôt, and this article also it supplied in the markets of Tyre. The wine of Helbon was another of its exports. Here is that wine-producing Helbon. The Koran lays a veto on the manufacture, but the grapes are as famous as ever, and the 'infidels' of Damascus still make their best wine from them" (Murray's Handbook, p. 496).

HE'LI, the immediate predecessor of Joseph the husband of Mary, in the genealogy of St. Luke, and most likely his father. (*See* GENEALOGIES.)

HELL. In the article HADES it was stated that in the English Bible the word *hell* is given as the translation both of *hades* and *gehenna* (γέεννα), but that it ought now to be retained as the equivalent only of the latter. Originally, indeed, our *hell* corresponded more exactly to hades, being derived from the Saxon *helan*, to cover, and signifying merely the covered, or invisible place—the habitation of those who have gone from this visible terrestrial region to the world of spirits. But it has been so long appropriated in common usage to the place of future punishment for the wicked, that its earlier meaning has been lost sight of. The distinctive term for this place in Scripture is *gehenna*. But *gehenna* is not properly a Greek word, nor does it ever occur in the Greek translation of the Old Testament; it is simply the abbreviated form of two Hebrew terms *ge-hinnom* (גֵּיא־הִנֹּם), the valley of Hinnom, or, as it is also put, the valley of the son of Hinnom. The origin of the name is lost in a remote antiquity, and it occurs in Joshua as already in current use, Jos. xv. 8. But only in the later times of the Jewish commonwealth did the name acquire a sinister meaning. The valley lay in the immediate vicinity of Jerusalem, and was indeed but a continuation of the lengthened valley of Jehoshaphat—forming that portion of it which lay on the south of Jerusalem, and became the chief burying-ground of the inhabitants. What chiefly, however, gave it a name of infamy was the use made of it by Manasseh, as the place in which he caused his children to pass through the fire to Moloch, 2 Ch. xxxiii. 6. Josiah afterwards, among his reforming measures, defiled the place "that no man might make his son or his daughter to pass through the fire to Moloch," 2 Ki. xxiii. 10. The exact spot where this desecration took place was called *Tophet*, supposed to be derived from the sounding of the drums (*toph* meaning drum), which had been employed to drown the cries of the sacrificed children. And the prophets, in denouncing the judgments of Heaven upon the wickedness of the people, declared that this Tophet, or valley of Hinnom, would be turned into a valley of slaughter, where the carcases of the slain should be laid, and where the fire of God's wrath should consume them, Is. xxx. 33; lxvi. 24; Je. vii. 32. Having thus associated with it the consummation of man's wickedness on the one hand, and the consummation of God's judgments on the other, it became the appropriate earthly type of the place of eternal misery—the place where the fire of God's wrath should for ever burn against those who had left this world in a state of final impenitency. In course of time also the name passed into current use as the common designation of this place of torment. (See Wetstein on Mat. v. 22, where many quotations are given from Jewish writings).

Our Lord simply adopted on this point the current language of the time, and gave also the sanction of his authority to the leading ideas involved in it. Gehenna, or hell, is with him the place of final torment, and of torment especially as represented by the action of consuming fire; in several places he uses the complex phrase, "hell of fire," Mat. v. 22; xviii. 19; and in some also he adds the fearfully descriptive clause, "Where the

fire is not quenched;" or thus, "into hell, into the fire unquenchable," Mar. ix. 43, 48. In at least one of the passages, though in more, according to the received text, there is the additional element of "their worm dieth not;" but the prevailing form of representation, both among Jewish authorities and in the New Testament, is that of penal, unquenchable fire. Hence, the frequent representation in the Apocalypse, of "the lake of fire, burning with brimstone," Re. xix. 20; xx. 10, &c.; and also the figurative use of gehenna in Ja. iii. 6, the only passage of the New Testament, save in our Lord's discourses, where the word occurs, and where the unruly tongue is spoken of as being "set on fire of hell"—the fiery element being in this case regarded not as an instrument of torture, but as the ever active and turbulent source of mischief. Fire therefore, it would seem, in its connection with hell, is to be regarded as an emblem rather than as a reality; the various applications made of it, and its connection with a gnawing worm, as well as with brimstone, seem to show that we have here, as indeed generally in things pertaining to eternity, not the very form, but only an expressive emblem of the reality.

There will be no more an actual fire in hell, or burning brimstone, or a gnawing worm, than in heaven there will be thrones of gold, amaranthine crowns, rivers of pleasure, or repasts of material enjoyment. But in either case, the most correct and living idea we can now get of the reality is by conceiving of it under those significant emblems. Let the immediate sources of pain be what they may, the representations given in Scripture leave no room to doubt that there is a place for the finally impenitent, where pain shall for ever urge them—pain not less intense and awful, than if the unhappy victims were cast into a lake of fire, or had a worm perpetually gnawing at the vitals of their being. And if anything could add to the certainty and horror of such a fearful looking for of judgment, it would be the circumstance that the strongest announcements respecting it came directly from the lips of the merciful Redeemer, and from the pen of his most gentle and loving disciple. Nothing but the stern realities of truth could have drawn such revelations of the coming eternity from hearts so liable to be touched with the finer feelings and susceptibilities of nature. Love itself—love in its highest exercise—could here do nothing more than forewarn of the coming evil, and provide the way of escape from it.

HELLENISTS. *See* GRECIANS.

HELMET. *See* ARMOUR.

HELPS [Gr. ἀντιλήψεις], the designation employed for a class of official ministrations in the primitive church, 1 Co. xii 28; but the precise nature of which is nowhere particularly described, and has been most variously understood. It has been supposed to mean prophetical gifts; the gift of interpreting tongues; offices of service by way of baptizing such as had been converted by the apostles, and going where they could not come; diaconal ministrations towards the sick, &c. —according to the fancy of individual writers. It is surely better to leave undetermined what Scripture itself has not exactly defined. The natural import of the word seems to point to some sort of subsidiary services that were performed by persons who were not deemed qualified for the higher and more directly spiritual offices of the church; but what these might be cannot now with any certainty be determined.

HE'MAN, a Levite, of the family of the Kohathites, the grandson of Samuel, and son of Joel, 1 Ch. vi. 33, 34. And it appears to have been not another, but the same person who is elsewhere called an Ezrahite, and reckoned of the family of Zerah, the son of Judah, 1 Ch. ii. 4, 6; Ps. lxxxviii. title. (See Hengstenberg there.) It was not unusual for Levites to connect themselves with particular families of the other tribes, with whom they lived as strangers and sojourners; so that they were associated with two tribes, though in different respects. Thus Elkanah, Samuel's father, was called an Ephrathite, because he had resided on Mount Ephraim, 1 Sa. i. 1; and the person who acted as priest to Micah, is described as "of the family of Judah," a Bethlehemite, but still a Levite, Ju. xvii. 7. In much the same way, probably, Heman was associated with the family of Zerah, which belonged to Judah; while by birth and descent he was of the tribe of Levi. He was appointed by David one of the leaders of the sacred music; and was even classed with those who were endowed with supernatural gifts. It was the glory of Solomon that he was wiser than Heman and some others of kindred spirit; and in David's time Heman was designated "the king's seer in the words of God," 1 Ch. xv. 17, 27; xvi. 42; xxv. 5; 1 Ki. iv. 31. (*See* ETHAN.)

HEMLOCK, רֹאשׁ (*rosh*). Ho. x. 4. *See* GALL.

HEN. *See* COCK.

HEPHZI'BAH [*my delight in her*], is found once as the name of a real person, the wife of Hezekiah, and mother of Manasseh, 2 Ki. xxi. 1; and is poetically employed by Isaiah as a fit and appropriate designation of the people of God in their prospective state of holiness, Is. lxii. 4.

HERESY, as used in the New Testament, has a somewhat different meaning from what it conveys in ordinary language. It indicates the existence and manifestation of party spirit, as appearing in the setting up of a separate interest, and taking a course in religious matters contrary in some respects to what was generally approved; not, as now, the belief and maintenance of some error in doctrine. This latter meaning of the term arose some generations after the gospel era, when doctrinal errors did usually become the occasion of a divided interest in the Christian church. But in the apostolic age the merely factious divisions in the church of Corinth were styled heresies, 1 Co. xi. 19; and St. Paul himself was regarded by his countrymen as worshipping God in a way they called heresy; because connected with a sect or party which stood apart from the Jewish community, and had a religious position of its own, Ac. xxiv. 14.

HER'MAS, a Christian at Rome, mentioned in the epistle to the church there, and saluted, Ro. xvi. 14. No other notice occurs of him in Scripture; but he was very commonly supposed in ancient times to be the author of the work known as "The Shepherd of Hermas." It is, however, a mere tradition, and is now generally abandoned. The work belongs undoubtedly to a later age.

HERMO'GENES, mentioned along with Phygellus, in the second epistle to Timothy, as having forsaken Paul in his last trials at Rome, 2 Ti. i. 15. But no explanation is given of his reason for so doing; whether it might be the embracing of false doctrine, or an undue regard to his own temporal interest. Early tradition associated him with magicians; but no reliance can be placed upon any accounts of that nature.

HER'MON [properly, *nose of mountain, projecting mountain peak,* Ges. Thes.], the southernmost and highest mountain of Antilibanus. It formed the north-eastern border of the Promised Land, De. iii. 8. Beside the common name HERMON, Jos. xi. 17; xiii. 5, &c., it is also called in Scripture SION (שִׂיאֹן, *siyon,* De. iv. 48, quite different from the Sion of Jerusalem, צִיּוֹן, *tziyon*), the *exalted* or *lofty;* and among the Amorites it appears to have borne the name of *Shenir,* De. iii. 9; Eze. xxvii. 5; while the Sidonians called it *Sirion,* Ps. xxix. 6; both of which words signify a *breastplate,* and probably refer to the snow on its broad summit shining in the sun; but in 1 Ch. v. 23, and Ca. iv. 8, Mount Hermon and Senir seem to be spoken of as distinct mountains. In modern times it is called *Jebel-esh-Sheikh,* which is sometimes explained as the "mountain of the old man," from the likeness of its white summit to a hoary head, but far more probably signifies the "chief of mountains." Another Arabic name is *Jebel-eth-Thaly,* or the "mountain of snow." Van de Velde (S. and P. i. 126), suggests that this variety of names is explained by the fact that "it is not a conical mountain like Tabor, with one high summit and a base distinctly marked; but a whole cluster of mountains, many days' journey in circumference, with a broad ridge of summits, the highest in the Holy Land." These summits are three in number, of nearly equal height, and at equal distances from each other, not situated in a straight line as they appear from some points of view, but at the angles of an equilateral triangle. One of them is occupied by the ruins of an ancient temple, probably that mentioned by Jerome (Onomasticon, vide Hermon), which probably gave rise to the name *Baal Hermon,* by which the mountain is called in Ju. iii. 3; 1 Ch. v. 23.

Hermon is a conspicuous object from all parts of the Holy Land. Its hoary top may plainly be seen from the mountains of Samaria, from the maritime plain of Tyre, from the valley of Esdraelon, from the summit of Tabor, and even from the depths of the valley of the Dead Sea. Its summit as most commonly seen has the form of a massive truncated cone, and until late in the summer is entirely covered with snow, which then melts on the exposed portions of the mountain, and remains only in the gorges and ravines, giving the appearance of radiant stripes, or of the thin white locks of an old man (Robinson, B. R. iii. 344). Hermon was the limit of the geographical ideas of the Israelites to the north, as the great desert was to the south, the Mediterranean to the west, and the Euphrates to the east. It is mentioned in three passages of the Psalms, all of which are worthy of notice.

1. "Therefore will I remember thee from the land of Jordan, and of the Hermonites from the hill Mizar," Ps. xlii. 6. Perhaps it would be better to read "*Hermons*" (vide Gesenius, Heb. Lex.), which is generally understood to refer to the three peaks mentioned above. Hengstenberg, in his *Commentary on the Psalms,* considers the plural to have been used, because the mountain was taken as the representative of its species; and so the word was intended to include all the mountains on the eastern side of the Jordan. But this appears somewhat fanciful, as the explanation given above, and suggested by the appearance of the mountain itself, is quite natural, and satisfies all the conditions of the passage. The last clause has been mistranslated in the Vulgate (*Hermoiim a monte modico*), followed by the English prayer-book version, "the little hill of Hermon," and in consequence the name of little Hermon has been given by monks and travellers to a hill on the plain of Esdraelon near Mount Tabor, called *Jebel-el-Duhy,* so as the better to agree with Ps. lxxxix. 12. (*See* JEZREEL.)

2. "The north and the south thou hast created them, Tabor and Hermon shall rejoice in thy name," Ps. lxxxix. 12. Mr. Porter (Smith's Dict. of the Bible) supposes that Hermon here stands for the north; and if this be the case, Tabor and Hermon would correspond in the poetical antithesis to south and north. But it is far more probable that Tabor and Hermon are put for west and east in this passage, the one being the great mountain of Eastern Palestine, and the other the most noted and conspicuous hill west of the Jordan.

3. "As the dew of Hermon that descended upon the mountains of Zion," Ps. cxxxiii. 3. The abundance of the dews of Hermon, arising from its perpetual snows, cannot fail to be noticed by any one who visits its neighbourhood. The closing words of this passage, "for there the Lord promised his blessing, even life for evermore," together with the fact that this psalm is a song of degrees, forbids the supposition that *Zion* is to be understood of any other place than the well-known mount of that name in Jerusalem, and is to be identified with the name sometimes applied to Hermon itself or one of its peaks. It is rather to be regarded as a poetical allusion to the mighty influence of Hermon in promoting the formation of dew; so that as the oil poured on Aaron's head, flowed to the extreme borders of his garments, the cool breezes and refreshing mists of snowy Hermon might be said in blissful times to reach even to the seat and centre of the kingdom. So Olshausen, "The refreshing dew of Zion is derived by the Psalmist from the cool mountain which bounds the land on the north." This seems more natural and simple than the view of Hengstenberg, who would understand by Hermon's dew such as was of peculiarly fine quality—dew of the best and most refreshing nature; so that as the goodness of the oil was heightened by the dignity of the person who was anointed with it, the dew of Zion was ennobled by being associated with the name of the hill that was most remarkable for its production. It would be to the inhabitants of Zion as if they shared in the copious dews of Hermon.

The height of Hermon is variously estimated. Van de Velde (S. and P. i. p. 126) states that the survey of Major Scott and Robe in 1840 gives a height of 9376 feet. Stanley reckons it at 10,000 feet; while Dr. Kitto (Cyclopedia of Bib. Lit.) calculates that it cannot be less than 12,000 feet—11,000 feet being the level of perpetual snow in that latitude. [C. T. M.]

HERODIAN FAMILY. This remarkable family, whose different members occupied a prominent place, and often had a leading share, in the direction of affairs in and around Judea during all the period embraced in the gospel age, were of Idumæan origin. The immediate father of the family was Antipater, whom Josephus distinctly asserts to have been an Idumæan, although at a later period Nicolaus of Damascus, an historical writer of those times, represented him as of the stock of those Jews who returned from the Babylonish exile. This, we are assured by Josephus, was done merely to gratify Herod, the son of that Antipater, after certain revolutions of fortune had raised him to the chief power in Judea (Ant. xiv. 1. 3). The assertion, however, could not even have been made

with any appearance of truth, unless Antipater had been himself circumcised, and along with his family had conformed to the religious customs of the Jews. This undoubtedly they had done. They were not of the seed of Israel, and if called Jews, it was only from their having embraced the Jewish religion—as indeed the Idumæans generally had sometime previously been compelled to do. The Antipater above mentioned was an intriguing, active, and powerful man; and in no proper sense what Josephus at his death represents him, a man of piety and justice (Ant. xiv. 11, 4). He first succeeded in raising himself to the virtual supremacy of Idumæa, and then, by skilfully fomenting the divisions that existed between the high-priest Hyrcanus, and his brother Aristobulus, and playing upon the weakness of the softer brother Hyrcanus, he came also to acquire the virtual ascendency in Judea; the nominal authority was left with Hyrcanus, but the real power was in the hands of Antipater; and from Julius Cæsar he at length obtained the procuratorship of Judea. Shortly after this he made his eldest son Phasaël governor of Jerusalem; and the second, Herod, whose superior energy and great success in life ultimately gave to the family its historical name, had committed to him the government of Galilee.

1. Herod the Great. Herod was but a young man when he entered on his command—Josephus says only fifteen years old, but that is certainly a mistake, as by a comparison of other dates in Josephus, he must have been above twenty; even so, however, he was a young man for having so responsible a position intrusted to him; but in a civil and military respect he proved quite equal to the occasion. Such vigour and alacrity were displayed by him in clearing the district of robbers, and reducing it to quietness and order, that he soon became an object of popular enthusiasm; so much so, indeed, that the jealousy of the ruling party in Jerusalem was roused against him, and they listened to the complaints that were lodged in respect to his proceedings by certain interested parties. Herod was summoned to appear before the Sanhedrim, which he readily did; but on the advice of his father took with him a firm body-guard of soldiers, surrounded by whom, and himself gorgeously clad in purple, he presented himself before his judges. This had the desired effect; the members of the council were too frightened to condemn such a culprit; and Hyrcanus also had received a communication from Sextus Cæsar, president of Syria, demanding the acquittal of Herod. The trial accordingly was allowed to pass off without any sentence being pronounced; and presently after Herod had his power considerably enlarged by receiving from Sextus the command of Cœle-Syria. He was now bent on revenging himself against the party in Jerusalem who had brought him to trial, but was dissuaded by his father and his elder brother Phasaël. The civil troubles that ensued connected with the death of Cæsar, the defeat of the conspirators, and the ultimate triumph of Augustus, brought only increase of strength and power to Herod; he most skilfully played his part through them all, and contrived to secure his influence with the ruling party. He first gained the favour of Cassius, who came to Syria for a time, by the readiness with which he raised from his province the contribution laid upon it; then, after defeating the party of one Malichus, who had poisoned Antipater, the father of Herod, and whom Herod caused to be assassinated, he made court to Antony, who for a time held the ascendant in the East, and he and his brother Phasaël were made joint tetrarchs or governors of Judea. It was not long after this, however, that the greatest reverse in Herod's life and career befell him; for the Parthians, under Pacorus, taking advantage of the troubled state of the times, and of the dissatisfaction caused by the large exactions of the Romans, made themselves masters of the greater part of Syria and Asia Minor; and Antigonus, son of Aristobulus, and nephew of Hyrcanus, threw himself into their hands in order to gain possession of the supreme power in Judea. Hyrcanus and Phasaël fell a prey to this formidable coalition; they were both carried captive by the Parthians; in consequence of which Phasaël committed suicide; and Herod only escaped by flight, in the course of which he was reduced to such straits, that he too would have killed himself had it not been for the earnest entreaties of those about him. After defending himself for some time in the fortress of Massada, on the shores of the Dead Sea, and having tried in vain to interest in his behalf Malchus, the Arabian king of Petra, he found his way to Egypt, and thence to Rome. There he arrived at what was for him the fortunate juncture, when Antony and Octavianus Cæsar had entered into a reconciliation; and the former, remembering the past services of Herod, and also expecting from him valuable aid in the enterprise he was going to undertake against the Parthians, warmly espoused his cause, and obtained a decree of the senate in his favour, constituting him king of Judea. In conformity with this arrangement Antigonus was ordered to be sent to Rome; and Herod, fearing the effect of his personal representations, prevailed upon Antony by secret gifts of money to get Antigonus put to death. With him expired the race of the Asmonean princes, who had so long combined the temporal and priestly rule in Judea, and who, by worldly ambition and an unscrupulous policy, lost the power which they had at first acquired by sacred devotion to the cause of Heaven.

It was about the year B.C. 40, that Herod succeeded in obtaining this high dignity. His movements were as rapid as his success was wonderful. He was altogether but seven days in Rome, and returned king to Syria only three months after he had been obliged to flee from Jerusalem for his life. His first business was to assemble an army, which he did chiefly in Galilee, the scene of his former triumphs, where he again carried all before him, and in other parts of the country obtained successes over his adversaries. Jerusalem, however, held out firmly against him, the members of the Sanhedrim and the people generally being much in the Asmonean interest. But ultimately, by the aid of the Roman forces, under Sosius, the lieutenant of Antony, the city was taken, and dreadful ravages were committed by the soldiery. A capital so gained would have required to be ruled with singular clemency and discretion, if its sovereign was to gain the affection and good-will of its people; but Herod's policy was of a different kind; he sought rather to inspire terror than to conciliate affection; and along with many others of the leading citizens who had taken part against him, the whole of the Sanhedrim excepting two were put to death. By these executions Herod not only got rid of formidable enemies, but obtained possession of immense treasure, with which he contributed largely to the resources of Antony, and secured still further his friend-

ship. This he found himself still in a condition to need; for, discountenancing as he did all claims even to the priesthood on the part of the Asmonean line, he raised up foes in his own household. He was now married to Mariamne, the grand-daughter of Hyrcanus; and her mother, Alexandra, displeased at the slight put upon her kindred, entered into intrigues against him. In consequence of these he was induced to remove the person he had made high-priest, and substitute Aristobulus, the son of Alexandra. But this person becoming too popular for Herod, he had him secretly assassinated, and not without difficulty was he able to avert the effect of Alexandra's representations against him to Cleopatra, who warmly espoused the cause of the Asmoneans. But Herod had proved too valuable an ally to Antony to be lightly sacrificed, and through Antony even Cleopatra was won over to his side.

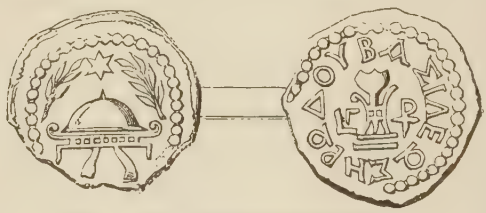
The scene, however, presently shifted, and Herod's steady adherence to the cause of Antony now proved the source of his greatest danger. When hostilities broke out between Antony and Augustus, Herod at once prepared to join the army of his former friend, and raised forces on purpose; but he was ordered by Antony to go in the first instance against Malchus of Arabia, who had refused to pay Cleopatra the tribute laid upon him. This saved Herod from any actual share in the conflict that ensued between the two great rivals; for his operations in Arabia extended over nearly two years, and by that time the decisive battle of Actium had rendered Augustus virtual master of the Roman world. It was a critical moment for Herod; for though he had been prevented from taking part in the conflict, his warm attachment to Antony was well known, and he had but too much reason to expect that he should have to share in his patron's reverse of fortune. But here again the sagacity and address of Herod proved equal to the occasion. He resolved on going to see Augustus at Rhodes; where his appearance partook of a prudent mixture of humility and boldness; for he laid aside his diadem, as having lost in a manner his right to wear it; but, at the same time, he openly avowed his attachment to Antony, confessed how, though he had not joined him on the field of battle, he had furnished him with money and corn, and supported him to the uttermost; now, however, since fortune had finally decided against Antony, and he had refused the prudent counsel he had himself tendered him respecting Cleopatra, Herod artfully begged the emperor to perceive in his connection with Antony how steadfast and faithful he was to his friends, and what Augustus might henceforth expect from him if he should deem him worthy of his favour. This bold stroke of policy accomplished its end; Augustus was charmed with Herod's frankness of behaviour, at once restored to him the kingdom, and sent him back to Judea with greater honour and assurance than ever (Jos. Ant. xv. 6). A short time afterwards, when Augustus returned from Egypt, leaving the whole country subject to him, and Antony and Cleopatra both dead, he was most magnificently entertained by Herod, who also distributed large donations among the principal attendants of the emperor. The result was that a considerable addition was made to the territory of Herod; he received Gadara, Hippos, Samaria, with various possessions along the Philistine coast.

But these external acquisitions were accompanied with sad internal discords in his family, which led to atrocious crimes and almost insupportable misery. He had already made away with Hyrcanus, his wife's grandfather, whom the Parthians released and allowed to return to Jerusalem. Partly in consequence of this, and of other indignities to her kindred, his wife Mariamne, whom he passionately loved, became cold in her affections, and somewhat insolent in her behaviour towards him; and by certain persons about him, among whom were his sister Salome, and also her own mother Alexandra, she was accused of infidelity to his bed, and of even harbouring designs against his life. In a frenzy of rage he had her condemned and executed; yet no sooner was the deed done than he most bitterly repented of it, and, like a person distracted, was often heard to call upon Mariamne, and sometimes also ordered the servants to call for her, as if she were still alive. His bodily health suffered at the same time, and he fell at last into a distemper from which the physicians scarcely expected him to recover. Other persons in his household shared the fate of Mariamne, including her mother Alexandra, who had indeed played a treacherous and deceitful part. Costobarus, also, the husband of his sister Salome, and others, whose conduct had been such as to raise suspicions of unfaithfulness, suffered death during this gloomy period of Herod's career. By and by, however, he rose above these domestic and civil disturbances, married another Mariamne, the beautiful daughter of one Simon, whom he previously raised to the high-priesthood, and launched forth on a great variety of magnificent architectural operations. In some of these he took occasion to exhibit his attachment to Rome and its imperial head, so as to outrun the sympathies of his subjects, and even to outrage his profession as an adherent of the Jewish faith. For, not only did he rebuild the city of Samaria, which had been destroyed during the previous wars, and called it by the name of Sebaste, in honour of Augustus, and for the same reason designated the magnificent city which he reared on the site of the village and tower of Straton, Cæsarea; but at Paneas he built a beautiful temple of white marble, and dedicated it expressly to Augustus. In further imitation of the Roman style and manners, he built at Jerusalem itself a theatre, and an amphitheatre in the plain, emblazoned with the trophies he had won, and instituted games in honour of Cæsar, to be celebrated every fifth year, with prizes for the successful combatants sufficient to draw competitors even from distant lands. Gladiatorial shows were not wanting; and strangers, we are told, "were greatly delighted and surprised at the vastness of the expenses incurred, and the great dangers that were seen" (Jos. xv. 8, 1). But Jews who had some regard to the religion and customs of their forefathers, viewed matters differently; such open imitation of heathenish practices, and courtly adulation of Romish supremacy, was in their view nothing less than undisguised impiety, and a shameful sacrifice of national honour. Deep murmurs of dissatisfaction consequently arose, and a conspiracy was even formed by ten men to take away Herod's life while he should be in the theatre; but being discovered by a spy, the conspirators were all put to death, though so little to the satisfaction of the people, that the spy was afterwards fallen upon in a tumult and torn to pieces. But this only led to fresh tortures and executions; and then came the erection of the fortress Antonia, in the neighbourhood of the temple, and similar fortifications in other parts of

his dominions, by which Herod expected to keep the turbulent temper of the people in check, and through terror compensate for what he had lost in respect and affection by his arbitrary, ambitious, and heathenizing procedure.

Herod, however, was too sagacious and politic a man to trust altogether for the maintenance of his authority and the continuance of his government to military preparations or works of mere outward show and splendour. In various ways he tried to conciliate the people, and by substantial acts of beneficence to establish a claim on their gratitude and affection. He did this on a large scale during the prevalence of a severe famine which occurred in the thirteenth year of his reign, and which spread over Palestine and the surrounding countries the most appalling calamities. Herod in this great emergency spent all his available resources, and even parted with many of his most valuable treasures of art, in order to obtain supplies of corn from Egypt; and to such an extent did he thereby relieve the immediate wants of the people, and provide the seed-corn necessary for the coming season, that his fame as a benignant ruler spread far abroad, and the tide of feeling at home began to turn mightily in his favour. In certain cases also he remitted the taxes that were due, when temporary circumstances made the payment hard. He was at pains besides, by ample donations and other substantial benefits, to attach the local governors to his side; and often commanded admiration for his talents by the eloquent orations he made in the different cities he visited. But more, perhaps, than by such things did he win upon the respect of the strictly Jewish part of his subjects, and undo the effect of many foul and atrocious deeds, by his expensive and magnificent reconstruction of the temple buildings. This great work was formally commenced by one account of Josephus in the eighteenth year of Herod's reign (Ant. xv. 11, 1), by another in the fifteenth (Wars, i. 21, 1), and was inaugurated by a speech from him, in which he set forth the many benefits he had already conferred upon the nation, the incomparable dignity and splendour his reign had conferred upon it, and the immense advantages he enjoyed for the vast and pious undertaking he was now entering upon from the amicable relations in which he stood with the Roman emperor, and the large revenues he possessed. He praised their ancestors for doing what they actually accomplished in their untoward circumstances; it was not *their* fault, but the embarassment of the times in which they lived, that rendered their work imperfect; but since the temple built by them fell short of Solomon's sixty cubits in height, and was otherwise inferior to the ancient model, he declared it to be his purpose now to make the buildings as complete as possible, and thereby render a thankful return to God for the blessings he had received from him (Jos. Ant. xv. 11, 1). Thousands of people were employed by Herod in this great work, and in eight years the cloisters and walls, which formed the outer temple-buildings, were finished, and the temple itself in a year and a half more—in all, therefore, nine and a half years (Ant. xv. 11, 6). It would seem, however, that certain minor things remained still to be done; for Josephus speaks of building operations going on about the temple long after this period, and of the whole being finished only in the time of Herod Agrippa (Ant. xx. 9, 7); as the Jews also in St. John's gospel spoke of the building having been carried on for forty-six years, Jn. ii. 20. But the greater part of these more protracted operations most probably consisted of repairs rendered necessary by the damages from time to time inflicted by the wars and outbreaks which occurred. And there seems no reason to doubt that what properly constituted Herod's work of remodelling the temple was completed in the nine and a half years specified above, when, as at the completion of Solomon's temple, many sacrifices were offered, and great rejoicings held.

There can be no doubt that this costly reconstruction and enlargement of the temple-buildings was a dexterous stroke of policy on Herod's part, and went far to silence the opposition and overcome the dislike which were entertained toward him by a large portion of his Jewish subjects. But it is impossible to give it a higher character, and to view it in the light in which he especially wished it to be contemplated, as "a work of the greatest piety and excellence." Herod was too indiscriminate in his liberality, and unscrupulous in his behaviour, to possess the disposition, or even the belief necessary to fit him for doing a really pious action.



[323.] Coin of Herod the Great.—Akerman.

The man who could build a temple for the Samaritans in Sebaste, and at Paneas for Augustus; who could erect what Josephus calls "the greatest and most illustrious of all his works"—the temple of Apollo at Rhodes, which had been consumed by fire; who could come forward before the world as the great restorer of the Olympic games (in many ways so intimately associated with heathenism), and by the largeness of his donations for their support, obtain for himself the honour of president for life (Jos. Ant. xv. 8, 5; 9, 6; xvi. 5, 3; Wars, i. 21, 11, 12)—such a man could have had no real faith in Jehovah, as the one living God, nor any proper regard to the institutions and laws of Moses. It is clear, however, he was not an avaricious person; the enormous sums he laid out on the public objects referred to may well vindicate him from any suspicion of that sort; the wonder rather is how he could have acquired the means of exhibiting such an expensive and extravagant liberality as he displayed. For, besides the temples and public buildings he reared, many entire cities were the creation of his genius and resources—Cæsarea, Antipatris, Sebaste (or Samaria) almost made new, &c.; public buildings of an ornamental and useful kind raised at his expense in Damascus, Tripoli, Ptolemais, Tyre, Sidon, Askelon, and other places; a large open space in Antioch, twenty furlongs in length, paved with polished marble, and decorated with a commodious cloister; and to say nothing of other undertakings, the splendid entertainments given by him, together with the costly presents and ample contributions he rendered to Cæsar and Agrippa, on the occasion of visits received from them and paid to them (Jos. Ant. xv. 9; xvi. 2; Wars, i. 21)—all bespeaking the possession of immense resources, as well as a perfect readiness to part with them for the gratification of his desires and

the attainment of the objects he had in view. The real spring of the whole, and that which provides the clue at once to his unrivalled beneficence and his atrocious cruelties, was undoubtedly, as justly remarked by Josephus (Ant. xvi. 5, 4), his inordinate ambition. This led him to grudge nothing which promised to bring him present honour or future renown; to carry out such reforms and undertakings at home, as might dispose his subjects to associate with his name their highest national glory, and, like another Solomon, create a favourable impression of it in foreign lands. But it also led him to commit many harsh deeds and perpetrate almost unheard-of crimes; for as his enormous expenditure required more than the legitimate revenues of his dominion to support it, so he readily availed himself of the most arbitrary and cruel expedients to replenish them, and in his extreme jealousy to maintain the rights of his prerogative, no life was too dear, no person too sacred, to be sacrificed.

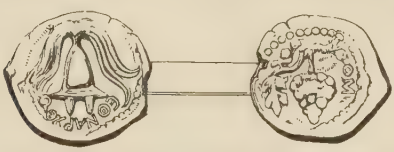
Some of the worst of these barbarous and unnatural crimes, which have left an indelible stain on the memory of this unhappy man, were committed near the close of his career, and reveal the comparative worthlessness of his public benefactions and external magnificence to secure even the commonest respect and affection from those about him. His household was rent with internal factions—wife against wife, and child against child, miserably plotting each other's overthrow, and alternately striving to awaken the king's jealousy, and provoke him to deeds of violence. Mention has hitherto been made of only two wives, because these played a more conspicuous part than the rest; but he had no fewer than ten, and, with the exception of two, his own nieces, he appears to have had children by all of them. Beside the two nieces, there were Doris, the mother of Antipater; Mariamne, daughter of Alexandra, the mother of Aristobulus and Alexander, also of two daughters; Mariamne, daughter of Simon, the mother of Herod Philip; Malthace, a Samaritan, the mother of Archelaus, Herod Antipas, and a daughter; Cleopatra of Jerusalem, the mother of Philip of Iturea, and of another son who bore the general name of Herod; Pallas, the mother of a son called after Herod's elder brother Phasaël; Phædra, and Elpis, each of them the mother of a daughter, the former of Roxana, the latter of Salome. The antagonistic interests of so many divers sections in Herod's family gave rise to factions which embittered his latter days; criminations and recriminations of the most odious nature were brought by one against another; and after fruitless, or at most but partially successful, efforts at reconciliation, three of the sons (Antipater, Aristobulus, and Alexander) were put to death at the instigation of their father. Many others suffered in connection with these family feuds; a sedition also broke out at Jerusalem in the midst of them, with the avowed design of tearing down the eagle that had been fixed over the gate of the temple, which was mercilessly chastised by the infliction of many deaths; and to crown all, a severe and fatal disease seized his stomach and bowels, which seemed only to render his temper the more intractable, the nearer it brought him to his latter end. In the gloom and misery which enveloped him he once attempted to kill himself, and often acted more like a madman than one in a sound mind—bewailing his condition, especially on account of the joy that he knew many would experience at his death; yet still, with his passion unabated for the pageantry of show and magnificence, giving orders for the performance of the grandest obsequies at his funeral. He died only four days after he had signed the warrant for the execution of his son Antipater. Thus lived and died the man whom the world styled Herod the Great.

The only incident recorded of Herod in New Testament scripture is the memorable transaction which meets us at the threshold of the evangelical narrative, regarding the attempt made on the life of the infant Jesus, by the slaughter of the male children of Bethlehem. The incident is not noticed by Josephus, whether from not deeming it worthy of any special mention in such a life, or, as is not less probable, in pursuance of that studied reserve which he maintained in respect to the history and claims of Jesus. But no one can fail to perceive the perfect accordance, in point of character, of the part played by Herod in the account of the evangelist, with what appears in the preceding outline of his career: the trouble occasioned to him and those about him by the announcement of a king being born to the Jews, apart from the dynasty which Herod laboured hard to establish; the craft and hypocrisy with which he sought for his own purposes to get acquainted with the secret communicated to the magi; the determination manifested to get rid, at whatever cost, of this new object of jealousy, and the actual accomplishment of it (as he supposed) by an order of inexpressible cruelty: all of them traits which find but too many exemplifications in the history of Herod, and not unfrequently in deeds of atrocity, compared with which the murder of a few children in Bethlehem might well have seemed of small account. In itself, however, and in the reckoning of Heaven, it was the foulest deed in his whole career; for it was a blow aimed at the very life and hope of the world, and gives Herod a place in the foremost rank of the enemies and persecutors of the church of God. He thus became for the time being the representative of that worldly power, which in its natural state has ever been the chief instrument of Satan in withstanding the truth and damaging its interests; and so, instead of being the great friend and patron of the Jewish people, he stands on the same line with the Pharaohs, the Nebuchadnezzars, the Antiochuses of former times. Here also, having to do with the counsel of God, his craft and violence proved of no avail; and while the bloody deed was committed which raised the wail of disconsolate grief among the mothers of Bethlehem, the overruling providence of God had secured for the Son of Mary a hiding-place of safety in another land, Mat. ii. 16-18.

This consummating act of impiety must have fallen out very near the close of Herod's life, and fitly coalesces with the other enormities which then so rapidly succeeded each other. Even assigning the murder of the children at Bethlehem to the last half year of Herod's life, it would still throw his death about four years before the vulgar era of Christ's birth. But there are good grounds for holding that to be the actual period of the birth of Christ, and consequently for also holding its coincidence with the closing days of Herod's reign. (*See* CHRIST.) The period, however, is involved in considerable obscurity as to the precise dates and order of events; and the accounts of Josephus in respect to it are so partial, or confused, that it is impossible to make them altogether agree with what we have reason to believe on profane as well as inspired testimony. (*See* CYRENIUS.)

2. ARCHELAUS. This was the first of three sons, among whom Herod by his will apportioned his dominions —subject of course to the confirmation of Augustus. These sons were Archelaus, Philip, and Herod Antipas. Great disturbances presently, however, arose both among the members of Herod's family, and among the Jews generally, who now gave open vent to their dislike to the Herodian interest, and wished to rid themselves of its continuance. But the Roman governors of Syria suppressed these, and matters were kept from going to extremities till the decision of Augustus should be known. He substantially confirmed the testament of Herod; and Archelaus, with the title of ethnarch, received the one half of his father's dominions—Judea, Samaria, and Idumea, with the cities of Joppa and Cæsarea, yielding together a revenue of 600 talents; Philip was made tetrarch of Trachonitis and Iturea; and Herod Antipas of Galilee and Peræa.

Archelaus was accused by a deputation of Jews, who went to Rome on purpose, before he actually entered on the government; and especially on account of the death of 3000 persons, who were killed at Jerusalem by his orders, amid the disturbances that ensued on Herod's death. But their objections were for the time overruled; and with ordinary discretion he might have continued to enjoy his limited sovereignty during



[324.] Coin of Herod Archelaus.—British Museum.

the rest of his life. But he paid no regard to the feelings and convictions of his people; consulted chiefly his own pleasure and convenience, which led him often into acts of petty tyranny; and he gave great offence to the sentiments of the more religious portion of the Jews, by marrying the widow of his deceased brother Alexander, though she had borne three children by her former husband. Fresh accusations were in consequence brought against him before the emperor, who sent for him, and banished him to Vienna, after a reign of ten years. His dominions were added to the province of Syria. The knowledge of the *character* of Archelaus may doubtless have tended, along with the fact of Judea being included in his particular territory, to dispose Joseph the more readily to retire with the infant Jesus beyond the bounds of his dominion, Mat. ii. 22. It is the fact alone, however, which is noticed in the history.

3. HEROD ANTIPAS, the only son of Herod, beside Archelaus, who is mentioned in New Testament scripture, appears as tetrarch of Galilee and Peræa at the commencement, and during the continuance of our Lord's personal ministry, Lu. iii. 1, &c. The part he acted in respect to the work and kingdom of God did not materially differ from that of his father Herod. He stood to the new Elias, John the Baptist, much in the same relation that Ahab had done to the first; and if he did not actively interfere with the operations of Christ, it was obviously from no want of will, nor even ultimately from any want of intention, Lu. xiii. 31; but the providence of God restrained him. His connection with Herodias, who was first his own niece, the daughter of Aristobulus, then the wife of his half-brother Philip, Mat. xiv. 3, was the immediate occasion of his coming into collision with the Baptist, and ultimately giving sentence against his life. He had been previously married to a daughter of Aretas the Arabian; but on going to Rome after his father's death, to press his interests as against Archelaus, he met in with Herodias, and became so enamoured of her, that on his return to Palestine he got her to divorce her husband, and become his wife; he also agreeing to divorce the daughter of Aretas. This was entirely contrary, on both sides, to the law of Moses; and it became a source of incalculable mischief to Herod. It first of all involved him in a war with Aretas, who sought to revenge the injured honour of his daughter; and whose destructive progress was only arrested by the interference of the Romans whom Herod called to his aid. Then, long afterwards, when reproved by John the Baptist on account of his adulterous connection with Herodias, it led him to take the unrighteous step of casting John into prison; and ultimately, on the solicitation of Herodias through her daughter, of beheading him. Josephus notices the fact of Herod's wicked treatment of John (Ant. xviii. 5, 2), but evidently misplaces it; as he speaks of the people regarding the losses sustained by Herod in the war with Aretas as a divine judgment upon him for his conduct toward John; while in reality the loss must have been very considerably prior to the crime. And finally, at the instigation of Herodias he set out to Rome, about A.D. 38, shortly after the accession of Caligula, for the purpose of soliciting the title of king, which he learned had recently been conferred on his nephew Agrippa. But, instead of succeeding in his suit, he was (and chiefly through the intrigues and influence of Agrippa) deprived of his dominions, and was banished first to Lyons, afterwards to Spain, where he died; his dominions being added to those already conferred on Agrippa. Thus, through his guilty connection with Herodias, Herod Antipas was at once betrayed into the greatest crimes, and entangled in the heaviest misfortunes of his life. From the account of Josephus, he appears to have been chiefly a man of pleasure; and was hurried into evil, more from the luxurious courses he pursued, and the bad companionships he formed, than from deliberate and settled malice; and this also is the impression conveyed by what is recorded of him in the evangelists. In Mar. vi. 12 he is called "king Herod," as also in Mat. ii. 22 Archelaus is spoken of as *reigning* (βασιλεύει); but the words must be taken in the looser sense of ruler and ruling; since neither of them had properly the title of king; the precise official designation of Archelaus being *ethnarch*, and of Antipas *tetrarch*.

4. HEROD PHILIP, the son of Herod by Mariamne, the daughter of the high-priest Simon. He is simply called Herod by Josephus (as are also occasionally some of the other sons of Herod); but, in perfect accordance with Scripture, he is reported by the historian to have been married to Herodias, the daughter of Aristobulus, and afterwards deserted by her, that she might marry his half-brother, Herod Antipas (Antiq. xvii. 1, 2; xviii. 5, 1). In New Testament scripture he goes by the name of Philip, Mat. xiv. 3. We learn from Josephus, that this son of Herod the Great had originally been in the testament of his father, but that on account of certain intrigues of his mother Mariamne, which were discovered by Herod before his death, his name

was latterly erased from the document; he was to have had the share originally destined for Antipater (Jos. Wars, i. 30, 7). The loss of possessions which thus befell him would, no doubt, be among the considerations which induced the ambitious Herodias to forsake him for his more fortunate brother.

5. Herod Philip, the son of Herod by Cleopatra. He had been brought up at Rome, and, while still there, was, at the instigation of Antipater, charged with disaffection to his father (Jos. Ant. xvii. 1, 3; ch. 4. sect. 3). But on examination the charges gave way, and by his father's testament he was left the tetrarchy of Gaulonitis, Trachonitis, and Paneas (xvii. 8, 1). This tetrarchy, which was confirmed to him by the emperor, he held for the long period of thirty-seven years (xviii. 4, 6). It is simply as the possessor of it that he is mentioned in New Testament scripture, Lu. iii. 1. He appears, however, to have been a lover of moderation and peace, resided almost constantly in the region allotted to him, and in his administration was distinguished for the exercise of justice. He was, so far as can be judged, the best of the sons of Herod.

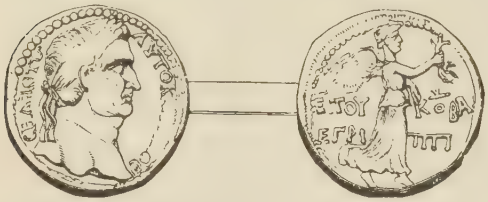
6. Herod Agrippa I. was the grandson of Herod by Aristobulus—one of the sons who was barbarously murdered by Herod in his latter days. Agrippa had been brought up at Rome, where he lived for many years with his mother Berenice. He became, when there, the intimate companion of the young princes, nephews of Tiberius, especially with Drusus. But this led him into extravagant habits, and involved him in debt, on account of which he was obliged to flee for a time from Rome. By and by, however, his necessities again led him back thither; and having found persons able and disposed to assist him in his pecuniary difficulties, he was again received into favour by Tiberius, and was much with his grand-nephew and successor Caius. But having incautiously given utterance to some disparaging words, which were reported to the emperor by his own freedman Eutychus, he was thrown into prison, and remained there in jeopardy of life till the emperor's death, which however happened not very long after. Presently he was set at liberty by Caius, better known by the name of Caligula, who succeeded Tiberius; he was also invested with the title of king, and received for his dominion the province of Abilene and the tetrarchy that had belonged to his uncle Philip. The provinces of Galilee and Peræa, not long after, also fell to him, on the rejection of the suit of Herod Antipas, and his decree of banishment. Agrippa in his difficulties had received substantial kindness from his uncle Antipas, who even for a time supported him; but they had quarrelled, and Agrippa now ungenerously used the influence he had at court to defeat the wishes and supplant the interest of his uncle. Another turn of good fortune befell Agrippa at a later period; for being at Rome when Caligula terminated his wretched career, he was of considerable service to Claudius in aiding him to get possession of the government, and he was rewarded by the annexation of Judea and Samaria to his dominions. This was in A.D. 41, four years after he had obtained his enlargement from Caligula; so that from this time his sway extended over all the provinces which had originally belonged to his grandfather Herod the Great. He was the most affable and popular ruler of the Herodian family; and though in his views and manners more a Roman than a Jew, yet he paid respect to the feelings of his countrymen, and was held in high esteem both in Judea and the surrounding countries. It was on his personal entreaty, and not without hazard to his own interest and life, that Caligula desisted from his mad attempt to have his statue placed in the temple of Jerusalem, which set all Judea in an uproar (Jos. Ant. xviii. 8, 7). But his love of popularity betrayed him into the crime of persecuting the followers of Jesus. At the instigation of the more bigotted Jews, he put James to death; and seeing how this pleased the people, and added to his popularity with the multitude, he proceeded also to lay hands on Peter, Ac. xii. 1-3. But the Lord graciously interposed for the protection of his infant church. Peter was miraculously delivered out of prison; and shortly after Herod himself, in the midst of the games that were being celebrated in honour of Cæsar, when receiving the acclamations of the people, and lauded as a god for his surpassing grandeur and eloquence, was stricken with a mortal disease, of which he died in a few days. The evangelist ascribes this attack to the angel of the Lord, Ac. xii. 23, telling us it befell him because he gave not God the glory; and even the account in Josephus has all the appearance of a special interposition from Heaven, and was by Herod himself viewed as a judgment for the impiety that had been proceeding. When seized with prostrating weakness and agonizing pain, he said to the people: "I whom you call a god am ordered presently to depart this life; Providence thus instantly reproving the lying words you just now addressed to me; and I, who was by you called immortal, am immediately to be hurried away by death" (Ant. xix. 8, 2). He died in A.D. 44, after he had reigned three years over all Judea, and in the fifty-fourth year of his age. He was generally called Agrippa the Great.

7. Herod Agrippa II. was the son of the preceding, consequently great-grandson of the first Herod. He was, like his father, educated at Rome, and was had in favour by Claudius. But he was only seventeen years old at his father's death—too young to be invested with the government of his father's dominions, which were again reduced to the condition of a Roman province. Four years afterwards his uncle, Herod of Chalcis, died (A.D. 48), and the little province of Chalcis was conferred on Agrippa, with the right of superintending the temple at Jerusalem and appointing the high-priest. But about four years afterwards he received, instead of Chalcis, along with the title of king, the tetrarchies which had formerly been held by Lysanias and Herod Philip. Portions of Galilee and Peræa were afterwards added by Nero, A.D. 55.

[325.] Coin of Herod Agrippa II.—British Museum.

It was about five years after this, that, on the occasion of his coming to Cæsarea with his sister Berenice, the apostle had an opportunity of pleading his cause before him, Ac. xxv. xxvi. He was by no means so popular as his father, although he spent considerable sums of money in adorning Jerusalem. He acted capriciously

in his appointments to the office of high-priest, and in various other respects gave offence to the feelings of his countrymen. He tried in vain to dissuade them



[326.] Coin of Herod Agrippa II., with head of Titus. From specimen in British Museum.

from the great rebellion against the Romans; and when it actually broke out, he took part with the imperial forces. After the capture of Jerusalem, he went with his sister Berenice and resided at Rome, where he died, in the third year of Trajan's reign and the seventieth of his own life. He was the last of the race of Herod known to history—a race certainly remarkable for its mental vigour, daring exploits, and rare alternations of fortune, but throughout godless, unprincipled, licentious, and profane.

HERO'DIANS formed a party among the Jews of the apostolic age, and a party very keenly opposed to the claims of Jesus; but of which no explicit information is given by any of the evangelists. Several hypotheses have consequently been propounded respecting them; which, however, it is needless to recount. The name clearly bespeaks their origin and leading aim. They were undoubtedly the adherents of the Herodian interest, and whether possessing or not any recognized connection with the government of Herod, were at least pledged to support it, and watchfully observant of everything that might seem to interfere with its rights. This is enough to account for the part they are represented as acting in the gospel history; since, from the current belief respecting Christ's aspirations towards the throne of Judea, they would naturally infer the contrariety of his interest to that of the Herodian family. Hence their opposition, in so far as it comes into view, took the form of a determination to have Jesus handed over to the temporal power for summary justice. It was so even on the first of the two occasions that mention is made of them, when, after having witnessed some miracles performed by our Lord on the Sabbath, and heard his views upon the subject, the Pharisees, it is said, "went forth, and straightway took counsel with the Herodians against him, how they might destroy him," Mar. iii. 6; that is, the professedly religious joined hands with the adherents of the civic or ruling party, to lay violent hands on Jesus as a person dangerous to the commonwealth. There was the same coalition, with the same object, near the close of his career, Mat. xxii. 16; Mar. xii. 13; and the fuller exposition of the matter in St. Luke's gospel makes the nature and objects of the Herodians quite plain; for they are manifestly the party more especially referred to in ch. xx. 20, "Who watched him, and sent forth spies, which should feign themselves just men, that they might take hold of his words, that so they might deliver him unto the power and authority of the governor." It was quite in accordance with the Herodians to act the part of spies in the interest of the ruling powers; and it would matter nothing, whether the governor (*i.e.* the Roman governor of Judea) or Herod (Antipas of Galilee) might be the authority before whom the accusation was to be lodged; for the Herodians, while deriving their name from Herod's family, must also have been staunch supporters of Roman supremacy, on which that of the Herods rested. It does not follow, however, from the fact of some of them being found ready to do the part of spies, that the whole party were such, or that spying in the interest of government was their common employment. They might naturally enough have been the proper party to furnish spies for an occasion, without following the business proper to such as their ordinary calling.

HERO'DIAS, daughter of Aristobulus, the son of Herod the Great, and the wife first of Herod Philip, the son of Herod by the second Mariamne, then, after her improper divorce from him, of Herod Antipas. (*See* HEROD ANTIPAS.)

HERO'DION, the name of an early Christian—a kinsman of the apostle Paul, and at the time he wrote his epistle to the Romans, a resident at Rome, Ro. xvi. 11. Tradition reports him to have afterwards become a bishop, but of this there is no proper evidence.

HERON [אנפה, *anaphah*]. One of those appellations of which we have little clue to the specific meaning. It is found but twice; and the two occurrences are but the reduplication of one, and here merely as a name. It is, however, in the enumeration of unclean animals in Le. xi. and De. xiv., and in such company that we gather it to be a bird, probably of the order *Grallæ*, being placed between the stork and the gallinule. The lexicographers derive the word from אנף (*anaph*), "to snort," always rendered "to be angry;"

[327.] Little golden Egret—*Ardea russata.*

but little help is thus given to the zoologist. The LXX. translate the word in both passages by χαραδριὸς (*charadrios*), the Greek name for some bird (not necessarily a plover), to which genus Linnæus appropriated it) of a yellow colour, remarkable for its voracity, and frequenting quagmires or beds of mountain torrents (χαράδρα).

All these indications warrant the rendering of our English version. The herons are wading-birds, peculiarly irritable, remarkable for their voracity, frequent-

ing marshes and oozy rivers, and spread over the regions of the East. Most of the species enumerated in our native ornithology have been recognized in the vicinity of Palestine, and we may include all these under the term in question—"the anaphah *after his kind*." With respect to the χαραδριὸς of the LXX. it is observable that one of the commonest species in Asia is *Ardea russata*—a very rare bird with us, which is beautifully adorned with plumage partly white and partly of a rich orange-yellow, while the beak, legs, and all the naked parts of the skin are yellow. Its height is about 17 inches. This is the *caboga* or cow-heron so abundant in India. Several kinds of heron, one of which from its form would serve well enough to represent this little golden egret, are commonly depicted on those Egyptian paintings in which the subject—a favourite one—is the fowling and fishing among the paper-reeds of the Nile. [P. H. G.]

HESH'BON, a city on the east of Jordan, from which it was about twenty miles distant, and stood between the brooks Jabbok and Arnon. It seems to have been the capital of Sihon, as he is called the king of Heshbon, as well as king of the Amorites, Nu. xxi. 26, seq. It was afterwards made a Levitical city, and is mentioned in connection both with the tribe of Reuben, and with that of Gad, Jos. xxi. 39; Nu. xxxii 37; 1 Ch. vi. 81. It appears, however, to have again fallen into the hands of the Moabites, as it is repeatedly mentioned by the prophets in their denunciations against the land of Moab, Is. xv. 4; Je. xlviii. 2. In later times the Maccabees held it under their sway (Jos. Ant. xiii. 15, 4); and the ruins of Heshbon have been identified as those of the ancient city by modern travellers. The ruins lie on the summit of a hill which commands an extensive prospect. They are more than a mile in circuit, but are themselves uninteresting, and contain not one entire building. Among the heaps of rubbish, however, "there are many cisterns; and towards the south, a few minutes from the base of the hill, is a large ancient reservoir, which may call to mind the passage in the Song of Solomon, 'Thine eyes are like the fishpools in Heshbon, by the gate of Beth-rabbin,'" ch. vii. 4 (Porter, in Murray's Handbook, p. 298).

HETH. *See* HITTITES.

HEZEKI'AH [properly *Hizk-jah*, or, as it is sometimes put, *Jehezeki-jah, i.e. Jehovah strengthens*, or, in the other form, *Jehovah will strengthen*], a happy name, and not less appropriate than happy for the distinguished king of Judah who bore it. The probability is, indeed, that it was the name, not originally imposed, but subsequently assumed by its possessor. For the father of Hezekiah was the wicked and idolatrous Ahaz, who was so far from looking to Jehovah for strength, that in spite of the earnest remonstrances and solemn threatenings of the prophet Isaiah, he made his kingdom tributary to the king of Assyria, in order to secure adequate protection and support. But however that may be, Hezekiah, who was twenty-five years old when he came to the throne of Judah, soon gave evidence that he was of an entirely different spirit from his father; for he immediately entered on an extensive and thorough reformation. Image-worship had been in various forms introduced; and all the instruments of it he brake in pieces and utterly destroyed—not excepting even the brazen serpent of the wilderness, which had hitherto been kept as a sacred relic and memorial of the Lord's gracious working in former times, but which had latterly been abused to purposes of superstition. This also in his laudable zeal against image-worship Hezekiah broke in pieces, calling it Nehushtan (*i.e.* a bit of brass—that and no more), and deeming it better that they should altogether want such an interesting monument of past mercy, than let it remain as a snare to men's souls. In like manner the high places were removed, which to a considerable extent had been allowed to take the place of the temple, and served greatly to aid the prevailing tendency to a corrupt and mutilated worship. The priests and Levites also were strictly charged to have the dilapidated things about the temple repaired, the missing vessels restored, and all the abominations or unlawful and defiling things removed, so that it might be consecrated anew for the pure worship of Jehovah. And when all that was required for this had been accomplished, a great solemnity was kept, in which the assembled people, with Hezekiah and the rulers at their head, presented sin-offerings for the expiation of past guilt, and hecatombs of thank-offerings for the mercy and loving-kindness of God in dealing with them otherwise than their iniquities and backslidings had deserved, 2 Ki. xviii.; 2 Ch. xxix. Shortly after this the king ordered vast preparations to be made for celebrating the feast of the passover—which in the better times of the Hebrew commonwealth was always regarded as emphatically the feast of the covenant—and sent invitations to the true-hearted members of the covenant in the kingdom of Israel and elsewhere, entreating them to come and hold the feast with them in Jerusalem. The invitation was accepted by great multitudes out of the different tribes, by more, it would appear, than had time or opportunity to sanctify themselves according to the law; so that Hezekiah presented special prayer for such of them as were in this position, that their offerings might be accepted, though they had not purified themselves according to the preparation of the sanctuary. But so general and hearty was the zeal manifested on the occasion, that the seven days of the feast seemed too short for the purpose, so that the assembled multitude agreed to hold an additional seven days of sacred fellowship and religious employment. And generously responding to this re-awakened spirit of devotion on the part of the people, Hezekiah and his princes furnished them with an ample supply of victims—the one giving 1000 bullocks and 7000 sheep, the others 1000 bullocks and 10,000 sheep, 2 Ch. xxx.

Not long after these joyous proceedings, and the carrying out of the general reforms that were necessary to consolidate the better state of things, a portentous evil rose on the political horizon, which caused the hearts alike of king and of people to tremble for fear. This was the threatening approach of the host of Sennacherib, king of Assyria. Hezekiah, among his other reforms, had broken off the servitude to Assyria, which his father Ahaz consented to, considering more perhaps the original character of the servitude than the existing relations it had been the occasion of establishing between the two countries. "He rebelled," it is said, "against the king of Assyria and served him not," 2 Ki. xviii. 7—language implying that a formal homage had been wont to be rendered to the Assyrian power, and a regular acknowledgment given of it by the payment of a stipulated tribute, which was now withdrawn. Sennacherib does not appear to have taken any immediate steps to avenge the affront, but kept it in reserve, as a dispute requiring to be settled along with a more

serious quarrel which had arisen between him and the king of Israel. It was in the third year of Hezekiah's reign that matters came to a kind of extremity between Israel and Assyria; and in the fourth year the army of Assyria laid siege to Samaria, with the view of reducing the entire country to subjection. The place was taken three years afterwards, and the mass of the people carried captive to other lands. It would even seem that the king of Assyria did not for a considerable time after this success press his claims against Judah, probably from being too much occupied with other affairs, and deeming the little kingdom of Judah within his reach at any time. Whatever may have been the reason, it was not till eight years later, not till the fourteenth year of Hezekiah's reign, that he made a formal assault upon the kingdom of Judah; but when he did so, it was with the evident determination of doing with the house and people of Judah as he had already done with those of Israel: "He came up against all the fenced cities of Judah and took them," 2 Ki. xviii. 13. It has been often stated, especially by German writers, that in this emergency, or rather while it was only in prospect, Hezekiah had formed an alliance with Egypt. But there is no proper historical ground for the assertion, and it is at variance with all we know of Hezekiah's character. It is true that Rabshakeh taunted him with having trusted in Egypt, which he compared to a bruised reed, 2 Ki. xviii. 21; but he throws out so many foolish and extravagant assertions in his speech, that in the utter silence of the historian himself upon the subject, the statement is entitled to little regard. Hezekiah, however, whether from the terrible rapidity and success of the Assyrian invasion, or from not feeling quite assured respecting the justice of his own position, did tremble and give way; and he sent an embassy to the king of Assyria, when encamped at Lachish, saying, "I have offended; return from me; that which thou puttest on me I will bear." A heavy tax was immediately imposed of 300 talents of silver and 30 of gold, which obliged Hezekiah to ransack the treasures of the Lord's house as well as of his own to make it good; even the gold which overlaid the doors and pillars of the temple had to be parted with for the occasion.

The account given of this first expedition of Sennacherib against Hezekiah, as found upon the Nineveh tablets, according to the interpretation of Col. Rawlinson, reads thus: "And because Hezekiah king of Judah would not submit to my yoke, I came up against him, and by force of arms and by the might of my power, I took forty-six of his strong fenced cities; and of the smaller towns which were scattered about, I took and plundered a countless number. . . . And Hezekiah himself I shut up in Jerusalem his capital city, like a bird in a cage, building towers round the city to hem him in, and raising banks of earth against the gates, so as to prevent escape. . . . Then upon this Hezekiah there fell the fear of the power of my arms, and he sent out to me the chiefs and the elders of Jerusalem with 30 talents of gold and 800 talents of silver, and divers treasures, a rich and immense booty. . . . All these things were brought to me at Nineveh, the seat of my government, Hezekiah having sent them by way of tribute, and as a token of his submission to my power" (Rawlinson's Bampton Lecture, p. 112). Another reading of this piece of ancient sculpture may be seen in Layard's *Nineveh and Babylon*, p. 143, by Dr. Hincks, differing to some extent with the above, yet coinciding with it in the main. Should the general drift only have been arrived at, this document, so wonderfully recovered, must be regarded as a striking confirmation of the leading facts in the Bible narrative.

But the only effect of Hezekiah's compliance with the demands of Sennacherib was to shift the quarrel from a lower to a higher ground. The Assyrian king returned again, and required an unconditional surrender, that he might transport the king and people of Judah to another region, as he had done with Israel and other nations. The demand was made in the most offensive tone and with proud defiance, not only of the power and resources of Hezekiah, but even of the might of Jehovah, in whom Hezekiah professed to trust. It was this very audacity, however, which roused the spirit and strengthened the heart of the king of Judah. He now saw that the contest was more properly God's than his, and that the time had come for God himself to work.

It was, no doubt, mainly for the purpose of bringing matters to this issue that the Lord had caused the more pacific and temporizing course of Hezekiah to fail, and hardened the heart of Sennacherib now, as he had done that of Pharaoh in former times, to urge demands that directly warred with the honour and purposes of Heaven. It was to furnish an occasion before the world for humbling the gods of Assyria, and staining the glory of her strength, in the very noontide of her prosperity, that so the name of Jehovah might be most highly exalted, and his cause rendered triumphant over all opposition. Hezekiah perceived at once the greatness of the crisis, and the need of special interposition and succour from Heaven; but conscious of his own weakness, and of the mighty interests at stake, he first humbled himself before the Lord—going in rent garments and in sackcloth to the temple to pray—then sent to Isaiah the prophet, that he also might spread the case before the Lord, if haply he might obtain a message of comfort. With these exercises of faith toward God he did not neglect suitable precautions of an inferior kind; for he had repaired the walls of Jerusalem where they were broken, fortified them with towers, built at certain places a second wall without, gathered all available forces and weapons of war, and stopped the fountains of waters which were in the neighbourhood of the city, that the besieging army might not reap the benefit of them. He thus did what lay within the reach and compass of his hand, but he did not trust to it; he knew that of itself it could avail little before the power and resources of Assyria; hence, his resort in sackcloth to the temple, and his suppliant message to the prophet. But the two together, the prayer and the pains, were enough. He forthwith received from Isaiah the gladdening message, "Thus saith the Lord, Be not afraid of the words which thou hast heard, with which the servants of the king of Assyria have blasphemed me. Behold, I will send a blast upon him, and he shall hear a rumour, and shall return to his own land; and I will cause him to fall by the sword in his own land." And now Hezekiah's faith rose to the possession of an assured confidence, and the exercise of a noble courage. "He set captains of war over the people, and gathered them together into the street of the gate of the city, and spake comfortably to them, saying, Be strong and courageous; be not afraid nor dismayed for the king of Assyria, nor for all the multitude that is with him, for there be more with us than

with him. With him is an arm of flesh; but with us is the Lord our God, to help us, and to fight our battles," 2 Ch. xxxii. 6-8; 2 Ki. xix. 6, 7. The result was in perfect accordance with these anticipations of faith and hope; for, after that Sennacherib had taken Lachish, and moved his forces to Libnah, nigh to Jerusalem, troubles began to fall upon him. He first hears a rumour of Tirhakah, king of Ethiopia, having prepared a mighty host to come against him; and it appears from Herodotus (ii. 141) that his army did actually—and most probably a little after this—sustain a severe reverse in Egypt. Then, after sending another, and still more insolent message to Hezekiah, which only drew forth a more intense cry for help from the king of Judah, and a fresh word of consolation and exulting hope from the prophet Isaiah, the blast of a terrible plague from the Lord laid the flower of his immense host in the dust; so many as 185,000 perishing in one night. Thereafter, broken in spirit and crippled in resources, he returned in haste to his own land; where shortly after, when engaged in an act of worship, he was slain by two of his sons.

Thus wonderfully were Hezekiah and his people delivered. But the moment of victory proved in another respect to be the season of peril; and now that strength had been found for the birth, it seemed as if in the very act of accomplishing it there was to be a relapse into the arms of death. It must have been about this very time that Hezekiah fell sick, so sick that he was told by the prophet Isaiah he might set his house in order, for he should die and not live, 2 Ki. xx. 1. The sacred narrative merely states that in those days it took place; viz. about the time of the failure of Sennacherib's expedition, either when it had failed, or was on the eve of doing so. The dates given also lead to this result. For that expedition took place in the fourteenth year of Hezekiah's reign, and fifteen years being added to his life after the sickness, making twenty-nine, the length of his entire reign, it is clear that the time of sickness must have been very nearly coeval with the period of deliverance. Possibly the great effort and excitement of the occasion had proved too much for Hezekiah's frame, and, as not unusually happens in such cases, a feverish attack ensued, which prostrated his strength. Or, what is fully as probable, the pestilence which slew so many thousands in the army of Sennacherib, also produced certain ravages in the camp of Israel, and reached the very possessor of the throne—to let the people of the covenant see how much it behoved them to rejoice with trembling, and how easily the same power which swept their enemies to the dust could also make an end of *them*. Anyhow, Hezekiah was suddenly brought to the brink of the grave; he laboured under a disease that was in its own nature deadly; yet in answer to his earnest cry, and out of regard to the interests of righteousness, the Lord again graciously interposed in his behalf, and, as already noticed, fifteen years were added to his life. This message of comfort he also received through the ministration of Isaiah, and partly through the instrumentality of the prophet was the recovery effected. At his instance a preparation of figs was applied to the boil (as it is called), rather perhaps to the plague-spot; and the king presently began to recover.

The assurance of recovery came so close after the announcement of his approaching death (for Isaiah had not left the precincts of the palace before the second message came to him), that Hezekiah not unnaturally asked for a sign to confirm his faith as to the result. This also was granted, and the particular sign chosen was the receding of the sun's shadow ten degrees on the dial of Ahaz. (*See* DIAL.) This of course could only have happened by a miraculous interposition; yet there is no need for carrying it farther than to the local effect required to be produced. We have no reason to suppose that any change took place in the general economy of nature; a brief and partial direction of the sun's rays out of their natural inclination on that particular dial was all that was required for the occasion, and we may reasonably conclude all that was actually produced.

Hezekiah signalized his recovery from threatened death by the composition of a sacred hymn, which has been preserved, not in the historical books, but among the writings of Isaiah, ch. xxxviii. 9-20. It is written in the lyrical style of many of the psalms of David, and was perhaps not included in the book of Psalms, chiefly on account of the strictly personal character it bears. The writer does not identify himself with the believing people of God generally, as David and his followers commonly did, but has respect simply to his own case; and the song was hence naturally regarded as appropriate rather to the individual writer than to the community. As a composition it is full of life and spirit; but in its views respecting the darkness and silence of *sheol* is somewhat stronger than was usual with the inspired writers of the same period. The portions of Isaiah's writings, for example, which touch on the dead, are enlivened by an animation and a hope respecting the future, of which no trace exists in this brief expression of Hezekiah's feelings. But this by no means proves that he looked upon death as a state of total oblivion and final abandonment: it merely implies that at the moment of his distress he thought only of the natural evil that there was in death, and of the termination it should necessarily bring to all his activities in respect to the service of God on earth.

The deliverances wrought for Hezekiah personally, and through him for the people of Judah, threw a halo of sacred glory around the latter half of his reign, which attracted many eyes even from distant lands. But on this account it proved a source of spiritual danger. People flocked to his capital; presents were sent to him; honour and riches attended him, and "he was magnified in the sight of all nations," 2 Ch. xxxii. 23. It is rather therefore to be regretted than wondered at that his heart should have been lifted up, as we are told by the writer of the book of Chronicles, and that in this he failed to render to God as it had been done to him. The state of his heart was brought out by the visit and presents he received from the messengers of Merodach-Baladin, the king of Babylon, who was aiming at the establishment of a dynasty and kingdom that should supplant those of Assyria. It was natural for such a person to seek the friendship and alliance of Hezekiah, after he had become known as the special favourite of a higher power, and the unconquered defier of Assyrian might and prowess. And the king of Judah ought doubtless to have politely received, and treated with civility, the representatives of the court of Babylon, when coming, at such a time, to congratulate him on his recovery, and offer some substantial tokens of their master's good-will. But he plainly went beyond this point of proper and becoming respect, and lost the reserve which it behoved him as the possessor of the

throne of David to maintain towards a heathen power, when he received them to his more intimate fellowship, and showed them all the treasures of his house and the glory of his kingdom. This was the exhibition of a vain-glorious pride, and it met with a significant rebuke. For the prophet Isaiah sent to inquire what those messengers from Babylon had seen; and on being told that they had seen everything, that nothing whatever had been concealed from them, he announced the startling fact that the time was coming (though not in Hezekiah's own days) when the whole should be carried captive to Babylon, and even his offspring should serve there as eunuchs to a foreign lord. As much as to say, Such is what *you* are to expect from drawing close the bonds of intimacy with the king of Babylon; the path you have entered on has this humiliation for its destined result. On hearing the message Hezekiah gave evidence of his meek resignation, but scarcely, one is apt to think, of patriotic feeling suited to the occasion, by saying, "Good is the word of the Lord which thou hast spoken—is it not so, if peace and truth be in my days?" He seemed to feel that his expression of content required a certain apology or explanation; but even when this was given it seems barely sufficient; it looks as if he were somewhat too much alive to personal repose, too little concerned about the peace and prosperity of the times and persons who were to come after him. But possibly it was less a regard to what concerned himself, more of an insight into the real state and tendency of things, which led Hezekiah to speak thus. His own observation could scarcely have failed to convince him—and, if it had, he must have learned from his acquaintance with the mind and writings of Isaiah—that the spiritual and moral evils, which he had laboured to reform, had struck their roots far too deeply into the state of Jewish society to be thoroughly amended by any ordinary methods; and that, with all the apparent interest, and the real amount of good his measures had effected, there were still many disorders of a private and social kind unrectified, and defections from the spirit and principles of the institutions of Moses unchecked. The writings of Isaiah, and still more, the general return to the abominations of idolatry that took place immediately after the decease of Hezekiah, leave no room to doubt that such actually was the case. Even one of the leading men at Hezekiah's court—Shebna the scribe, who took an active part in the affairs connected with the assault of Sennacherib, 2 Ki. xviii. 37—is denounced by Isaiah as a man utterly worthless in character, and doomed to be driven away by God's judgment like a ball tossed with the foot, Is. xxii. 15-18. It is scarcely therefore ascribing too much of discernment and prophetic insight to Hezekiah, to suppose that he was so cognizant of the evil still lurking among them, as to perceive that the day of vengeance was postponed merely, not abandoned; and that it might justly be regarded as a token of the divine forbearance to postpone it till the close of Hezekiah's own reign.

On the whole, therefore, considering in what sort of times Hezekiah appeared, and with what kind of elements he was surrounded, we can have no hesitation in assigning him a high place among the worthies of the old covenant—the very highest place (as is expressly asserted for him in Scripture) among the kings of Judah—although by no means attaining to the measure of David, who reigned over the collective house of Judah and Israel. He had a great work to do, and had the gifts fitting him for its performance, in particular, a simple zeal for God's glory, a strong faith in God's word, and a steady unflinching determination to hazard all for the interests of the divine kingdom. Such a man was precisely the king suited to the emergency of the times; and around him, as a true pillar and defender of the faith, gathered all those who still had some good thing in their hearts toward the God of Israel; while through him the covenant-blessing again descended in rich effusion, and the Lord showed what great things he was still ready to do in behalf of them that feared him.

HID'DEKEL, one of the rivers of Eden, said to have gone towards Assyria. (*See* EDEN.)

HI'EL [*God liveth*], a Bethelite, who is particularly mentioned in connection with the rebuilding of Jericho. (*See* JERICHO.)

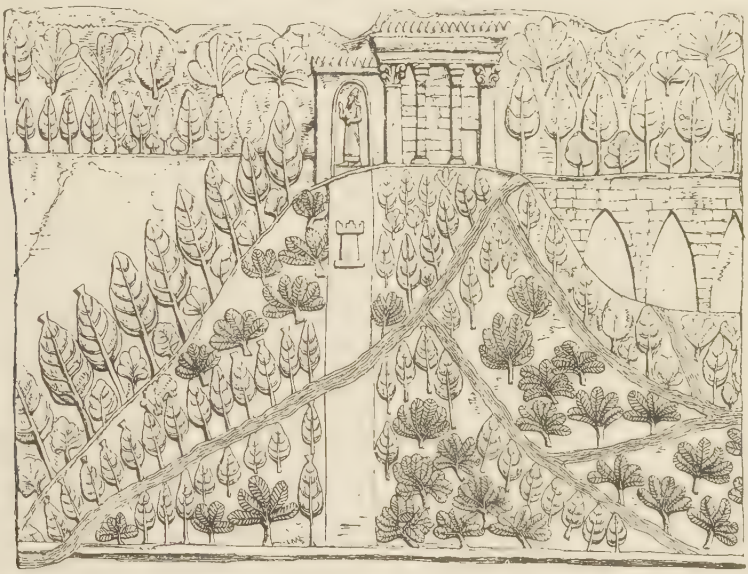
HIERAP'OLIS [*sacred city*], the name of a city in Phrygia, about five miles north of Laodicea, standing on a height between the rivers Lycus and Maeander, and mentioned by St. Paul, in connection with Colossæ and Laodicea, as alike blessed with the pastoral labours of the faithful Epaphras, Col. iv. 12, 13. It was the site of an early church. It had the name of Hierapolis given to it remotely, perhaps, on account of the mineral springs which it possessed, and which from their healing virtue were supposed to indicate a peculiar connection with the Deity, but more immediately from its being the chief seat of the worship of the Syrian goddess Astarte. *Bambyce* was the original name, and that which the natives still gave to it, after the other had become common among authors. The

[328.] Petrified Cascades at Hierapolis.—Laborde.

ruins, which are found at a place no longer inhabited, and called *Pambuk-Kalessi*, are extensive, and show it to have been a place of considerable size and splendour. The most noticeable thing about the place, however, are the stalactites and incrustations, which were mentioned by ancient writers, and are also described by modern travellers. In particular, there is an "immense frozen cascade, the surface wavy, as of water at once fixed, or in its headlong course suddenly petrified" (Chandler's Travels). The city lay on the great caravan road from Antioch to Seleucia and Babylon, and became in consequence a large emporium. Otherwise it had no particular advantages, being situated in the centre of a rocky plain, and in an isolated position. Its temple was plundered by Crœsus, and was found to contain such treasures, that several days were required to examine and weigh them. This temple and worship retained its hold of the people long after the introduction of Christianity, and were not finally abandoned till fully five hundred years after the Christian era.

HIGGAION, a title at some of the psalms. *See* PSALMS.

HIGH-PLACES [Heb. בָּמוֹת, *bamoth*], consecrated heights, often mentioned as places of worship in ancient times, but, after the giving of the law, always regarded as to a certain extent improper and at variance with the design of the covenant. In patriarchal times, there was no limit or restriction as to the places where an altar might be erected, and acceptable service presented



[329.] Temple on a hill surrounded by trees, and having an Altar in the approach to it. A viaduct, streams of water, &c., are represented.—Bas-relief from Kouyunjik in British Museum.

to God; nor does a uniform practice appear to have been observed, although the prevailing tendency was probably to repair to some height. Abraham seems to have built his first altar in Canaan on the plain of Moreh, and his second upon a height in the neighbourhood of Bethel, Ge. xii. 7, 8. But that a hill, or rising ground of some description, was usually chosen, and most readily associated itself with services of solemn worship, may be inferred even from the command given to Abraham—the only explicit command addressed to him, so far as we know, regarding the selection of an appropriate place of worship—to go and offer up his son Isaac on a mountain in the land of Moriah. The practice from the earliest times among the heathen appears to have been in a similar direction. And the same feeling which instinctively led to the selection of a height as the fittest place for sacrificial worship, also led to the construction of a platform of some elevation on which to present the offering. They thus obtained a relative height for the actual service, whatever might be the nature of the surrounding area; and hence most of the original words for altars or places of sacrificial worship in the ancient tongues, were indicative of height. (*See* under ALTAR.) But the progress of heathenism and idolatry in the world disposed men to associate with every select place of worship, and its consecrated altar, a distinct object of worship, so that according to the altars the gods also were multiplied; it was found necessary to impose a prohibition; and in the constitution set up by the hand of Moses, as there was to be the acknowledgment and worship of but one God, so there was to be but one altar of sacrifice. It henceforth became an irregularity to have more altars than one, although in particular emergencies, and in the dislocated state of things which ensued on the separation of the ten tribes, when it became practically impossible to have every act of worship presented at the one altar, a certain license was permitted. Thus we find Samuel countenancing a sacrifice, first at Mizpeh, then at a high-place near his settled residence, 1 Sa. vii. 9; ix. 13; at a later period at Bethlehem, 1 Sa. xvi. 5; while David performed sacrifice on an altar extemporized for the occasion at the thrashing-floor of Araunah, 1 Ch. xxi. 2; and Elijah, in like manner, hastily reared an altar on Mount Carmel and offered sacrifice before assembled Israel to Jehovah, 1 Ki. xviii. 3, et seq. But these were all extraordinary occasions; and the strong theocratic sense of the persons directing the sacrifice, together with the

manifest peculiarity of the occasions, served to counteract the tendency which the act of itself might have been fitted to gender. It was one of the great objects of the religious striving of David to have the Mosaic constitution so invigorated, and the service at the one altar and tabernacle brought to such a state of relative perfection, that both the occasions for separate altars might be taken away, and the desire for having them extinguished. This aim appears to have been in great measure accomplished during his reign and that of Solomon. But with the falling asunder of the kingdom, and the manifold political and social disorders which grew out of it, the proper feeling of unity was again interrupted, and the habit of worshipping on high-places by degrees crept in. By the better class of worshippers, however, it was always recognized as a disorder and a partial defection from the legal standard; so that where only the more flagrant corruptions were shunned, the sacrificing on the high-places was noted as a smaller evil that continued to prevail; and the extent to which Hezekiah's reformation in matters of religion was carried is marked by the circumstance, that in his time the high-places were removed; that is, the altars on them, and other erections attached to these, were pulled down, 2 Ki. xviii. 4. But too commonly it was not merely an imperfection in the ritualistic service, or a corruption in the form of worship, which the irregular sacrificing on high-places tended to foster; these were the channels through which false objects of worship, with their kindred abominations, flowed in; and hence in the prophets little distinction is usually made between the high places and the more formal acts of idolatrous worship: all are classed together as violations of the law of God, and abominations that must be utterly put away, if the people should ever be right with God, and enjoy the proper blessing of the covenant, Is. lvii. 7; Je. ii. 20; Eze. xvi. 25, &c.

HIGH-PRIEST. *See* PRIEST.

HILKI'AH [properly HILKIJAHU, *Jehovah's portion*], appears to have been a common name among the Jews, but no one bearing it rose to any great eminence. It was the name of Jeremiah's father, of the high-priest in the reign of Josiah, and of the father of Eliakim, one of Hezekiah's chief ministers, to whose faithfulness and piety special promises were given, Je. i. 1; 2 Ki. xxii.; Is. xxii. 20, seq. But nothing particular is known of the men themselves, except the high-priest in the days of Josiah, and the circumstances connected with him are treated elsewhere. (*See* JOSIAH.)

HIN, a Hebrew liquid measure equal to about ten English pints. (*See* MEASURES.)

HIND. *See* HART.

HIN'NOM. *See* HELL.

HI'RAM, or HU'RAM [etymology not certain, but probably meaning the *noble* or *free born*]. 1. A king of Tyre, contemporary with David, who sent to congratulate David on his accession to the throne, and furnished him afterwards with wood from Lebanon and workmen for the building of his palace, 2 Sa. v. 11; 1 Ch. xiv. 1; who also (for it seems to be the same person, and not a son or grandson of the former, as some have supposed) maintained amicable relations with Solomon, and supplied him with wood and artificers, as he had done to David, for the gigantic works carried on by Solomon, 1 Ki. v. 1-12; ix. 11-28. The alliance between Solomon and Hiram was carried still farther — farther, perhaps, than the spirit of the theocratic constitution warranted —for Solomon also obtained from him Tyrian sailors to go along with his own servants in his navy, which traded between Ezion-Geber and Ophir, 1 Ki. ix. 26-28. A slight difference arose between them on account of the villages wh'ch Solomon presented to Hiram in the land of Galilee, in token of his obligations to him, but which Hiram treated with a sort of contempt, and nicknamed Cabul (trash). But there appears to have been no settled misunderstanding between the two monarchs, and Solomon doubtless found some other way of testifying his gratitude towards Hiram.

2. HIRAM. A distinguished artificer, who was employed in superintending and executing some of the more elaborate workmanship connected with the temple, 2 Ch. iv. 11; 1 Ki. vii. 40—unless in those passages the name Hiram be still that of the king, and he is said to have done what was accomplished by the skill and energy of one or more of his workmen.

HIT'TITES, the descendants of HETH, the second son of Canaan, and constituting one of the tribes that possessed the land of Canaan at the time of the conquest. Their chief settlements seem to have been in the south, in the neighbourhood of Hebron. At a period long before the conquest Abraham found them there, and bought of them as the lords of the manor the field of Machpelah for a burying-place, Ge. xxiii. Later accounts still represent them as connected with that region, inhabiting the mountains or hill ground of the south of Canaan, and as living in the vicinity of Bethel, Nu. xiii. 29; Ju. i. 26. It was probably from dwelling so long in that portion of the land, and achieving in it so may wonderful exploits, that David drew into such intimate bonds with him one of the tribe—Uriah the Hittite; who appears to have been a proselyte to David's faith, as well as a devoted adherent of his cause. Alas! that the love and zeal of the Gentile should have met with so ungenerous a requital! Only one other individual of the tribe is mentioned in the history of the kingdom, 1 Sa. xxvi. 6. But the tribe as a whole long retained a distinctive place and possessions, though probably of limited compass. Kings of the Hittites are spoken of even in Solomon's time, among the purchasers of the chariots which he brought out of Egypt, 1 Ki. x. 29, and even so late as Joram's reign the name of king was not lost from among them, 2 Ki. vii. 6. It would appear that the race still subsisted after the Babylonish exile; for Hittites are mentioned among the outlandish people, whose daughters the returned captives had taken for wives, Ezr. ix. 1. They must have existed then, however, in merely isolated fragments; and from that time nothing is heard of them as a distinct and separate tribe among the inhabitants of Canaan.

HI'VITES, another of the ancient Canaanitish tribes, who were also called Avim, Ge. x. 17; Ex. iii. 8; Jos. xi. 3; xiii 11; De. ii. 23. The passages in Joshua represent them as dwelling in Mount Hermon, from Mount Baal-Hermon unto the entering in of Hamath; that is, on the extreme north, as the Hittites were on the extreme south. See also Jos. xi. 3. They had possessions, however, farther south, for it was they who from the cities of Gibeon, Kirjath-jearim, &c., entered into a stratagem and obtained peace with Joshua, Jos. ix. 3, seq. Solomon subjected them to a regular tribute as he did the remnants of the other nations which still survived in the land, 1 Ki. ix. 20. Their name never occurs after Solomon's time, and even in his day, it is evident, that they were comparatively few in number.

HO'BAB, a Midianite, the son of Reuel or Raguel, the father-in-law of Moses; so that Hobab must have been Moses' brother-in-law. But the term denoting father-in-law is used with some latitude, and the precise relation is not always quite easily ascertained. Here, however, it was probably what the English expression denotes. (But see under JETHRO and RAGUEL.) Hobab appears to have visited the camp of Israel during the time the people lay in the neighbourhood of Sinai, and to have accompanied them a short way on the route toward Canaan, when he proposed to return to his own place and kindred. But Moses pressed him to go along with them, that they might obtain the benefit of his experience of the wilderness-life; and assured him that "whatever goodness the Lord might do to them, the same they should do to him," Nu. x. 29-32. The result is not expressly recorded; though one might be warranted to infer from the mere silence of the historian in such a case, that Hobab remained with the covenant-people. But on turning to Ju. i. 16, we learn quite incidentally that "the children of the Kenite, Moses' father-in-law, went up out of the city of palm-trees with the children of Judah into the wilderness of Judah, which lieth in the south of Arad; and they went and dwelt among the people." The circumstance is noticed, not for the purpose of throwing light on the earlier narrative, but as connected with the aggressive operations of the tribe of Judah, with which the family of Hobab had come to be associated, and at the distance of some fifty or sixty years after the invitation had been given them by Moses. The later passage is therefore justly classed by Blunt among those incidental notices, or undesigned coincidences, which serve to confirm the authenticity of the sacred narrative. Why the family of Hobab were called Kenites, or from Kain, is not certainly known; but that it was the offspring of Hobab who are designated is beyond doubt, both from this passage, and from the distinct reference again made to them in Ju. iv. 11. (*See* KENITES.)

HOLY GHOST, the common designation in our English Bible of the third person in the Godhead, although HOLY SPIRIT is also occasionally used—the original being in both cases the same (*πνεῦμα ἅγιον*), and found sometimes with, sometimes without, the article. Whenever the epithet *holy* is wanting, the word *Spirit* is substituted for *Ghost;* for example, "the Spirit of the Lord," but never "the Ghost of the Lord;" or "the Spirit said," but not "the Ghost said." It was necessary to avoid such expressions from the ambiguous meaning of the term *ghost;* which, though originally the same with *spirit*, has come in common discourse to be very much appropriated to a superstitious use—expressing visionary existences, spectres. (*See* GHOST.) Notwithstanding the change in question, the expression HOLY GHOST has retained its place chiefly from association and usage, and is in fact employed as a proper name. It occurs, however, only in New Testament scripture; and indeed most probably for the reason now indicated; because, being regarded by our translators as a proper name, and as such the most distinctive name of the third person in the Godhead, they felt as if it should be reserved till that period in the divine dispensations when the threefold personality of the Godhead became a matter of explicit revelation. Yet not only does the expression "the Spirit of the Lord" occur in a great variety of passages of Old Testament scripture, but occasionally also we have the epithet *holy*, coupled with what might have been rendered *ghost* (רוּחַ, *ruach*, *πνεῦμα*); but our translators in each case render *Holy Spirit*, Ps. li. 11; Is. lxiii. 10, 11. Whether the inspired writers of the Old Testament had obtained an insight into the personality of the Spirit or not, the language they were led on many occasions to employ was such as perfectly accords with that idea, and may even be regarded as naturally fitted to suggest it. Even the earlier notices which speak of the Spirit of God moving upon the face of the waters—of his Spirit striving or ceasing to strive with men, Ge. i. 2; vi. 3—are of that description; but still more are those of a later period, which represent this Spirit as coming upon men, or being withdrawn from them, and as capable of being pleased or vexed by the conduct they pursued, 1 Sa. x. 10; xvi. 13; Is. lxiii. 10.

But it is only in the scriptures of the New Testament, and in connection with the great things there unfolded, that the Holy Ghost, in what may be called his personal relationship and economical agency, comes distinctly into view. It was not till then that the facts of the divine administration afforded an objective basis sufficiently broad and palpable for bringing this out to the popular apprehension, and giving it a place in the church's faith respecting God. Hence the personality and work of the Spirit, while not doubtfully indicated during the earlier ages of the church, had a vail of mystery thrown around it, which was only to drop off as the plan of salvation in Christ developed itself. It meets us, however, at the very threshold of the new dispensation, in the action there ascribed to the Holy Ghost respecting the formation of a body for our Lord in the womb of the Virgin, Lu. i. 35. It appears again in connection with the baptism of Christ, when the Spirit descended upon him, and abode with him—did so even in a bodily form, that a personal agency might be more easily recognized, Jn. i. 33; Lu. iii. 22. Still more explicitly and fully is this exhibited in the promises made by our Lord to his disciples concerning the abiding presence, and enlightening, consoling, sustaining energy of the Spirit; in which what they were to derive from the Spirit was spoken of as indeed closely related to, yet contradistinguished from, what belonged either to Christ himself, or to the Father. He was to come in some sense in the room of Christ; to supply the void created by Christ's absence; nay, to do in their experience what, by the economical arrangement of the plan of redemption, Christ himself could not do by means of his personal presence; so that it was even expedient or profitable for them that Christ should go away, in order that the Spirit might come, Jn. xiv. 16, 26; xvi. 7-14. It is impossible, by any fair and unbiassed interpretation, to understand what in such passages is said of the Spirit, otherwise than with respect to personal relations and actings. He is promised by the Father; proceeds out of the Father; is sent by the Father and the Son; does what the Son cannot directly do, yet what it is essential to the Son's mission to have accomplished. And in proof at once of the perfect harmony of the different persons of the Godhead in respect to the scheme of grace, and of the distinct parts and operations sustained by each in carrying it into execution, we have, at the close of our Lord's work on earth, the baptismal formula appointed for all times; indicating, along with a threefold diversity, an essential oneness of purpose and action in the matter of man's salvation:

"baptizing them in the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost," Mat. xxviii. 19.

The relation of the Spirit's work to the Son's, as unfolded in New Testament scripture, may readily be inferred from the places they respectively occupy in the progressive evolution of the divine plan. The one, in point of time, takes precedence of the other, while without this other to follow it up and turn it to practical account, the former would remain disappointed of its aim. Christ's work provides the materials of salvation, or lays open the sources of life and blessing; the Spirit's work applies what is provided to the souls of men, and renders it effectual in their experience. Hence, in so far as the Spirit works to saving purposes, "he takes of Christ's and shows it unto men," Jn. xvi. 15. He has nothing of his own to bring, for all is already Christ's—even all that is the Father's—and the salvation he effects consists simply and exclusively in making men sincerely responsive to the call of Christ, and participant of the benefits secured for them by his obedience unto death. The Holy Ghost, therefore, was not, and could not be given (namely, after the way and measure of New Testament times) till Christ had finished his work on earth and entered into his glory, Jn. vii. 39. But on the other hand, from the time that Christ's glorification commenced, the Holy Ghost could not fail to be given; the materials were now all prepared for his peculiar agency; and to have left them without the saving application for which they were intended, would have been to mar the glory of Christ. It is henceforth the dispensation of the Spirit, 2 Co. iii. 8, 17, as contradistinguished not only from the ministration or covenant of law in former times, but also from the personal ministration of Christ in the days of his flesh, and doing for his people the work of a servant. On this account the fathers sometimes called the Acts of the Apostles "the Gospel of the Holy Ghost"—indicating, even under a wrong title, a right feeling as to the relation of the Spirit's work to Christ's. He only who has received the gift of the Spirit, and with the baptism thereof has been born again to God, has a right to a place in the household of faith, Ac. xix. 1-5; 1 Co. xii. 3, 13; for he alone knows spiritually the things of God, and has the standing, the life, the liberty of his children, 1 Co. ii. 12-15; Ro. viii. 9; 2 Co. iii. 17. The immediate relation of such a one to the Godhead is through the Spirit—"he lives in the Spirit, and walks in the Spirit;" he is himself "an habitation of God through the Spirit," or, as it is otherwise expressed, "his body is the temple of the Holy Ghost," Ga. v. 25; Ep. ii. 22; 1 Co. vi. 19. And to the operation of the Spirit in his soul are to be ascribed all the gifts and graces which distinguish his character and adorn his life; so that while they are his in possession and exercise, as to efficacious working and moral worth they are the Spirit's, 1 Co. xii. 11; Ga. v. 22; Phi. ii. 13.

It is, however, to be carefully borne in mind, that the distinction belonging in this respect to New Testament times is relative only and not absolute. As prior to the appearance of Christ his work was anticipated, in the efficacy that was imputed through the divine foreknowledge to services that were of no intrinsic value in themselves, and the pardon that was granted to believers, Ro. iii. 25; He. ix. 15, 26; xi. 40; so also was it with the work of the Spirit. Wherever there was a true believer there was a work of the Spirit, though imperfectly developed and carried on as in a mystery. Neither was all law in former times, nor now is all Spirit. The same elements belong to both; but the relations of the two have changed with the advance in the divine dispensations; the law formerly occupied the foreground, the Spirit the background in the believer's condition; while now it is the reverse—the Spirit is in the foreground, the law in the background. But there is no contrariety; for in scope and character law and Spirit are one—alike "holy, just, and good." And the men who were pre-eminently the law's representatives, expounders, and advocates—the prophets of the old dispensation—were also the men who were most replenished with the Holy Spirit; simply as moved and guided by him they saw the visions and uttered the words of God, 2 Sa. xxiii. 2; Is. lxi. 1; Eze. viii. 3; 2 Pe. i. 21, &c. It was they, too, who, conscious of the perfect harmony of law and Spirit, and of the necessity of the indwelling grace of the one to accomplish the end contemplated by the external discipline of the other, joyfully announced a coming time when the Spirit would be more plentifully bestowed than it had hitherto been, and a harvest of righteousness reaped beyond all that past ages had witnessed, Is. xliv. 3; Eze. xxxvi. 27; Joel ii. 28.

[Of works devoted to the specific theme of the personality and agency of the Holy Ghost, Hare's *Mission of the Comforter*, 1846, 2d edit. 1850; and Heber's Bampton Lecture for 1815, on the *Personality and Office of the Christian Comforter*, are among the latest in this country—both imperfect as regards the full exhibition of the subject, the latter more so than the former, and also defective in its theology. The work of Hare contains many fine thoughts, and much acute criticism. The personality and work of the Spirit also forms the subject of one of the Congregational series of lectures, by Mr. Stowell. The Puritan divines have left two separate treatises well deserving of consultation—by much the fullest, the most comprehensive, indeed, extant, though greatly defective in compactness and arrangement, is Owen's *Pneumatologia*, or *Discourse concerning the Holy Spirit*, occupying in its entireness vols. iii. and iv. of Goold's edition of the works of Owen; and Goodwin's *The Work of the Holy Ghost in our Salvation*. A later work from the same class of divines is Hurrion's *Scripture Doctrine of the real Personality, &c., of the Holy Spirit*—a series of clear, scriptural, and well-digested discourses.]

HOMER, a large Hebrew measure, equal to about 600 English pints. (*See* MEASURES.)

HONEY. There are no fewer than three Hebrew words which have the meaning of honey ascribed to them. That most commonly used, and which seems to be the proper equivalent to our word *honey*, is *debash* (דְּבַשׁ), used in a great variety of passages. The two other words, which seldom occur, and usually in conjunction with *debash*—namely *yaar* and *nophet* (נֹפֶת יַעַר)—used to be regarded as indicative of honey in the comb-state. But they more properly point to the flowing or dripping of it, and are not strictly terms for honey, but for an action which may be ascribed to honey as well as to other things, though not to it exclusively. Thus, in describing what Jonathan did in the wood on Mount Ephraim, it is said, "he put forth the end of the rod that was in his hand, and dipped it *beyarath haddebash*," in the honey-droppings. Throughout the passage the thing itself which Jonathan tasted is called *debash;* but this is represented as existing in so plentiful a state that it was freely dropping around them (comp. ver. 26. The other word is also uniformly employed in the same way, Ps. xix. 10; Pr. v. 3; xxiv. 13, &c.); it denotes the distilling property, or the pure juice of honey, rather than the article itself.

It still is a question, however, what the ancient Hebrews actually included in their term *debash;* whether

they always meant by it that which we now designate *honey*—namely, the product of bees—or along with this comprehended some other natural productions bearing a certain affinity to it. There is no reason to doubt that bee-honey is what in the great majority of instances is denoted by the term; and it is well known that bees, and by consequence the product of bees, existed in considerable abundance, and still exist, in Palestine and other parts of Syria. There is no need for producing specific evidence upon this point. But it is also known that certain trees yield a substance which approaches in taste to honey, and has from ancient times been called by this name—vegetable honey, as it might be appropriately designated. Josephus, when describing the fertility and balmy richness of Jericho, says that "the better sort of palm-trees, when they are pressed (viz. their fruit or dates), yield an excellent kind of honey, not much inferior in sweetness to other honey" (Wars, iv. 8, 3). Honey of this description is still in use in the East, and, according to Shaw, it has sometimes even more of a luscious sweetness than bee-honey, and is so esteemed as to be made use of by persons of better fashion upon a marriage, at the birth or circumcision of a child, or any other feast or good-day (Travels, p. 143). This superiority probably arose from a different mode of preparation from that which prevailed in earlier times. Another sort of honey is also made from grapes, and is now, as it probably has been from a remote period, in frequent use. The juice of grapes of the best quality is boiled down into a sort of syrup, which is called *dibs* (undoubtedly a corruption of the Hebrew *debash*), and eaten like butter with bread. Robinson describes it as approaching nearer to the taste of molasses than honey proper (Researches, ii. p. 442). There is even said to be a third sort of vegetable honey, which is formed on the leaves and twigs of certain trees in the East, especially of a tree called by the Arabs *gharrab*, about the size of the olive, extracted and brought to the surface by a class of insects that live on them, and industriously gathered by the Arabs (Kitto's Physical Hist. of Palestine, p. 286; Reaumur, Mem. sur les Insectes, iii. 44).

Such variety in the productions which went, and still go, by the common name of honey, must be borne in mind, when respect is had to the use of this term in Scripture. It is probable that when Caanan is described as a land flowing with milk and honey, not one sort merely, but all the varieties of substance that bore the name are to be understood: bee-honey, in the first instance, which has always been plentiful in the land, and then the other vegetable productions which resemble it. We have the express testimony of two ancient writers (Diod. Sic. xix. 94; Suidas ἀκρίς) that the expression *wild-honey* (μέλι ἄγριον) was used of a kind of sweet gum that exuded from certain trees; probably the same as that mentioned last under the several kinds of vegetable honey; it also bore the name of Persian manna. It has been thought likely that honey of this description is what is to be understood by the wild-honey which along with locusts formed the common diet of the Baptist, Mat. iii. 4; since, if it were bee-honey, one does not see why it should have been called specifically *wild*—one sort of bee-honey, and even one sort of bees themselves that make the honey, not being usually denominated wild, as contradistinguished from another. The description is meant to tell us, that as John came in the attitude of a preacher of repentance, he appeared as a man holding a kind of perpetual fast; the food he took was such as might be met with in desert places or among the forests of the country; and if bee-honey might occasionally be included in this category, one may certainly suppose it would commonly have been something of a less luscious nature, and more readily accessible. It is possible also that some kind of vegetable honey is meant in the passage in 1 Sa., which relates the transaction of Jonathan in the wood on Mount Ephraim. For it is spoken of as being upon the face of the ground, as well as dropping from the trees, ch. xiv. 25, 26. It is true, that the clefts of trees have always been favourite haunts for bees, but it is not very common for them to build their cells so loosely that the honey is seen dropping in any quantities on the ground. It is impossible, however, to determine accurately in each case what precise substance is meant, unless where the connection is such as to afford a proper clue.

Honey was not allowed to be offered upon the altar, nor mingled with any meat-offering, Le. ii. 11. In this prohibition it was coupled with leaven, and no doubt for substantially the same reason—because both were natural emblems of corruption: leaven as being the fermentation of dough, and honey as from its excessive lusciousness naturally tending to sourness, and containing the elements of it. It was a fit emblem of the lusts of the flesh and their forbidden gratifications, which are always displeasing in the sight of God. But as connected with the first-fruits, in which respect it was viewed simply as a natural product of the earth, honey as well as leavened bread required to be offered.

HOOK. *See* FISH.

HOPH'NI AND PHINEHAS, the wicked sons of Eli, who, after resisting the admonitions and warnings addressed to them, perished under the hand of the Philistines. (*See* ELI.)

HOPH'RA, one of the last of the Pharaohs, king of Egypt, the Apries of classical writers, who lived at the time that Zedekiah reigned over Judah. The vast monarchies, first of Assyria, and now of Babylon, had already come into collision with Egypt; and it naturally fell in with the policy of Egypt to countenance and support any power that was at war with those monarchies. Hence, Pharaoh-Hophra readily listened to the proposals of Zedekiah, when he sought aid from that quarter to withstand the power of Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon. But the alliance was denounced by the prophets as in its own nature unrighteous, and sure to lead to disappointment and ruin. Such very soon proved to be the case; and after laying Jerusalem prostrate the Babylonish conqueror turned his arms against Egypt, and brought it also under his sway. The prophets of that time foretold in the strongest terms the overthrow and desolation of Egypt. See especially Je. xxxvii. xliv.; Eze. xxix.–xxxii.

HOR [*mountain*], a mountain in Arabia Petrea, the scene of Aaron's death, Nu. xx. 28, and the south-eastern boundary of the Promised Land, Nu. xxxiv. 78. There is scarcely any doubt of the correctness of the tradition which identifies the mountain now called Gebel Haroun with the ancient Hor. No other spot of any eminence would fulfil the necessary conditions—viz. that it should be "by the coast of the land of Edom," on the side of Kadesh, Nu. xx. 23, and be one of the "hills surrounding Petra," over against the encampment of the Israelites in Wady Arabah, so as to coincide with Josephus (Ant. iv. 4, 7): "And when he came

to a place which the Arabians esteem their metropolis, which was formerly called Arce, but has now the name of Petra, at this place which was encompassed with high mountains, Aaron went up one of them in the sight of the whole army, Moses having before told him that he was to die, for the place was over against them. He put off his pontifical garments, and delivered them to Eliazar his son, to whom the high-priesthood belonged, because he was the elder brother; and died while the multitude looked upon him." (*See* article AARON, and woodcut there.) The summit of Gebel Haroun is 5300 feet above the Mediterranean, and consists of two peaks, which give it a castellated appearance, as seen from Wady Arabah. The higher and western of these is covered by a mosque, built over a vault which is supposed to be the tomb of the high-priest. The traveller who, from the flat roof of this building, looks over the last prospect upon which Aaron's eye rested, cannot fail to be struck with the contrast between this and the last view of his brother Moses from the heights of Pisgah. Before the latter was the rich plain of the Jordan, well watered and covered with waving palms and rich cornfields, with the heights of Benjamin beyond; while to the north the rich mountains of Gilead must have assured him how goodly was the promised heritage which he would behold, but should not enter. Aaron, on the other hand, in his last moments can only have dwelt upon the chalky hills of Seir, with the sandstone rocks surrounding Petra beneath him, or upon the dreary wastes of Wady Arabah, fit specimens of that vast and howling wilderness in which his later years had been spent; while his eye in vain would seek to pierce that line of northern hills which divided him from the Promised Land.

The upper story of the mosque is a plain and comparatively modern building, though it is manifestly constructed out of the materials of a more ancient and more imposing edifice, whose columns and fragments of marble and granite may be seen built in the walls (Porter, Handbook of Syria, p. 57). In the time of the crusades there was a monastery here, for Fulcher of Chartres writes, "Reperimus insuper in montis apice monasterium quod dicitur S. Aaron, ubi Moyses et ipse Aaron cum Domino loqui soliti erant" (Gesta Francorum, A.D. 1100.) In the second part of the *Historia Hierosolymitorum* this building is called *oratorium*. The chamber below, which appears to be hollowed out of the rock, if not a natural cave, contains at one end the supposed tomb itself, which is covered with a pall, and was formerly inclosed by iron doors. The summit of Mount Hor is of white chalk, lower down the mountain is of the new red sandstone, often penetrated by longitudinal strata of red granite and porphyry. The ascent is not difficult, a path having been constructed for the use of pilgrims leading out of the road from Petra to Wady Arabah. [C. T. M.]

HO'REB [חֹרֵב, *dry, dried up*]. One of the Scripture names for the scene of the giving of the law. It is not intended to discuss here whether the names Horeb and Sinai refer to the same or different places; the elements for a decision are accumulating, and new light may be thrown on it ere the article SINAI is written, to which therefore the reader is referred. We confine ourselves here to the mutual relation of the two names.

Those critics who disintegrate the Pentateuch, and assign it to a variety of authors, are ready to support their view by pointing to a variety of diction; and one evidence of this they find in the use of Horeb throughout the book of Deuteronomy (except in the song of Moses, ch. xxxiii. 2, which they attribute to still a different writer); whereas the person whom they suppose to have been the original composer of the first four books uses Sinai, which is the name always employed except in Ex. iii. 1; xvii. 6; xxxiii. 6; and these passages they attribute to a supplementary writer. This view is still strongly asserted by Ewald (Geschichte, ii. 57), who pronounces Sinai the older name, therefore occurring in the ancient song of Deborah, Ju. v. 5; whereas Horeb is not discoverable till the time of his fourth and fifth narrators, in whose age however it had become quite prevalent. His statement is a very fair sample of the precision and confidence with which these critics speak of matters as to which there is no evidence except their own critical sagacity, or their imagination, as others may be apt to consider it who claim no such peculiar insight. For while it is quite possible that the same writer might use two names indiscriminately for the same place, as in the case of Bethel and Luz, Baalah and Kirjath-jearim, the Sea of Galilee and the Lake of Tiberias; yet this last example indicates how readily two names may come to be in use indifferently, though originally the one was more definite than the other. Accordingly Gesenius suggested that Sinai might be the more general name, and Horeb a particular peak; and in this conjecture he was followed by Rosenmüller.

Another supposition was made by Hengstenberg (Pentateuch, ii. p. 325-327, translation), which has gained the assent of almost all the German authorities since his time, as also of Robinson (Biblical Researches, vol. i. p. 120, 591), apparently after having inclined to the conjecture of Gesenius. Hengstenberg agrees with Gesenius that the one name is more general than the other; but he differs in this respect that he makes Horeb the mountain-ridge, and Sinai the individual summit from which the ten commandments were given. The reasons for this opinion, as urged by him and by others, may be arranged under a threefold division: (1.) The name Sinai is used at the time that the Israelites were upon the very spot of the legislation, that is, from Ex. xix. 11 and onwards, till Nu. iii. 1; whereas it is Horeb that is always used in the recapitulation in Deuteronomy; as a writer close beside a particular mountain would naturally single it out when describing his locality, though afterwards, when writing at a distance from it and taking a general retrospect, he might use the more comprehensive name of the entire mass of mountains to which it belonged. The only exception in Deuteronomy is that case in the song of Moses already alluded to, ch. xxxiii. 2, which is universally admitted to be a peculiar composition both by the impugners and by the defenders of the Mosaic authorship. When we take in the additional expression, "the wilderness of Sinai," as denoting the place in which the Israelites encamped, we have Sinai occurring as early as Ex. xix. 1, 2, and continuing till Nu. x. 12, where the march from Sinai is described. That particular spot would naturally take its name from the mountain peak beside it; whereas the name "wilderness of Horeb" is unknown to Scripture. The name Sinai never occurs in the Pentateuch after the departure from the spot except in three instances. Two of these, Nu. xxvi. 64; xxxiii. 15, refer expressly to events in language already employed upon the spot, about the census, and in the list of stations or encamp-

ments, and both use that phrase "the wilderness of Sinai," which never occurs with the name Horeb; so that they are no exceptions in reality. The third, Nu. xxviii. 6, is therefore the only exception, "It is a continual burnt-offering which was ordained in Mount Sinai;" and this also is explicable on the principle that the phrase had become so common in the legislation. Once also Sinai occurs before the Israelites reached it, Ex. xvi. 1, "the wilderness of Sin, which is between Elim and Sinai," and here the precision of this term is thoroughly natural. (2.) The name Horeb occurs in the earlier books thrice, all in Exodus, but it is in circumstances which best suit the general or comprehensive meaning which we attach to it. Moses, while acting as the shepherd of Jethro, ch. iii. 1, "came to the mountain of God [even] to Horeb," or more literally, "came to the mountain of God Horeb-ward." Our translators have identified the mountain of God with Horeb, an identification which is at least uncertain; for the original may quite as naturally be interpreted that he came to a particular peak in that mass of mountains which had the name of Horeb, to the sacred peak which is to be sought in the direction of Horeb. Particularly distinct is the second instance, ch. xvii. 6, "Behold I will stand before thee there upon the rock in Horeb," &c.; for this miraculous gift of water took place while the Israelites were encamped in Rephidim, ver. 1, the station before the station in the wilderness of Sinai, ch. xix. 2. Probably the like should be said of the third instance, ch. xxxiii. 6, "And the children of Israel stripped themselves of their ornaments by the mount Horeb," retiring every family apart, and every individual apart, as in other cases of humiliation and repentance; and the propriety of the use of the general rather than the specific term is the more apparent, if those are right who translate the peculiar Hebrew phrase as exactly as they can, "stripped themselves, &c. [retiring] from Mount Horeb." (3.) An argument may be drawn from the use of the prepositions connected with these two names. Reverting to Ex. xvii. 6, we find the Lord saying, "Behold, I will stand *upon* the rock *in* Horeb," that is, *upon* the particular spot, but *in* the district. Accordingly it is the preposition *in* (in the English version needlessly varied into "at" once or twice) which is used with Horeb, not only here, but almost always where the name occurs in Deuteronomy, perhaps always, except "from," ch. i. 2, 19. The same is true of all the passages in which Horeb is mentioned in later Scripture, 1 Ki. viii. 9; 2 Ch. v. 10; Ps. cvi. 19; Mal. iv. 4 (Heb. Bib. iii. 22); except 1 Ki. xix. 8, "unto Horeb the mount of God," or better, "up to the mount of God Horeb [ward]," for it is plainly an expression referring to Ex. iii. 1, of which we have already spoken. With Sinai, on the other hand, there are connected several prepositions, "in," and "from," as in the case of Horeb; also "to," but especially "upon," Ex. xix. 11, 18, 20; xxiv. 16, which describes the descent of the Lord, or the resting of the symbol of his presence, upon that individual peak from which the law was given, whereas we have no reason to think that it rested upon the whole mass of mountains which are clustered together. The same preposition "upon" is found in the only passage in later Old Testament scripture where Sinai occurs with a preposition, Ne. ix. 13. Indeed, besides this text we find Sinai nowhere but in Ju. v. 5; Ps. lxviii. 8, 17 (Heb. Bib. 9, 18), in passages which indisputably stand in a very close connection with De. xxxiii. 2.

Not much can be inferred from the usage of later Scripture in regard to these names; though from what has been mentioned it may be seen that Horeb is very decidedly the predominant name in the rest of the Old Testament, as it is with one exception in Deuteronomy; and probably in both cases for the same reason, that at a distance in time and place the more general name was on the whole more natural. Yet the distance may become so great that the peculiarities of the two names fall out of view, and mere usage may determine in favour of the one or the other appellation, now that they have become entirely equivalent. Certainly in the New Testament we find only Sinai, Ac. vii. 30, 38; Ga. iv. 24, 25, though reasons might be perhaps alleged for the use of the stricter name; for instance in the first of these that it is "the wilderness of Mount Sinai," in which connection we have said that Horeb does not occur. Josephus seems also to confine himself to the name Sinai. In the Apocrypha we have noted Judith v. 14, "to the way of Sinai," or according to another reading, "to the Mount Sinai;" and Ecclesiasticus xlviii. 7, where "in Sinai" and "in Horeb" occur in a poetical parallelism: but these determine nothing. Perhaps nothing can be concluded from the fact that Horeb never has the prefix "mount," except in Ex. xxxiii. 6; whereas Sinai always has it in both the Old Testament and the New, except in Ex. xvi. 1, and De. xxxiii. 2, and the passages depending upon this one, Ju. v. 5; Ps. lxviii. 8, 17.

Once more, it is very doubtful whether etymology can contribute anything to the settlement of the question. Horeb certainly means "dry," or "dried up," a name very descriptive of the region. But the meaning of Sinai is much debated. Gesenius suggests "muddy," but with hesitation, and he appears to have no followers. More probably, Knobel proposes "sharp-pointed," "toothed," or "notched." The old derivation of Simonis and Hiller understood סִינַי, *Sinai*, to be equivalent to סְנֵה, *sinyai*, "the bush of Jehovah," with reference to Ex. iii. 2. Possibly as simple a meaning as any would be "bushy," or "that which has the bush." And if so, the etymologies of the two names, so far as they went, would favour the view given of their respective meanings. Roediger (Additions to Gesenius, Thesaurus) makes it "sacred to the God of the moon."

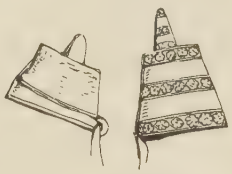
Understanding Horeb to be the more general name, there might still be differences of opinion how wide a circuit should be included under it: though the common opinion seems to be that there is no necessity for taking it wider than that range, some three miles long from north to south, which is called by the modern Arabs Jebel Tûr, or Jebel et-Tûr, sometimes with the addition of Sîna, though Robinson says extremely rarely. A greater difficulty may be found in determining which one of its peaks is the Sinai of Scripture, supposing that this is the more definite name. But on this point we do not enter here. [G. C. M. D.]

HORITE [Heb. חֹרִי from חוֹר, *Hor* or *Chor*, an opening of any sort, a cave; hence different from הוֹר or הֹר, *Hor*, a mountain]. A Horite was properly what the ancients called a Troglodite, an inhabiter of caves, instead of houses; but it appears to have been specially appropriated to the earlier occupants of Mount Seir, as being peculiarly distinguished for that mode of life, Ge. xiv. 6. The original inhabitants, or Horites dis-

tinctively so called, were afterwards dispossessed by the Edomites, De. ii. 12, seq. Nothing is known as to the origin of that primitive race; but it is probable that they were only partially dispossessed by the descendants of Esau, and by degrees mingled themselves with the other tribes that successively peopled that portion of Arabia. (*See* IDUMÆA.)

HOR'MAH [*destruction*], a place lying somewhere to the south, or desert-side of the mountain-range which forms the southern border of the land of Canaan. There, when on their first approach to the land of Canaan, but after the rebellion raised by the spies, the Israelites suffered a defeat from the Canaanites that dwelt upon the hill; these "smote them, and discomfited them even unto Hormah," Nu. xiv. 45. The Israelites had gone up to the mountain from the south, but were driven back with slaughter. And in the parallel passage of De. i. 44, it is said, with a clearer definition of the locality, "The Amorites, which dwelt in that mountain, came out against you, and chased you, as bees do, and destroyed you in Seir, even unto Hormah." So that Hormah did not properly belong to Canaan, but lay rather within the boundary of Seir. At a much later period, when the children of Israel again approached the borders of Canaan, though still at a little distance from it, the same Amorites or Canaanites, under Arad, made an assault upon them, and took a few of them prisoners. Then Israel made a vow, that if the Lord would deliver that tribe into their hands, they would utterly destroy, or make an anathema of their cities. The Lord did so, it is said, and they called the name of the place (*i.e.* the chief city) Hormah, Nu. xxi. 1-3. A still further, and at first sight, somewhat contradictory notice occurs at a considerably later period, when it is said, Ju. i. 17, "And Judah went with Simeon his brother, and they slew the Canaanites that inhabited Zephath, and utterly destroyed it: and the name of the city was called Hormah." The explanation, however, is this; the city was known to the Canaanites by the name of Zephath, but from the vow recorded in Nu. xxi. 2, the name stamped upon it by the Israelites was Hormah, and by this name it is called proleptically in the earlier notice at Nu. xiv. 45. In Joshua's time it was partially made a Hormah, or destruction; for the king of Hormah appears among the list of those whom he vanquished, Jos. xii. 14. But the conquest was not complete, and the place still retained, or presently resumed its name of Zephath. But by and by the combined forces of Judah and Simeon completely fulfilled the vow, and turned Zephath permanently into a Hormah. The assailants of the Pentateuch have often endeavoured to exhibit these passages as at variance with each other; but when rightly viewed they are perfectly consistent.

HORN, being the chief instrument of power, whether for defence or attack, by many animals, became very naturally, especially among a pastoral and agricultural people like the Israelites, a symbol of strength, or of a kingdom, as containing the organized strength and dominion of a people. In a great multitude of passages this figurative use is made of it, and in a considerable variety of ways—for example, De. xxxiii. 17; 1 Sa. ii. 1; Ps. lxxv. 5, 10; Je. xlviii. 25, &c. Expressions, however, that sound peculiar to modern ears occasionally occur; such as in Job xvi. 15, "I have defiled my horn in the dust," that is, have cast down my might, and all its emblems to the ground, as utterly worthless; and still more that in Is. v. 1, where the emblematic vineyard is described as being, literally, "in a horn the son of oil," meaning, as given in the English Bible, "a very fruitful hill"—a strong place like a hill, yet combining with its strength peculiar fruitfulness. The expression to lift up the horn of any one, is as much as to increase his power and elevate his position; and an horn of salvation, which Christ is called, Lu. i., is as much as a salvation of strength, or a Saviour, who is possessed of the might requisite for the work. It has not uncommonly been supposed, that some of the head-dresses of antiquity were formed with horn-like projections, as symbols of the majesty and power claimed by the wearer. The woodcut No. 330 presents two caps of this description, such as were worn by the Assyrian kings, and, as far as the Assyrian monuments are concerned, only by them. Being emphatically *regal* caps, it is by no means improbable, that the dignity of the person was intended to be represented by them; but it is quite uncertain whether such dresses were known among the covenant people, nor do the figurative allusions in Scripture to horns render it in the least degree necessary to suppose that reference was made to personal ornaments of that description.



[330.] Horned Caps of Assyrian kings.—Sculptures in Brit. Mus.

HORNET [צִרְעָה, *tzîrah*]. This appears to be the name of some winged insect, but of what species, or even of what order, is not certain. The word, though occurring in three passages, is in only one connection: in Ex. xxiii. 28, and in De. vii. 20, Jehovah promises to send the *tzîrah* before Israel upon the nations of Canaan, that by its means they might be driven out and the remnant destroyed. And in Jos. xxiv. 12, after the subjugation of the land, he declares that this had been accomplished with respect to two kings. It does not very clearly appear what kings these were; in the historical record of the conquest, no such transaction is alluded to. The expression "the two kings of the Amorites," generally signifies Sihon and Og, who had been destroyed on the east of Jordan; but the connection of the statement appears to imply that this had taken place after the crossing of Jordan, and moreover these two kings are said to have been "*driven out* before Israel," and that "not with their sword nor with their bow;" whereas Sihon and Og were destroyed with the edge of the sword, Nu. xxi.

The LXX. have rendered *tzîrah* in each case by *σφηκία*, a nest or colony of wasps; and the Vulgate, which our English version follows, uses the word *crabro*, that large and formidable species of wasp which we distinguish as the hornet. Both species were familiar to the Greeks; and Aristotle, who wrote his history of animals about a century before the Septuagint version was made, sufficiently distinguishes them, alluding to the wasps under the name of *ἀνθρηνᾶι*, and to the hornets under that of *σφῆκες*, and attributing to each kind peculiarities of habit which enable us readily to identify them. Without, however, determining actual identity of species, it seems clear enough that the *tzîrah* was a hymenopterous fly of the family *Vespadæ*, sufficiently formidable to be popularly associated

with the European hornet, even if it was not scientifically the same.

Our common wasp is to many persons a constant terror, and in seasons when it is more than usually abundant there are few who can bear with equanimity the invasion of their sitting rooms, though they may not have recourse to the desperate remedy of a lady mentioned by Dr. Fairfax (Phil. Trans.), who confined herself to her apartment during the entire season of these insects' abundance. The hornet is of course proportionally more terrible. The stinging hymenoptera of tropical and sub-tropical countries are much more numerous and more virulent than ours. We have seen a deserted house in the West Indies so filled with the nests of a large species of wasp, suspended from every rafter and cornice, as to render it dangerous to go along the road by which it stood. There appeared in the *Times* newspaper, so recently as June, 1859, the record of a sad accident from the furious attack of a swarm of hornets in India. Some English gentlemen were engaged in surveying a part of the river Nerbudda, where numerous large hornets' nests were suspended in the recesses of the cliffs which bounded the stream. "As the boats of these Europeans were passing up the river, a cloud of these insects overwhelmed them: the boatmen, as well as the two gentlemen, jumped overboard; but Mr. Boddington, who swam and had succeeded in clinging to a rock, was again attacked, and being unable any longer to resist the assault of the countless swarms of his infuriated winged foes, he threw himself into the depths of the water, never to rise again. The other gentleman and the boatmen, although very severely stung, escaped and ultimately recovered." The ferocity and success of these insects' assaults upon man are thus illustrated; but the case of the Canaanites receives yet further light from a statement in Ælian (Hist. Anim. ix. 28). He asserts that the Phaselites were driven from their country by the attacks of hornets (σφῆκες). Bochart (Hierozoicon, iii. 13) adduces proof that these Phaselites were a Phœnician people; and as we may include the Canaanite tribes under the generic term Phœnicians, the incident alluded to by the Greek naturalist may have been the very one recorded in the sacred text.

The hornet, in common with the other social wasps, displays great ingenuity in the manufacture of its nest. It is made of a coarse gray paper, much like the coarsest wrapping-paper, but less firm. This is arranged in several globose leaves, one over the other, not unlike the outer leaves of a cabbage, the base of which is attached by a small footstalk to the upper part of the cavity in which it is inclosed. Within this protecting case the combs are built in parallel rows of cells, exactly like those of the bee, but made of paper, and ranged horizontally instead of vertically, and in single series, the entrances always being downwards. Each story is connected with that above it by a number of pillars of the common paper, thick and massive. These cells do not contain honey, but merely the eggs, and in due time, the young, being in fact nursing cradles. The paper with which the hornet builds is formed either from decayed wood or the bark of trees; the fibres of which it abrades by means of its jaws, and kneads into a paste with a viscid saliva. When a morsel as large as a pea is prepared, the insect flies to the nest and spreads out the mass in a thin layer at the spot where it is required, moulding it into shape with the jaws and feet. It is soon dry, and forms real paper, coarser than that of the common wasp. [P. H. G.]

HOR'ONITE. *See* SANBALLAT.

HORSE [סוּס, *sûs*]. If Central Asia was the native region of this valuable animal, as seems highly probable both from early historic notices and from its existence there in a truly wild state to this day, it would be known to the Western Asiatics, and probably used by them, before its introduction to the valley of the Nile. It has been often observed that no allusion to the horse occurs in the enumeration of the animal wealth which Abraham acquired in Egypt, Ge. xii. 16; but this omission is less conclusive than it appears at first sight, since the character of the patriarch as a peaceful emir would of course govern his acceptance, if not Pharaoh's selection, of presents, and the horse seems for many ages to have been exclusively appropriated to the purposes of war. The horse is first recognized among the possessions which the Egyptians brought to Joseph to exchange for corn in the first year of the famine, Ge. xlvii. 17. This fact appears to weigh against the assumed exclusively military use of the animal; as it might be asked, what would the people do with war-horses? But those who brought horses might be soldiers, and possibly it might be a part of their service to provide their own horses:[1] or, these might be horse-breeders, who supplied the commissariat of Pharaoh as a mercantile speculation. Certainly horses could not yet be very abundant in Egypt, for two centuries after this, the whole force of Pharaoh, wherewith he pursued Israel, included but 600 chariots, Ex. xiv. 7.

Our translation would make it appear that a force of cavalry accompanied Pharaoh in this pursuit—"his horsemen," Ex. xiv. 9, &c. It is, however, a fact not a little remarkable, that in the copious delineations of battle-scenes which occur in the monuments, and which must have been coeval with these events, in which, moreover, everything that could tend to aggrandize the power or flatter the pride of Egypt would be introduced, there never occurs any representation of Egyptian cavalry. The armies are always composed of troops of infantry armed with the bow and spear, and of ranks of chariots drawn by two horses. Both Diodorus and Herodotus attribute cavalry to the early Pharaohs; and some eminent antiquarians, as Sir Gardner Wilkinson, endeavour to account for the absence of such a force in the pictorial representations, consistently with its existence. But Professor Hengstenberg has maintained, and not without some degree of probability, that the word "horsemen," of the above passage, should rather be rendered "chariot-riders." We quote his words: "It is accordingly certain, that the cavalry, in the more ancient period of the Pharaohs, was but little relied on. The question now is, what relation the declarations of the passage before us bear to this result. Were the common view, according to which riding *on horses* is superadded with equal prominence to the chariot of war, in our passage, the right one, there might arise strong suspicion against the credibility of the narrative. But a more accurate examination shows that the author does not mention Egyptian cavalry at all; that according to him the Egyptian army is composed only of chariots of

[1] This is rendered more probable by the fact, which we learn from Herodotus, that the Egyptian soldier instead of pay was allowed twelve arouræ, or nine acres of land free of rent and tribute.

war, and that he therefore agrees in a wonderful manner with the native Egyptian monuments. And this agreement is the more minute, since the second division of the army represented upon them, the infantry, could not, in the circumstances of our narrative, take part in the pursuit. The first and principal passage concerning the constituent parts of the Egyptian army which pursued the Israelites, is that in Ex. xiv. 6, 7. 'And he made ready his chariot, and took his people with him; and he took six hundred chosen chariots, and all the chariots of Egypt, and *chariot-warriors* upon all of them.' Here, Pharaoh's preparation for war is fully described. It consists, first, of chariots, and secondly, of chariot-warriors. Cavalry are no more mentioned than infantry. This passage, which is so plain, explains the second one, ver. 9, where the arrival of this same army in sight of the Israelites is plainly and graphically described, in order to place distinctly before the reader the impression which the view made upon the Israelites: 'And the Egyptians followed them and overtook them, where they were encamped by the sea, all the *chariot-horses* of Pharaoh, and his *riders*, and his host.' If

[331.] Chariot-horse of Rameses III.—Ipsamboul.

riders here be understood in the common sense (chariot-warriors rather than riders upon horses might so much the sooner be mentioned, since the Egyptian war-chariot was very small and light), *where then are the chariot-warriors?* The [sacred] author would not leave them out, since it is to his purpose to be minute, and since he evidently intends to accumulate circumstances as much as possible. Also, in ver. 17: 'I will get me honour upon Pharaoh, and upon all his host, upon his chariots, and upon his riders'—the *riders* again correspond with the *chariot-warriors* in ver. 7. If there were then chariot-warriors *and* riders, how strange that they are never spoken of together! In ver. 23, 'And the Egyptians pursued them, and went in after them, all the horses of Pharaoh, his chariots and his riders;' the three constituent parts of the Egyptian warlike preparation are fully designated. If the *riders* were here understood in the common way, it would be surprising that horses and chariots were named, and that chariot-warriors, who are most important, were left out. Finally, the meaning of the passage in Ex. xv. 1, 'Horse and his rider hath he thrown into the sea,' is clear from ver. 4 of the same chapter, where only the overwhelming of the chariots and chariot-warriors is spoken of." (Egypt and Moses, ch. iv.) To this latter observation we may add, that the word translated "his rider," רֹכְבוֹ (*rok'bo*), is used repeatedly in the Scripture with the same ambiguity as its English representative; an instance of which occurs in Je. li. 21, "With thee will I break in pieces the horse and *his rider;* and with thee will I break in pieces the chariot and *his rider,*" where in the original, the same word is used in both cases.

Dr. Hengstenberg's argument receives confirmation from a comparison of 1 Ki. iv. 26, "Solomon had forty thousand stalls of horses for his chariots, and twelve thousand horsemen" (פָּרָשִׁים, *parashim*). Here the same words stand in the same relation to each other as in the Mosaic narrative; yet common sense requires that we should understand that the twelve thousand were chariot-warriors, each driving a pair of horses, while the number of forty thousand horses, not quite a change for each chariot, would be only a moderate proportion to the charioteers.

Perhaps the same explanation may be applied to an allusion used by Jacob on his death-bed. He compares, Ge. xlix. 17, Dan to "an adder in the path, that biteth the horse-heels, so that his rider shall fall backward." The most obvious interpretation is, that, the horse rearing, the man will fall from his back; but since the chariot of antiquity both in Egypt and Western Asia had no back, nor any protection behind, the rider in it would be liable to lose his balance and fall backward, when the vehicle was tilted up by the plunging of the horse. (See engravings under CHARIOT.) But we are not sure that the ordinary interpretation is not correct; for as long before this the ass was used for the saddle, Ge. xxii. 3, it is highly probable that the inhabitants of Armenia and Syria, where horses were abundant, would by this time have thought of employing the more noble animal for the same use. Accordingly we occasionally find horsemen represented among the Asiatic peoples depicted in the Egyptian paintings, though not in their own armies.

The glorious description of the war-horse in the book of Job, ch. xxxix. 19-25—the date of which we consider not later than the captivity of Israel in Egypt—contains no element by which we could certainly decide whether it is the charger or the chariot-horse that is meant. But there is an allusion just before, which cannot be explained otherwise than of a ridden horse. It is said of the ostrich, "what time she lifteth up herself on high, she scorneth the horse and his rider," ver. 18. As it would be absurd to suppose that a chariot was used to pursue the ostrich, this passage is sufficient to show that in Job's days, and in Arabia, the horse was saddled.

Michaelis, in his *Laws of Moses*, elaborately argues, that so far from Arabia being the original habitat of the horse, it was not even known there till a comparatively late era. Dr. Kitto has given a good abridgment of the view: "It is remarkable that, in the sacred books, we have not till now met with the horse anywhere but in Egypt, and that now we find it in the *north* of Palestine, but not anywhere immediately between that country and Egypt. The most striking point in this is the silence concerning horses as used by the people of Arabia, which naturalists have

been disposed to consider as the native country of that animal. We cannot resist the conviction that there were no horses then in that region. The omission to notice the animal during the long period when the Israelites wandered in and on the confines of Arabia, might be supposed to be accidental, were it not that, when they came to actual conflict with Arabian tribes, as the Midianites, we find that they have plenty of camels, asses, oxen, and sheep, but that the horse continues to be unnoticed; which would have been all but impossible, had they brought horses into action, or had any of these animals been killed or taken by the Israelites. At a later period, Ju. vi. 5, the same Arabian people made annual incursions into Palestine, and 'their camels were past numbering,' and even their kings rode on camels, Ju. viii. 21; but they had no horses. And in the reign of Saul, when the tribes beyond Jordan waged war with four Arabian nations for the possession of the eastern pasture grounds, the victorious Hebrews found 50,000 camels, 250,000 sheep, 2000 asses, and 100,000 slaves; still not a word of horses, 2 Ch. x. 20-22. And not to multiply examples, we may safely say that in the whole Scripture history the horse is never mentioned in connection with Arabia. With all this ancient history accords; for it does not describe Arabia as distinguished in any way for its horses; and even Strabo, who lived so late as the time of Christ, expressly describes Arabia as destitute of these animals. Of Arabia Felix, he says that it had neither horses, mules, nor swine; and of Arabia Deserta, that it had no horses, camels supplying their place. It is true that the Arabians profess to deduce the genealogy of their best horses from the stud of Solomon; but while this is manifestly a fable, resulting from the Arabian custom of ascribing everything pre-eminently to Solomon, it is nevertheless valuable as an admission that horses existed even in Palestine earlier than in Arabia. This explains sufficiently why Moses did not contemplate that the Hebrews would ever go to Arabia for horses, but that they would go to Egypt; and also, why Solomon, when forming a body of cavalry, obtained his horses from Egypt, not from Arabia" (Pict. Bible on Jos. xi. 6).

Some confirmation of these views may be found in the following passage from Burckhardt's *Notes on the Bedouins and Wahabys* (vol. ii. p.50,seq.):—"It is a general but erroneous opinion, that Arabia is very rich in horses; but the breed is limited to the extent of fertile pasture grounds in that country, and it is in such parts only that horses thrive, while those Bedouins who occupy districts of poor soil rarely possess any horses. It is found, accordingly, that the tribes most rich in horses are those who dwell in the comparatively fertile plains of Mesopotamia, on the banks of the river Euphrates, and in the Syrian plains. . . . The settled inhabitants of Hedjaz and Yemen are not much in the habit of keeping horses; and I believe it may be stated as a moderate and fair calculation, that between 5000 and 6000 constitute the greatest number of horses in the country from Akaba, or the north point of the Red Sea, southwards to the shores of the ocean near Hadramaut. The great heat of the climate in Oman is reckoned unfavourable to the breeding of horses, which are there still more scarce than in Yemen." Even of Yemen he says, "both the climate and the pasture are injurious to the health of horses; many of them die from disease in that country; and the race begins to fall off in the very first generation." He concludes by stating, that "the finest race of Arabian blood-horses may be found in Syria, and that of all the Syrian districts the most excellent in this respect is the Haûran."

We may remark that the Philistines, who were geographically intermediate between Israel and Egypt, used chariots and horses, as appears from the pictorial representations of their combats on the Egyptian monuments, as well as from the sacred narrative in 2 Sa. i. 6.

In directing the manner of the kingdom which was afterwards to be set up in Israel, Jehovah, by his servant Moses, had expressly interdicted the formation of a stud. The king "shall not multiply horses to himself, nor cause the people to return to Egypt, to the end that he should multiply horses," De. xvii. 16. Nor were the people permitted to retain for use such as came into their possession in the process of conquering the Canaanite inhabitants of the land. We have, in the delineations of the Egyptian battle scenes, abundant evidence of the use of chariots in war by the Amorite nations; and in the inspired history the account of the chief stand made by those tribes against their Hebrew invaders—that under king Jabin, at the waters of Merom—speaks of horses and chariots very many. As this was a complete overthrow, here was an opportunity of acquiring a powerful force of disciplined horses and effective chariots. But Israel had been taught that "an horse is a vain thing for safety," Ps. xxxiii. 17; and that they had a mightier defence: "some trust in chariots, and some in horses; but we will remember the name of Jehovah our God," Ps. xx. 7. The command had been issued to Joshua before the battle, "Thou shalt hough their horses, and burn their chariots with fire," Jos. xi. 6. It was a trial of their faith and obedience; but these graces were not then lacking: "Joshua did unto them as Jehovah bade him: he houghed their horses, and burned their chariots with fire," Jos. xi. 9.

Though no reason is given why the king should not multiply horses (the last clause of the prohibition giving only the reason why they should not be fetched from Egypt), we can have little doubt on the subject, from the frequency of the passages that allude to them. The possessors of horses and chariots are always described as putting their trust in them; and as this was contrary to the path of faith in which the people of Jehovah were expected to walk, the occasion of stumbling was mercifully interdicted. Long after the barriers had been broken down, and Israel had become, in this, as in too many other things, "as the heathen," Eze. xx. 32; and the sad results had become manifest in the alienation of the national heart from God, the prophets faithfully laid bare the sin and its occasion. "Woe to them that go down to Egypt for help, and stay on horses, and trust in chariots, because they are many; and in horsemen, because they are strong; but they look not unto the Holy One of Israel, neither seek the LORD. . . . . Now the Egyptians are men, and not God; and their horses flesh, and not spirit. . . . Turn ye unto him from whom the children of Israel have deeply revolted." Is. xxxi. 1-6.

As in most similar cases, defection from the way of obedience was gradual. Saul appears to have been the first to break the command; for Samuel, in announcing to the people "the manner of the king" who was about to reign over them, said: "He will take your sons, and appoint them for himself, for his chariots, and to be his horsemen; and some shall run before his chariots," 1 Sa. viii. 11. As we hear nothing of his cha-

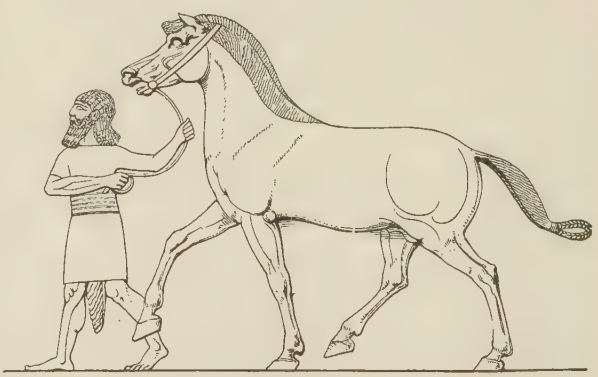
riots in any of his numerous wars with the Philistines —though these enemies were amply provided with them, 1 Sa. xiii. 5; 2 Sa. i. 6—he probably went but a little way in this path of disobedience. David followed the unhappy example of his predecessor; for after his defeat of the Syrians under Hadadezer, 2 Sa. viii. 4, "he took from him a thousand [chariots], ... and David houghed all the chariot [horses], but reserved of them for an hundred chariots."

It was under Solomon, however, that the spirit of the prohibition was completely set at defiance. Hitherto the king could scarcely be said to have *multiplied* horses; nor is there any evidence that either Saul or David procured them from Egypt; but Solomon (as we have already noticed) had the vast number of "forty thousand stalls of horses for his chariots," 1 Ki. iv. 26; and "had horses brought out of Egypt," 1 Ki. x. 28. The text, if we understand it rightly, implies that Solomon opened up a new branch of commerce in horses from Egypt, supplying the kings of the surrounding nations with Egyptian chariots and horses. The latter are associated with something, ver. 28, which is translated "linen yarn" (מִקְוֵה, *mikveh*). This word some have understood as a proper name, "horses from Koah;" but others consider it to allude to the manner in which horses are conducted in strings: "Solomon had horses brought out of Egypt *in strings;* the king's merchants received a string at a certain price."

In the downward progress of apostasy in Israel, the horse figures as one of the accompaniments of abominable idolatries. Josiah in his reformation "took away the horses that the kings of Judah had given to the sun, at the entering in of the house of Jehovah, ... and burned the chariots of the sun with fire." Some commentators have assumed that these horses had been intended for sacrifice; because the Massagetæ and other nations sacrificed horses to the sun. But the refutation of this opinion is patent in the text itself. These horses had been given by the *kings* of Judah, the predecessors of Josiah; but if they had been given for sacrifice, they would have been sacrificed. They must have remained for the eighteen years already elapsed of Josiah's reign, the two years of Amon, and as many of Manasseh as went back to his ungodly days. For since these horses had been given by the *kings*, some of them at least must have been presented by Manasseh or his predecessors. We can scarcely then assign a shorter duration than thirty years to the period during which these horses had been stationed at the entrance of the temple. Now, considering that the natural age of the horse scarcely ever reaches thirty years, we think that this computation is conclusive against the supposition generally entertained that these were living horses dedicated to the use of the sun; and employed to draw, in solemn procession, the chariots in which the image or emblem of that luminary was carried, in the manner of the Persians. We presume, therefore, that the chariots were the ordinary vehicles, made chiefly of wood—for they were burned with fire; but that the horses attached to them were sculptured out of stone; and that they probably occupied a similar position to that so often assigned to winged lions or bulls in the Assyrian and Persian temples—a chariot and pair at each side of the temple gate. If, however, they were living horses, then we must suppose that the idolatrous zeal of the presenting monarchs had given not merely individual animals, but a sum of money sufficient to provide for the constant succession in the replacement of those which might die. Thus the horses would still be the gift of the kings who had created the fund; though the existing individuals might have been selected even during Josiah's own reign, without the matter coming under his cognizance.

[332.] Assyrian riding Horse with trappings.—Kouyunjik Sculptures, British Museum.

By the Assyrians the horse was used from early times both for war and hunting, and both for the chariot and for the saddle. But, as we have just seen was the case with Israel, it was in the later periods of the empire that cavalry was most commonly employed. The sculptures show an animal of good form, noble carriage, and evidently high blood.



[333.] Assyrian Horse led by a groom.—Kouyunjik Sculptures, Brit. Mus.

Horses are occasionally employed as symbols in divine prophecy, and their various colours are then distinctive. Thus, Zechariah's first vision was of "a man riding upon a red (אָדֹם, *adom*) horse; . . . . and behind him were three red (אֲדֻמִּים) horses, speckled (or bay, *margin* שְׂרֻקִים, *serukim*) and white (לְבָנִים, *lebonim*)," Zec. i. 8. And in a later vision the same prophet was shown four chariots—the first containing red, the second black, the third white, and the fourth "grisled (בְּרֻדִּים, *berudim*) and bay (אֲמֻצִּים, *amotzim*)." Com-

mentators have laboured to show the signification of these emblems, but with little success.

We must not forget that like symbols are employed in the latest book of sacred prophecy. On the successive openings of the first four seals in Re. vi., four horses go forth in turn, and the respective colours of these are white, red (πυρρός), black, and "pale" (χλωρός, literally "*green*," perhaps *livid*). The agreement of interpreters is not indeed so perfect as that we can authoritatively declare what even these symbols mean; but the general view is that the colours do not represent different nations or kingdoms, but rather the moral or spiritual aspects of successive periods.

It is worthy of remark, that a white horse was considered an emblem of triumph and power. From early periods of Roman history, generals returning victorious had chosen white as the colour of the horse they rode on, and still more had the emperors affected it in their triumphs. Domitian rode on a white horse in his father Vespasian's triumph, and Trajan on his return from his victorious campaigns. And thus is depicted in apocalyptic symbol the return of the Lord Jesus in power and great glory, to execute vengeance on his enemies. He who in the day of his humiliation brought salvation to Jerusalem, meekly seated on a colt, the foal of an ass, will come forth on a white horse, clothed in blood-red vesture, a sharp sword going out of his mouth, and many diadems on his head, accompanied by the armies of heaven on white horses, to rule the nations with a rod of iron, and to tread the wine-press of the fierceness and wrath of Almighty God, Re. xix. 11-15. [P. H. G.]

HORSELEECH [עֲלוּקָה, *alûkah*]. There seems no reason to set aside the received meaning of this word, sanctioned as it is by the LXX., who render it by βδέλλα, by the Vulgate, which gives *sanguisuga*, and by all the other versions. Bochart has made an elaborate effort to show that the word means *destiny*, and that its two daughters are the grave and hades—the one clamouring for the body the other for the soul of every man. But the hypothesis rests on an assumed misreading, for which there is no evidence, and on a doubtful *Arabic* etymology; while the received rendering gives an excellent meaning. The word occurs but once, viz. in that collection of aphorisms in which is embodied the wisdom of Agur the son of Jakeh, Pr. xxx.

In ver. 14 a generation is described who devour the poor and needy; then the horseleech with her two daughters is introduced, and then three other things which are never satisfied, yea, four, which say not, "It is enough!" That the horseleech is intended as an illustration or comparison of the generation in question seems clear; and we may adopt Holden's ellipsis, who would read ver. 15 thus:—

> "[They are like] the horseleech that hath two daughters, crying, Give! give!
> [Like] three things that are never satisfied; yea, four," &c.

There are numerous species of the genus *Hirudo*, of which the best known is the medicinal leech (*H. medicinalis*). There seems no particular reason why the horseleech (*H. sanguisorba*) should have been selected by our translators to represent the Hebrew word, as the more generic term "leech" would have been better. Indeed, if the greedy thirst for blood which marks these aquatic worms be, as can scarcely be doubted, the point of the comparison, there could not have been a worse selection than this species; for, according to the elaborate memoir on its structure and economy by Mr. Quekett (Zoologist for 1843, p. 90), the horseleech is not a blood-sucking species, and cannot be induced to fasten on the human skin. It is indeed very voracious, devouring eagerly the medicinal species, and other worms and aquatic insects, but it has neither an appetite for blood nor an apparatus for receiving it.

Several species of leech inhabit the marshes, rivers, and lakes of the East, with the habits of our *H. medicinalis*, and probably they include that kind. They are held in great abhorrence and fear, for the people have not learned to avail themselves of their peculiar instinct for the alleviation of human suffering. They are very numerous, and the domestic animals suffer much from their attacks; indeed it is no uncommon accident for a valuable beast to be seized beneath the tongue in drinking, in which case, even though the assailant be removed, the blood will sometimes continue to flow till the creature dies of the hæmorrhage. Captain Frankland nearly lost a fine dog in this manner. Even the common people, drinking freely from the brooks, not unfrequently take a leech into the mouth, which, fixing in the cheeks or throat, gives much annoyance and trouble. Kitto says, indeed, that under such circumstances it occasionally "remains several days before they can find means to expel it;" but this is probably an incautious exaggeration, as the leech would not take long to gorge itself, and would then certainly relinquish its hold, and pass up or down in a lethargic condition.

The mechanism by which the leech is enabled to gratify its greedy thirst for blood is highly curious.

[334.] Throat of Leech laid open and highly magnified. Gosse's Evenings at the Microscope.

The throat is spacious, and capable of being everted to a slight degree. The front border of the mouth is enlarged so as to form a sort of upper lip, and this combines with the wrinkled muscular margin of the lower and lateral portions to form the sucker. We may readily slit down the ventral margin of the sucker, exposing the whole throat. Then the edges being folded back, we see implanted in the walls on the dorsal region of the cavity, three white eminences of a cartilaginous texture, which rise to a sharp crescentic edge; they form a triangular, or rather a triradiate figure.

Our readers will recollect that this is the figure of the cut made in the flesh wherever a leech has sucked, as it is of the scar which remains after the wound has healed. For these three little eminences are the implements with which the animal, impelled by its blood-sucking instincts, effects its purpose. But to understand the action more perfectly, we must use the higher powers of the microscope.

If, then, we dissect out of the flesh one of the white points, say the middle one, and apply a power of 150 diameters, we see a sub-pellucid mass, of an irregular

oval figure, and of fibrous texture, one side of which is thinned away apparently to a keen edge of a somewhat semicircular outline. But along this edge, and as it were embedded into it for about one-third of their length, are set between seventy and eighty crystalline points, of highly refractive substance, resembling glass. These points gradually decrease in size towards one end of the series, and at length cease, leaving a portion of the cutting edge toothless. At the end where they are largest, they are nearly close together, but at length are separated by spaces equal to their own thickness. The manner in which they are inserted closely resembles, in this aspect, the implantation of the teeth in the jaw of a dolphin or crocodile.

This appearance, however, is illusory. By so manipulating as to bring the edge to face our eye, we discern that it is not an edge at all, but a narrow parallel-sided margin of considerable breadth. And the teeth are not conical points, as they seemed when we viewed them sideways, but flat triangular plates, with a deep notch in their lower edge. Thus they partly embrace and are partly inserted in, the margin of the jaw.

This apparatus admirably subserves the purpose for which it is intended. By means of its sucker the leech creates a vacuum upon a certain part of the skin, exactly like that produced by a cupping-glass. The skin covered is drawn into the hollow so far as to render it quite tense by the pressure of the surrounding air. Thus it is brought into contact with the edges of the three jaws, to which, by means of powerful muscles attached to them, a see-saw motion is communicated, which causes the little teeth soon to cut through the skin and superficial vessels, from which the blood begins to flow. The issue of the vital fluid is then promoted by the pressure around, and so goes on until the enormous stomach of the leech is distended to repletion.

This whole contrivance, with the instinct by which it is accompanied, has been asserted to be for the benefit of man, and not of the leech. Blood seems to be by no means the natural food of the leech; it has been ascertained to remain in the stomach for a whole twelvemonth without being digested, yet remaining fluid and sound during the entire period; while ordinarily, such a substance cannot in one instance out of a thousand be swallowed by the animal in a state of nature. Whether this be so or not; whether man's relief under suffering were the *sole* object designed or not, it was certainly *one* object; and we may well be thankful to the mercy of God, who has ordained comfort through so strange an instrumentality. [P. H. G.]

HOSAN'NA is composed of two Hebrew words occurring in Ps. cxviii. 25 (הוֹשִׁיעָה־נָּא), signifying *save, pray,* or *now.* The psalm was sung on joyful occasions, and particularly at the feast of tabernacles, which was the solemnity observed with the greatest demonstrations of joy. Verses 25 and 26 were sung with loud acclamation; and the feast itself was sometimes called the Hosanna. Applied to the Messiah, as it is in Mat. xxi. 9, "Hosanna to the Son of David," it simply means, all blessing and prosperity attend him; let salvation be his!

HOSE'A [הוֹשֵׁעַ, Ὡσηέ, *deliverance, salvation*]. 1. A younger contemporary of the prophet Amos. To the article on Amos we must refer the reader for a sketch of the political and religious aspect of the period in which Hosea and Amos were called of God to declare his word to Israel, and also for a notice of the general character of the prophetic teaching of that period.

I. *The prophet.*—From the title of the book we learn that Hosea began to prophesy under Uzziah, king of Judah, and Jeroboam II., of the family of Jehu, king of Israel; and also that he continued to prophesy until the time of Hezekiah, the great grandson of Uzziah. That the former part of this statement is correct does not admit of doubt; and though the whole period assigned to his ministry is certainly longer than is usually allotted to the active life of man, embracing, as it does, more than sixty years; yet this forms no sufficient reason for rejecting a tradition which must have had its origin in most ancient times, and which is not inconsistent with any information which may be derived from other sources.[1]

Of the personal history of Hosea nothing is known. Unlike Amos, he seems to have been born in the northern kingdom, though of this we have no positive information (Carpzov, Introductio ad lib. Proph. p. 274). It is certain that in the northern kingdom lay the sphere of his ministry. The name Ephraim occurs in his prophecies about thirty-five times, and Israel with equal frequency; while Judah is not mentioned more than fourteen times. Samaria is frequently spoken of, ch. vii. 1; viii. 5, 6; x. 5, 7; xiv. 1; Jerusalem never. All the other localities introduced are connected with the northern kingdom, either as forming part of it, or lying on its borders: Mizpah, Tabor, ch. v. 1; Gilgal, ch. iv. 15; ix. 15; xii. 12(11); Bethel, called also Bethaven, ch. x. 15; xii. 5(4); iv. 15; v. 8; x. 5, 8; Jezreel, ch. i. 4; Gibeah, ch. v. 8; ix. 9; Rama, ch. v. 8; Gilead, ch. vi. 8; xii. 12(11); Shechem, ch. vi. 9; Lebanon, ch. xiv. 6, 7; Arbela, ch. x. 14 (?). It may, however, be allowed that his usual residence lay in the southern parts of the northern kingdom—in that border region to the well-known localities of which he makes such frequent reference, and which had long been distinguished as the seat of the numerous schools of the prophets which Samuel had founded. We know nothing of Beeri, who is named in the title as the father of Hosea.

Still, though we think it probable that Hosea was connected by birth and residence during the greater part of his life with the northern kingdom, it has been conjectured, not without ground, that in his later years, after having long appealed in vain to his doomed countrymen, he retired to Judea, feeling that his mission was accomplished, and that now it only remained for him to make his escape from that Sodom over which the destroying angel was already hovering (Ewald, Die Propheten, i. 118, 119). Probably it was in Judea his prophecy was committed to writing in its present form, as may be inferred from the prominence given to the names of the kings of Judah in the title of the book. For the traditions as to his death, see *Carpzov,* p. 278.

It is probable that Hosea belonged to the *order* of prophets, in this respect likewise differing from Amos, who was neither prophet nor prophet's son; and that in the schools of the prophets he had received the customary training preparatory to entering on the discharge of the prophetic functions. His prophecy displays a very exact, and, so to speak, a professional acquaintance with the law of Moses, by which latter character it is

[1] Jeroboam II. died, as is commonly thought, about 784 B.C., and Hezekiah began his reign 725 B.C. But it is possible that the death of Jeroboam ought to be fixed twelve years later.—Ewald, *Geschichte,* iii. 554.

distinguished from that of Amos; for though in Amos we find not a few references to the Pentateuch, they have less the air of being the fruit of formal and systematic study and preparation.[1]

Amos was a herdsman, and a great part of the imagery he employs is borrowed from the pastoral life. It is not so with Hosea, who was evidently much more familiar with agricultural pursuits; and seems, like Elisha, to have been called from the plough to be the Lord's prophet, ch. vi. 3; viii. 7; ix. 10; x. 1, 11, 12; xiii. 3; xiv. 7.

II. *The prophecy.*—The foundation and general character and aim of the prophecies of Hosea are the same as those of Amos, with whose history and writings he must have been acquainted. Compare Ho. iv. 15 with Am. v. 5; and especially Ho. viii. 14 with Am. i. 4, 7, 10, &c. He announces and enforces, as the only remedy for the evils of the times, a return to Jehovah. With this he begins, ch. i. 2; with this he ends, ch. xiv. 1, &c.; and to this he again and again recurs in the course of his teaching. As a return to Jehovah, under the old dispensation, necessarily involved the restoration of the formal unity of the church, and the abolition of a separate altar and priesthood, we meet with frequent denunciations of the calf-worship established at Bethel by Jeroboam, on his successful revolt from the house of David. That worship had been introduced by Jeroboam as a measure of state necessity; and it symbolized the ascendency of the political over the moral and religious. That worship must be abolished, and the moral and religious restored to their rightful pre-eminence; otherwise all professions of regard to Jehovah shall be of no avail, and all gifts and sacrifices He will abhor, ch. viii. 5, 6; x. 5; xiii. 2.

Besides this, which may be called the legitimate *ecclesiastical* result of true repentance on the part of Israel, it was noticed in the article on Amos that there were two other results no less essential—the *moral* and the *political*. The return of Israel to Jehovah must be accompanied with a thorough reformation of the social and national life. For it is the most distinctive principle of the prophetic teaching formally announced by Samuel, the founder of the order, that "to obey is better than sacrifice, and to hearken than the fat of rams." This principle each of the prophets, as he appeared, re-announced; and none more distinctly than Hosea, whose words our Lord himself deigned to make use of in rebuking the hypocritical Pharisees: "Go ye, and learn what that meaneth, I will have mercy, and not sacrifice," Mat. ix. 13, compared with Ho. vi. 6. In Hosea iv. 2 we have a summary of the second table of the moral law; the breach of which, the prophets show, must ever follow as a necessary consequence the breach of the first table. And in various parts of the prophecy Israel is reminded of the ancient kindness of Jehovah, and especially of the great national deliverance by which he proved himself to be indeed Jehovah, and the record of which he placed as a sanction and powerful incentive to obedience in the very front of his law, Ex. xx. 2, compared with Ho. ii. 17 (15); xi. 1; xii. 10 (9); xiii. 4. Compare also, on the close connection between idolatry and immorality, ch. iv. 12–14; vii. 1, &c.; xii. 8 (7).

The *political* result of Israel's repentance and hearty return to Jehovah, was the *re-establishment of the kingdom of David*, and the reunion of all the tribes under one government. This is distinctly announced by Hosea, ch. ii. 2 (i. 11); iii. 5; viii. 4; as it had already been by Amos, ch. ix. 11. There is no safety for Israel but in returning to Jehovah their God and to David their king. Out of this reunion alone flows peace—that promised peace which the prophet delights to anticipate, and which he describes in language of wonderful elevation and beauty, ch. ii. 18–25 (ii. 16–23); xiv. 4–8.

Such is the remedy which the prophets of this period recommend to their countrymen in its threefold aspect—ecclesiastical, moral, political; a hearty repentance and return to Jehovah being the central and substantial element. And the prophet Hosea, being taught of God, was quite sure that this remedy would be had recourse to at last—that Israel would yet return to Jehovah and to David, and find strength and peace, ch. iii. xiv. But he knew, likewise, that this return, with all its happy results, could not be immediate. The apostate nation must spend all her living upon other physicians, and all in vain, before she is constrained to cry to Jehovah to heal her. Israel must be led back again into the wilderness, ch. ii. 16 (14); must be cast once more into the iron furnace of Egypt, ch viii. 13; ch. ix. 3, before the promised era of peace and glory comes. The present to the prophet's eye is dark, and must be dark; it is to the "latter days" he looks with hope, ch. iii. 5.

In passing from Amos to Hosea, we mark a decided advance in the *historical* and *prophetic* development. With regard to the former, the historical development, we find a new power, formerly on the background, now brought prominently to the front. The smaller kingdoms bordering upon Israel, with the fate of which a considerable part of the prophecy of Amos is occupied, have passed out of view—they are not once mentioned by Hosea. In their room appears the great northern power of Assyria, in which the prophets have already discovered the rod of God for the punishment of his people's sins. As yet, however, the blinded nation have not perceived this. Assyria they regard rather as a friend than as a foe, ch. v. 13; vii. 11; viii. 9; xii. 2 (1); xiv. 4 (3). They are so infatuated as not to perceive that that power only helped them to their destruction, pursuing a crafty policy of which every age has furnished examples; and that if Damascus were swallowed up by its powerful antagonist, Samaria should soon share its fate. God hath blinded their eyes. But the prophet has penetrated into the divine counsels; and in Assyria he beholds not the ally and friend, but the destined destroyer of his nation. Already he sees crowds of his countrymen led captive by the very power to which they had looked for safety, and pining as strangers in a strange land, ch. iii. 4; x. 6; xi. 11. This is a new and most impressive view which is opened up to us in the writings of Hosea. We had no hint in Amos of the relation of dependence in which Israel stood to Assyria, its destined destroyer. And we are thankful for another historical illustration of a truth which can never grow old, that the shifts to which politicians have recourse to save from ruin a society which is morally diseased and corrupt, have the effect only of hastening the ruin which they are intended to avert.

[1] בְּרִית (*berith*), covenant, is employed several times by Hosea (ch. ii. 20; vi. 7; viii. 1; x. 4) to describe the union between God and Israel; never by Amos. בַּעַל and בְּעָלִים (*ba'al be'alim*), not found in Amos, are of frequent occurrence in Hosea (ch. ii. 10, 15, 19; ix. 10; xi. 2; xiii. 1). So כֹּהֵן (*cohen*), priest (Ho. iv. 4, 9, &c). See also ch. iv. 6; v. 10; and the root אָשַׁם (*asham*), which recurs five times in Hosea, is not found in Amos.

Corresponding to this development and advance in historical position, is the aspect which the *prophetic* teaching assumes in the writings of Hosea. As Assyria draws nearer to Israel, and the crisis more evidently approaches, the prophet clings closer to Jehovah, and realizes more vividly the intimacy of that relation in which it is his privilege to stand to the God of heaven and earth. This intimacy of relationship he can represent only by calling to his aid the idea of marriage —the closest of earthly connections. It is not, indeed, in the writings of Hosea that we first find this idea so employed; but in these writings, and in every part of them, though chiefly at the commencement, it stands out with such prominence as to constitute it their most marked characteristic.

It is well to observe the different aspects in which the Divine Being is contemplated by the several prophets; for as these great teachers of the olden time spoke and wrote only when and what they were moved by the divine Spirit to speak and to write, and thus put their whole souls into all they uttered, we find that there is just such diversity in their modes of conceiving and presenting the divine character, as we might expect from the diversities in their own individual tendencies and sympathies. This diversity is very marked in Hosea and Amos. The sublime descriptions of the majesty and unapproachable glory of God which we meet with in the latter, are not found in the former, Am. iv. 13; v. 8, &c.; ix. 5, 6. Why? Because that was not the aspect of the divine character on which Hosea dwelt most fondly. He delighted rather to contemplate God in his nearness and love to his people; in the close and endearing relationship which he had formed with them; in his long-suffering and tender compassion— drawing them with the cords of love, with the bands of a man, healing their backsliding, and still continuing to love them even when they had cast him off and "were following after other lovers." This aspect of the divine character is by no means wanting in Amos, ch. ii. 9; iii. 2; vii 3, 6; but it is evidently not the aspect in the contemplation of which that prophet had most delight. His sympathies were with the more grand, and majestic, and awful manifestations of God. Accordingly he never uses the word *love* (אהבה אהב) in describing God's relation to Israel; as Hosea so frequently does, ch. iii 1; ix. 15; xi. 1, 4; xiv. 5. He rarely describes Jehovah as the God of Israel, Am. iv. 12; ix. 15, but very frequently as God of hosts, which is altogether a favourite appellation with him; whereas with Hosea such expressions as *my God, thy God*—the pronoun having reference to Israel—occur no fewer than seventeen times, while *God of hosts* is found only once, ch. xii. 6(5). It is for the same reason that the name Adonai, so often used by Amos, is altogether wanting in Hosea.

Such, then, was the aspect of the divine character, to present which in a very striking and arresting manner to the church and to the world, Hosea was specially raised up and endowed. He was by nature of a gentle and tender spirit; his heart formed to love. He was not a man of action, like Amos, but of contemplation; in this respect, as in some others, bearing to that older prophet a relation somewhat resembling that of Ezekiel to Jeremiah. The Divine Spirit, who imparts to each severally as he will, had endowed him with these tendencies and dispositions, that he might be a fitting instrument for receiving and communicating a deep and lively impression of the love of Jehovah to his people.

In the first three chapters we have an account of the mode in which it pleased God to call him to be his prophet. These chapters have long been a source of perplexity to commentators; and very different views have been taken of the transactions recorded in them.

To understand them it is necessary first of all to consider that the prophet stood in the place of Jehovah; that the word he spoke was not his own but Jehovah's; and that in order to speak with power and success, he must have a deep insight into the relation between Jehovah and his people—must realize, so far as possible, in his own experience, the nature and the conditions of that relation. Hence a vision of Jehovah usually accompanied the call of each prophet, Is. vi.; Je. i.; Eze. i. ii.; Am. vii.; the effect of such vision being to impart to the mind of the prophet, in the most lively and impressive manner, a knowledge of the being and character of Jehovah, and specially of such aspects of his character as He designed by the instrumentality of his prophet to manifest more clearly to the world.

Now, the revelation which God designed to make by the lips of Hosea, related chiefly to the close union between himself and Israel, the unfaithfulness of Israel to the duties arising out of that union, and the course of discipline by means of which he purposed to bring his people to repentance and reunion with himself. And in order that the prophet might himself have, and be able to convey to others, a lively sense of these things, they were imparted to him not as naked truths, but clothed in a pictorial representation—earthly relations and transactions being employed to symbolize the divine and heavenly. Instead of having revealed to him that Israel had proved unfaithful to Jehovah, and gone after other gods, he is told to take to himself an אֵשֶׁת זְנוּנִים (*esheth zenunim*), because it is only by so doing that he can become a fitting representative of Jehovah in his relation to the church of that day, ch. i. 2. And instead of the results of Israel's apostasy being declared to him in plain terms, he is supposed to have children by his unfaithful wife, and he is commanded to give them names descriptive of these results. The whole is simply a revelation in symbolical action of the unfaithfulness of Israel and its certain and terrible consequences.

It is not necessary to suppose, as many commentators have done, that what is narrated in ch. i. and iii. really formed part of the outward life-history of the prophet. For just as the call of Isaiah to the prophetic office was accompanied by the vision of Jehovah in the temple—as the call of Ezekiel was accompanied by that other remarkable vision which he describes in the first chapter of his prophecy—so there is a *prima facie* probability that the transactions accompanying the call of Hosea also took place in vision and not in the sphere of real life. It is true that in the visions of Isaiah and Ezekiel there is less of action on the part of the prophet himself; but that does not appear a circumstance of material consequence. There is more or less of action in all. Ezekiel, for example, saw a hand stretched out, and in the hand was a written roll, which he was commanded to eat; and he says, "I opened my mouth and ate the roll, and it was in my mouth as honey for sweetness," Eze. iii. 1-3. Now, if we allow, as we must do, that this transaction took place in vision and not in reality, there seems no good reason why the same supposition should not be perfectly legitimate in the case of Hosea. The object of both transactions was the same. The

eating of the roll represented the taking into the heart of the prophet the truth which the roll contained, Eze. iii. 10 And so Hosea's taking to himself an אֵשֶׁת זְנוּנִים (*esheth zenunim*) was a sign of his perfect realization of the truth regarding Jehovah and Israel, which he was sent to teach, and also a means of presenting that truth more vividly and effectively to others, Ho. xii. 11 (10). That this view is quite admissible, and may be taken without any violence to the language of the prophet, is allowed even by Bishop Horsley, notwithstanding his decided advocacy of the opposite view. And not a few similar transactions we find narrated in the writings of the prophets, which no judicious interpreter believes to have taken place otherwise than in vision, Is. xx.; Eze. iv.

In this symbolical representation the principal parties are the prophet and Gomer, the daughter of Diblaim, the female whom he takes to wife. There is no reason why the latter should not be regarded as a person who actually lived at that time, any more than the former. She may have been one whose name was connected in the public mind with those lascivious rites which we know were associated with the then prevalent idolatries, ch. iv. 13, 14. The union of the prophet with such a person as a symbol of the relation subsisting between God and Israel, must surely have had a stirring effect on the national mind of Israel, as well as on the prophet's own mind. If *he* recoiled from and loathed such a union, what must Israel be before God? And how marvellous His forbearance, that he has not separated himself altogether and for ever from the polluted people; nay, that he still loves them and has thoughts of peace towards them! We have been induced to take this view of the symbolical wife of the prophet, by the failure of all attempts to give an explanation of her name, suitable to the nature and design of the vision (see Calvin's Commentary on Hosea, and Hengstenberg's Christology, vol. i. p. 186 of the Transl.)

The names of the three children of this ill-assorted pair are *Jezreel*, *Lo-ruhama* [not loved], and *Lo-ammi* [not my people]. With respect to the name Jezreel, it is capable of a double signification, according as it is viewed historically or etymologically. Viewed historically, the name Jezreel calls to mind the bloody deeds of the house of Ahab, of which house Jezreel was a favourite residence, and the bloody vengeance exacted by the hand of Jehu. And the command to call the child by this name was intended to pre-intimate that the house of Jehu would speedily perish like that of Ahab, which Jehu himself had destroyed, and that even the blood of the house of Ahab would be exacted from them, because they had not themselves forsaken but had cleaved to the sins which they had been divinely appointed to punish, ch. i. 4, 5.[1] Viewed etymologically, the same name Jezreel [*God sows*], contains within it a prophecy of the future revival of Israel and the scattering abroad of the divine seed over the whole earth, ch. ii. 25 (23). The other two names, *Lo-ruhama* and *Lo-ammi*, are of more general import, and pre-intimate the calamities destined to overwhelm and destroy the national existence of Israel in consequence of their unfaithfulness to Jehovah; *Lo-ammi* coming after *Lo-ruhama*, as indicative of a more formal and decisive repudiation. And the predicted change of these names into *Ruhama* and *Ammi*, ch. ii. 3 (1), is a remarkable and cheering prophecy of the unchanging character of the love of Jehovah and the everlasting continuance of his church.

The vision in ch. iii. is the complement of that in ch. i. In the one Israel's fall is represented; in the other Israel's redemption and recovery through the unmerited *love* of Jehovah. The prophet is commanded, despite the proved unfaithfulness of his wife, to extend to her again his love, and to buy her back again. He does so. The price he pays is the price of a slave, an intimation of the degradation and contempt into which Israel had fallen, ch. iii. 1-5. The two visions are very clearly distinguished; in the one, the guilt of Israel being more prominent (ch. i. 2, *for* the land, &c.); in the other, the love of Jehovah (ch. iii. 1, according to the love, &c.) In the one we have a representation of the church's paradise lost; in the other of paradise regained, and that altogether by the redeeming grace and unquenchable love of Jehovah.[2]

The arguments against the realistic view of these chapters have not been insisted on, as they lie on the surface. They will be found briefly but emphatically stated in Calvin, at great length in Hengstenberg's *Christology*. It may be noticed here that Calvin and others regard the whole rather as a *parable* than a *vision*. "Fieri potest ac probabile est, ut prophetæ nulla fuerit objecta visio; sed tantum Deus promulgari jusserit hoc mandatum." This he says, in answer to the objection, that if the transactions were in vision only, they would avail nothing for the instruction of the people. But the objection has no weight. The vision, accompanying as it did the call of Hosea to be a prophet, was intended principally for his instruction. But, like other visions, it was no less instructive to the people, when communicated to them. God was accustomed to speak to his prophets in vision, Nu. xii. 6, but for the benefit of the people. Indeed there is no reason why we should regard the two views as antagonistic. For what was a vision to the prophet became a parable to the people.

The various views which have been taken of this difficult portion of Scripture will be found stated with great clearness and impartiality by the learned Pococke in his *Commentary on Hosea*. (p. 2-5). He concludes the review as follows:—"These are the chief opinions concerning the acceptation of these words, of which, seeing each is backed by great authority, and the maintainers thereof will not yield to one another's reasons, but keep to their own way, and accuse those that go otherwise either of boldness or blindness, and some very learned men have not dared positively to determine in the matter, it must be still left to the considering reader to use his own judgment; only with this caution, that he conceive nothing unworthy of God or unbeseeming his holy prophet, nor draw from the word any unsavoury or unhandsome conclusions."

It only remains to notice that Ewald endeavours to combine the two leading views upon this subject, by recognizing a slight historical basis underlying a narrative which is in the main symbolical. His opinion is that Gomer was the actual wife of the prophet, who was thus prepared for the mission assigned to him by the bitter experiences of his own domestic life.

[1] Some think there is a reference to the double meaning of Jezreel, *God scatters* and *God sows*.

[2] If the view we have taken of these chapters is correct, it is of little consequence whether we suppose the *woman* of ch. iii. to be Gomer the daughter of Diblaim or a different person.

Of the second division of the prophecies of Hosea, ch. iv.–xiv.,[1] we have not space even to offer a brief analysis. To the Hebrew student they present not a few difficulties; yet their general import is sufficiently obvious. They are just an expansion or commentary on the visions of the first part; the dark future being the nearest, occupying much the larger part, but the bright becoming more and more prominent towards the close, until in the concluding verses it spreads itself over the prophet's whole range of vision, and he exults in the anticipation of the peace and joys of the latter days. Various attempts have been made to assign these chapters to different periods in the life of Hosea, but without much success. Whatever may have been the origin of the various parts of the prophecy, it is evident that, as they now stand, they form part of a well connected whole, in which we cannot fail to observe a definite aim and regular sequence in the train of thought. Still, it must be allowed, that some of the sections, such as the first, ch. iv., are marked by peculiarities which seem to indicate that prophecies of different dates have been brought together and wrought up into one composition. It has been remarked, for example, that the view taken of the character and destinies of Judah is more favourable towards the commencement of the book than in the fifth and subsequent chapters. And while the first chapter evidently belongs to the reign of Jeroboam II., the historical allusion in ch. x. 14, if the Shalman there mentioned is the same as the Shalmanezer of the historical books, brings us down to a much later period.

The character of Hosea as a writer corresponds very much with his theme. His composition abounds with those soft and gentler beauties which are the proper ornaments of a work, the leading theme of which is Jehovah's love. What can be more sweet and exquisite than the contrasted comparisons we meet with in ch. vi. 3, 4? "*His* going forth is prepared as the morning, and he shall come to us as the rain, &c. . . . . *Your* goodness is as the morning cloud, and as the early dew it goeth away." So ch. xiii. 3; xiv. 5–7. These gentler tendencies are by no means inconsistent, nay, they are usually found in union, with a highly impassioned nature; and of this we discover frequent traces in the writings of Hosea. His language is more poetical than that of most of the prophets; hence the frequent ellipses and sudden transitions, and the copious use of words and forms of construction which distinguish the poetic style, ch. v. 14; vi. 1; vii. 2; viii. 12; x. 4,11. There are also some traces of an Aramean influence, which may be accounted for by his birth and residence in the northern kingdom.[2]

As Hosea shows an intimate acquaintance with, and a close dependence upon, the law of Moses and other scriptures written before his time, so the prophets which succeeded him evidence, by their allusions to his writings, the high estimation and authority in which these writings were held by them, comp. ch. ii. 2 (i. 11) with Is. xi. 12, 13; iv. 3 with Zep. i. 3; iv. 6 with Is. v. 13; vii. 10 with Is. ix. 12, 13; x. 12 with Je. iv. 3, &c. Jeremiah and Ezekiel especially show themselves familiar with his prophecy.

The references to Hosea in the New Testament are numerous, Mat. ii. 15; ix. 13; xii. 7; Lu. xxiii. 30; Ro. ix. 25, 26; 1 Co xv. 55; 1 Pe. ii. 10; and they are of great value to the student of prophecy as illustrations of the connection between the Old and New Testaments. They show us how, from the writings of this Jewish prophet, our Lord and his apostles deduced some of the sublimest revelations of the Christian dispensation.

[On Hosea the student may consult Pococke, Horsley, Henderson, Pusey; also Hengstenberg's *Christology*, vol. i.; Ewald on the *Prophets;* and the *Introductions*]. [D. H. W.]

2. HOSEA (or HOSHEA). The last king of Israel; who was the son of Elah, and having conspired against the reigning king Pekah he obtained possession of the throne. But his ill-gotten possession was not long retained; for the misunderstandings which had arisen between Israel and Assyria reached a crisis, and in the ninth year of Hoshea's reign, Shalmanezer king of Assyria came with a great force against Hoshea, besieged his capital and took it, and put a final end to the kingdom. The cup of iniquity had become full both with the king and the people of Israel; and the wrath of Heaven fell on them to the uttermost. This catastrophe took place, according to the common computation, B.C. 721, 2 Ki. xvii.

HOSPITALITY, is very strongly commended in Scripture, both by example and by precept. The patriarchs of early times are set forth as eminent patterns of it, and believers in the apostolic age are exhorted to tread in this respect in their footsteps. Those raised to the higher offices in the Christian church were required, among other qualifications, to be "given to hospitality," to be known even as "lovers" of it, 1 Ti. iii. 2; Ti. i. 8; and the members generally of the Christian community were enjoined to "use hospitality one to another without grudging," or, as it is again put, to be "not forgetful to entertain strangers," 1 Pe. iv. 9; He. xiii. 2. Hospitality is a virtue which will always more or less distinguish men of humane minds and charitable dispositions. But the extent to which it requires to be exercised, and the place it may be said to hold among the relative and social virtues, will necessarily depend on circumstances. It will vary according to the state of society in general, and the actual position of individual members of it. In the ruder states of society, when communication is slow, and the public means of accommodation provided for persons moving from one region to another are scanty and insufficient, the rights and claims of hospitality assume a kind of primary place; society can hardly exist without them; and any flagrant violation of them cannot fail to be regarded as a great social enormity. Hence even the wild and predatory Arabs cultivate hospitality, and the stranger among them counts himself safe when he has been admitted to the privileges of a guest. "In every village there is a public room, called a *menzil* or *mendafeh*, devoted to the entertainment of strangers. The guest lodges in the menzil, and his food is supplied by the families to whose circle it belongs. Sometimes they take turns in his entertainment; at other times it is left to those who offer themselves, or rather who claim the privilege. If the guest be a person of consequence, it is a matter of course, that a sheep, or goat, or lamb is killed for him. The guest gives nothing as a remuneration when he leaves. To offer money would be taken as an insult; and to receive it would be a great disgrace. Such (says Robinson, ii. p. 347), is universally the manner of entainment in the villages throughout the provinces of

[1] Ewald regards ch. iv.–xiv. as an expansion of ch. iii.; in which view he is followed by Dr. Pusey.

[2] Mark the frequent occurrence of two verbs in apposition in the same tense, &c., without any connecting particle, which is much more common in Syriac than in Hebrew, ch. i. 6; v. 11, 15, &c.; see also x. 11, 14; xi 8.

Jerusalem and Hebron, as well as in other parts of Syria." But as civilization advances, and the speed and conveniences of travel increase, other arrangements to a large extent take the place that in ruder times is supplied by the rites of hospitality. Without incommoding private families, people can usually get at a moderate expense the temporary accommodation and refreshments they need; and as the general comfort and well-being of society very materially depend on these, it becomes a duty one owes to society, as well as a matter of personal convenience to avail one's self of them. Still, opportunities will often occur in which Christian kindness and liberality can be fitly exercised by the hospitable entertainment of strangers. And in particular localities, as well as on special occasions, believers may sometimes find themselves so situated, that the duties of hospitality assume nearly the same importance which belonged to them in earlier times. But such cases must now be regarded as somewhat exceptional.

HOURS. *See* DAY.

HOUSE. The house is contrasted in Scripture with the *tent*, as indicative of that which is permanent, in opposition to that which admits of being readily moved from place to place, 2 Sa. vii. 5-7. It signifies a dwelling-place for men or cattle, or parts of such dwellings: the palace of a king or the temple of a god: and in a figurative way is put for a man's family, kindred, people, or posterity. Gesenius says that in Ge. xxxiii. 17, it is put for a tent to dwell in, but we consider that it has there its usual sense. It is however often applied to God's house while that house was yet a tent or tabernacle, Ex. xxiii. 19; Stanley's Sinai and Palestine, p. 528. The permanent house was built long before the tent came into use. The tent was first devised by Jabal, the fifth in direct descent from Cain, Ge. iv. 20; while we read of Cain himself building a city, Ge. iv. 17. Cain's fear probably led him to change the simple and isolated form of dwellings into something more compact and city-like. From the very first the dwelling-house was known to men, Ge. iv. 7.

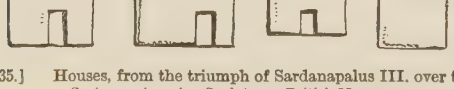
Of what kind the earliest houses were, very different ideas will be formed, according to men's notions of the primitive state of man. The idea of the rude wigwam or the dark cave as his original dwelling is simply absurd. The poetic descriptions of such suit very well to the rude tribes who have from time to time broken off from the centres of civilization and quickly degenerated, but they by no means accord with the notions we are warranted to form of mankind before the flood, nor of mankind for some time subsequent to that event. If building be an art attendant upon civilization, we would attribute a high proficiency in it to men sprung from Adam the divinely constituted head of mankind, and who displayed their own claim to its possession by their inventions in many of the arts that indicate a high state of civilization, Ge. iv. 21, 22. In the building of the ark, for which Noah derived no assistance from God beyond its plan, Ge. vi. 14-16, we see the great constructive skill of the antediluvian age; and in the conception and partial execution of the vast architectural idea in the plain of Shinar, Ge. xi. 3, 4, we may well imagine a building before whose vastness the pyramids would look diminutive, and a city whose general architecture may be supposed to have borne some proportion to its tower. It is no objection to this to say that they were to be built only of brick. These ancients understood how to prepare that material in the most perfect way, Ge. xi. 3, and of the lasting nature of such brick we have abundant testimony (Pliny, Nat. History, b. xxxv. ch. 49). From this period men were scattered, and not unfrequently sunk into a degenerate state; whence, as a matter of course, came a decay in the art of building, until at last in some places the rude hunter was reduced to the hut or cavern, from which it required a fresh influx of civilized ideas to raise him. In other places, however, we have frequent mention of cities, and these of such renown that their names have come down to our time. We read of Babel, and Erech, and Accad, and Calneh, in the land of Shinar; of Nineveh, and Rehoboth, and Calah, and great Resen; of Sidon, the earliest of commercial cities —as the architectural productions of the first generations after the flood.

It was in a land familiar with the permanent house and city that Abram, the father of the chosen people, was born and brought up, Ge. xi. 31. God's call removed him from the house to the tent, Ge. xii. 1, from the land where his fathers had possession, to where he himself had none, Ac. vii. 5. Hence he lived a nomade life, "dwelling in tabernacles with Isaac and Jacob." But neither he nor his children were unfamiliar with the house as a fixed abode. In Egypt when they went down to sojourn there, and in Canaan where they chiefly sojourned, they saw the cities of Pharaoh and of the plain, Ge. xii. 10; xviii. 20; and we have reason to believe that Abraham occasionally lived in a house, Ge. xvii. 27. It is probable also that Isaac in his old age lived in one, Ge. xxvii. 15. We have no doubt that Jacob not only lived for a time in a house, as distinguished from a tent, but that he himself built a house for his dwelling, Ge. xxxiii. 17. Whence we may conclude, that while the tent was the usual domicile of the patriarchs, they were familiar with the idea of the house, and would probably have preferred such a habitation if they could have had their choice. When the family of Jacob went to settle in Egypt until the time of the exodus, they came into a land of majestic buildings and great architectural skill (Wilkinson, Anc. Egypt. iii. 249-332; ch. ix. and x.) In the works executed in Egypt during the sojourn of Israel, it is thought the Israelites took an important part. Very much of this indeed was the drudgery of the common labourer, Ex. i. 14; but employed as they were in the erection of the treasure cities of Pithom and Rameses, it is natural to suppose that they were not unacquainted with skilled workmanship, Ex. i. 11. When they got possession of Canaan they came into a land of great and goodly cities, and houses full of all good things, De. vi. 10, 11; Nu. xiii. 28. We have thus reason to believe that the Israelites, on assuming the place of an independent nation, were by no means ignorant of architecture. The general plan and style of their structures would hence naturally be derived from the buildings of Egypt and Canaan, which in their more important features resembled each other, though there were differences, as we shall hereafter note. In one, but that the greatest of all their buildings, Israel copied after no model, whether of Egypt, Canaan, or Phœnicia. The tabernacle in the wilderness was erected after the pattern shown by God himself, Ex. xxv. 9; and Solomon's temple in its central part was built after the model of the tabernacle, with a fitting enlargement of the proportions. The part which the Tyrians took in this building is often exaggerated, to the unjust de-

preciation of the Israelites. The magnificent idea of the building and its various details were with the divine help conceived by David, and by him communicated to Solomon, 1 Ch. xxviii. 2, 11, 12. It was by Solomon's directions that the work proceeded in its various stages, 1 Ki. v. 17. It was Solomon's officers who presided over and regulated the work, 1 Ki. v. 16, and it was Solomon's workmen who executed far the greater and chief parts of its details.

A comparison of the houses depicted on ancient monuments and the ancient buildings of Egypt, with modern oriental houses, affords the most satisfactory if not the only means of illustrating the house of the Bible. Between these ancient and modern houses there is a strong similarity. When a traveller in Palestine describes a house of the present day, he describes very much what existed in the age of our Lord, or in still more ancient times. The climate, which is one great cause of the architectural arrangements of different countries, is the same, and the unchanging habits of the East have always been proverbial. Intense heat and absence of rain prevail during the greater part of the year: heavy rains, however, fall at particular seasons, and the cold is occasionally severe. These circumstances, combined with a love of seclusion and privacy, give their prevailing characteristics to the dwellings of Syria and Palestine. Here of course as elsewhere there is every variety of house, according to the varying requirements of city, of country, or the circumstances of the owners; from the house of several stories and numerous chambers, to that which has but the ground floor and a single apartment. The references in Scripture are naturally made for the most part to houses of the better order, but we must not leave out of view the more numerous houses of an inferior kind. In the whole of them, however, we find some leading characteristics, distinguishing them all alike from the houses of northern climates.

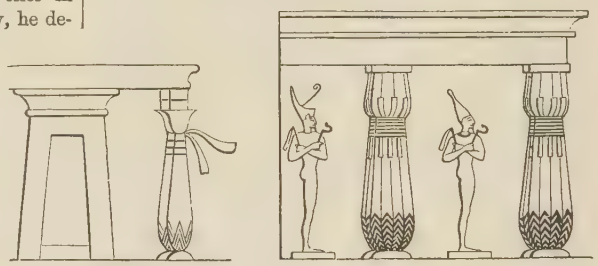
The exterior of a dwelling-house of the better kind in Palestine is for the most part plain and unattractive, having but few openings, or such projections as serve to give relief and variety to the appearance. The part that looks to the street presents only dull gray walls, with nothing to relieve them but the door-way leading into the court, and two or three latticed windows. The roof is commonly flat, has never any chimneys, and does not overhang the external walls. The ground plan is usually a parallelogram, or a series of parallelograms, the house consisting of one or several courts, arranged solely with reference to the convenience of the interior, and regardless of external appearance, though the result is generally highly picturesque. The various apartments enter directly from the court or



[335.] Houses, from the triumph of Sardanapalus III. over the Susians.—Assyrian Sculptures, British Museum.

courts of which the house is composed, and the courts are frequently surrounded in whole or in part by wooden galleries, from which the apartments of the upper story directly enter. The orientals having a dislike to many stories, naturally endeavour, when increased accommodation is wanted, to gain their object by extending their buildings horizontally. The correspondence between this general description and the houses of ancient Nineveh, engraving No. 335, will be at once apparent. We will now consider in detail the several parts of which eastern houses are composed.

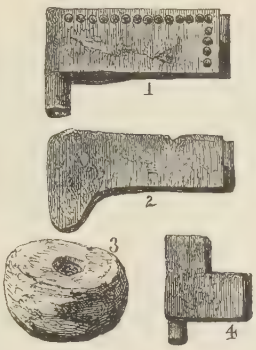
The *Porch* was a very unusual feature in the houses of ancient Palestine, if indeed it was then in use at all. Except in the case of the temple and of Solomon's palace, we find no reference to its use in any part of the Old Testament, 1 Ki. vii. 6, 7; 2 Ch. xv. 8; Eze. xl. 7. It was not uncommon in Egyptian houses, however, where it was sometimes supported on two columns before the



[336, 337.] Ancient Egyptian Porches, from alabastrons.—Wilkinson.

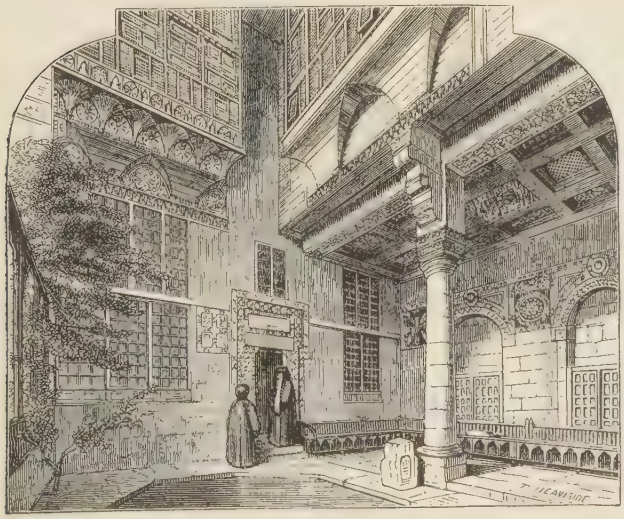
front door, and sometimes consisted of a double row of columns, between which were often placed colossal statues of the Egyptian kings (Wilkinson, Ancient Egypt. ii. 101, 102). Its absence from the houses of Palestine, and the great probability that the Hebrew word for porch (אוּלָם, *'ulam*) has no root in the Hebrew language (see Gesenius), makes it most probable that the word is Egyptian; ἐλαμ signifying a portico in Coptic (Jablonski Opuscula, vol. i. page 85), and the porch being common in Egypt. The resemblance of the porch of Solomon's house of the forest of Lebanon (a porch of pillars, אוּלָם הָעַמּוּדִים, *'ulam haammudim*, 1 Ki. vii. 6), to the porches of Egypt, renders it still more probable that the idea was derived from Egyptian architecture. In the only place in the Old Testament where we read in the authorized version of a porch as attached to any other house than the temple or Solomon's palace, Ju. iii. 23, the word in the Hebrew is different (מְסִדְרוֹנָה, *misderonah*). Porch is here probably an incorrect translation, the reference being in all likelihood to a colonnade which ran along the outside of the upper room of Eglon's palace, and communicated with the ground by a staircase. In the New Testament we read in the authorized version of a porch attached to the high-priest's palace, Mat. xxvi. 71. The Greek word here (πυλών) however probably means only the gate, as it does in the other places where it occurs (for example, Ac. x. 17; xii. 14; xiv. 13; Re. xxi. 12). In Jn. v. 2, we read of five porches (στοάς) as attached to the pool of Bethesda. It is quite plain however that these bore no resemblance to the porch of a dwelling-house. The στοά was either attached to a temple, a colonnade or cloisters, or was a distinct building used as a place of resort in the heat of the day (Liddell and Scott's Lexicon). Such evidently were the porches of Bethesda, distinct from any house, and built for the use of the sick. The porch of the palace was a place of judgment for the king, 1 Ki. vii. 7, 8. (*See* GATE.)

The Door.—Of the Hebrew words for the door we find דֶּלֶת (*deleth*) frequently used in the dual, signifying then generally double or folding-doors (Gesenius); we find the other words used only in the singular and plural (Fuerst). The door consisted of the threshold, the side-posts, and the lintel. It is to be remarked that φλία is put in the Sept. both for the side-posts and the lintel of the door, and it seems to be used in both these senses in classical writers (Liddell and Scott's Lexicon). The doors were commonly made of wood, and where great expense was gone to this wood was sometimes the cedar, Ca. viii. 9; but doors made of single slabs of stone, some inches thick, occasionally ten feet high, and turning on stone pivots, are found in some of the old houses and sepulchres of Syria (Buckingham's Travels, p. 170; Maundrell, in Early Travels in Palestine, p. 447, 448). The doorways of eastern houses are sometimes ornamented in a very rich manner, though they are generally mean in appearance even when leading to sumptuous dwellings. Wilkinson (Anc. Egypt. ii. 113, 114, ch. v.) gives us representations of different Egyptian doorways, some of those in the tombs being charged with a profusion of ornament. But for this, and the kind of locks and keys usually employed for gates or doorways, see under GATE.



[338.] Ancient Egyptian Hinges.[1] From specimens in Brit. Mus.

The Court is one of the great characteristics of the eastern house. Every house has one, even the very meanest has something of the kind, 2 Sa. xvii. 18; Ne. viii. 16; Robinson's Bib. Res. ii. 279, sec. x. Some houses have one court, others two, and three are not uncommon; as many as seven are found in some very fine houses at Damascus; large buildings such as convents are divided into a great many courts opening by passages into one another (Robinson, Bib. Res. i. 136; Wilkinson, Anc. Eg. ii. 103, 104). The passage from the doorway into the court is usually so contrived that no view can be had from the street into it; this is sometimes done by the erection of a wall, or by giving a turn to the passage that leads into the court. The court nearest the entrance of an eastern house is variously arranged, according as it is the only court, or as it is the first of two or three. We shall first speak of houses which have but one court, and which differ very much from one another in comfort and convenience. The court in this case is an open space or quadrangle, round which the apartments for the inmates, and in country places also the sheds for the cattle, are arranged. In the very poorest of these there is merely one apartment, and a shed for cattle (Robinson, Bib. Res. ii. 279), and the court or yard is surrounded with a hedge of thorny boughs. A house of a somewhat better description usually consisted of the court, three or four store-rooms on the ground floor, with a single chamber above, to which a flight of steps leads from the court (Wilkinson, Anc. Egypt. ii. 107). But there are other houses—though perhaps they are not very commonly to be met with—having only one court, of a far superior kind. Entering into the courtyard you see around you a number of little buildings, not deficient in convenience, and occasionally presenting a certain air of elegance—though frequently constructed on no regular plan. In these are found various little chambers, one piled upon the other, the half-roof of which always forms a terrace for walking, from which a little flight of steps or ladder leads to the dwelling-house, or to the upper terrace. This court is well paved; on one side doors lead to the apartments of the family, and on the other to those of the servants (Bremer, Travels in Holy Land, i. 175). Maundrell (in Early Travels, p. 488) describes the eastern courts in Damascus as very fine. In them, he tells us, you generally find a large square court, beautified with a number of fragrant trees and marble fountains, and compassed round with splendid apartments and divans. The divans are floored and adorned on the sides with a variety of inlaid marbles wrought in interlacing patterns. They are placed on all sides of the court, so that at one or other of them, shade or sunshine can always be enjoyed at pleasure. In the summer season, or when a large company is to be received, the court is usually sheltered from the heat and inclemencies of the weather by a curtain or awning, which, being expanded upon ropes from one wall to the other, may be folded or unfolded at pleasure (Shaw, Travels, i. 374, 375). To this Dr. Shaw supposes the psalmist to refer when he speaks of God as spreading out the heavens like a curtain, Ps. civ. 2. At the side of the court, opposite to the entrance, is placed the public reception-room, or guest-chamber, Lu. xxii. 11, open in front, and sup-



[339.] Part of the Court of a private house in Cairo. From a sketch by E. Falkener, Esq.

[1] 1, 2, 4, Bronze pivot hinges. 3, Basalt socket for pivot. The originals of figs. 1, 2, 3, were found in the granite sanctuary of the great temple at Karnak.

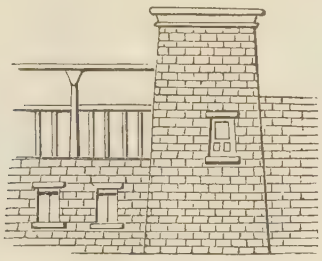
ported by a pillar, of which we shall give a more particular account in the sequel. When the house has a second or inner court, it is generally of a much larger size than the outer, and more richly decorated. In this case the private apartments of the master of the house are in the inner court, and here is also the hareem for the women and children, guarded jealously from all intrusion (Shaw, Trav. p. 207; Lane, Mod. Eg. i. 179, 207). The hareem however was not in use among the Jews. We find it referred to as belonging to the palace of Ahasuerus, Es. ii. 3; but we nowhere find allusion to it in strictly Jewish life. A considerable measure of the same freedom which women possess in Christian society was accorded to them among the Jews. In the inner court there is often a fountain of water; occasionally there are trees, very frequently two in number, such as the palm or cypress, the olive or pomegranate. In some houses these courts are laid out in beautiful gardens (Bremer's Travels in Holy Land, ii. 149, 241; Robinson's Res. i. 137, 138). In others they are handsomely paved. A verandah or covered gallery generally runs round the front of the house within the court. In the woodcut No. 340, we have a good illustration of the inner court of a Turkish house, which probably corresponds in its main features with the better houses of ancient Israel. The accounts of the eastern courts given by travellers illustrate many passages in Scripture. Thus the olive or the palm planted in the court, and carefully tended, represent the righteous planted in the house of the Lord, and flourishing in his courts, Ps. lii. 8; xcii. 13. As the court, crowded with its happy inmates, and beautifully kept, was the sign of national prosperity; so the court desolate and forsaken, where the thorns come up, and the nettles and brambles flourish, the habitation of jackals and owls, is the sign of national decay, Is. xxxiv. 13.

[340.] Court of a House in Damascus.—Bartlett's Views in Syria.

The Stairs of the house are generally a flight of steps or, in humble houses, a ladder leading from the court to the roof or terrace of the dwelling-house. When the house possesses one or more stories, they are continued from the gallery fronting on the court to the top of the house, whither they lead up through a door, that is constantly kept shut to prevent the domestic animals from daubing the terrace, and so injuring the water conducted thence into cisterns (Bremer's Trav. in Holy Land, i. 175; Shaw, Trav. i. 374-379). In large houses there are often two or more sets of steps from the court; but there is seldom more than one from the gallery to the roof. The stairs are frequently placed in the corner of the court, and sometimes at the entrance (Shaw, Travels, i. 374-379). They are usually of simple structure, and of stone or wood; but those mentioned in 1 Ki. vi. 8, and distinguished by a different name, seem to have been of a more complicated kind; probably these latter stairs were within, not outside of the building; but from the outer stairs, which are those commonly used, one can easily understand the facility with which Ehud could escape after he had killed Eglon, and how readily the bearers of the sick man could bring him to the roof of the dwelling-house, Ju. iii. 23; Mar. ii. 4. Wilkinson indeed thinks it probable that Eglon's summer parlour was an isolated house on the ground, such as were usual in ancient Egyptian dwellings, but the Hebrew (עֲלִיָּה) scarcely permits this view. In some mountain villages the stairs are entirely outside of the inclosure (Thomson's Land and Book, p. 43). We can also understand how public a place the top of the stairs must have been, and how suitable it would be for proclamations or addresses of a public nature addressed to those assembled in the courts below. Accordingly we find the Israelite captains placing Jehu on a kind of tribunal on the top of the stairs, and there proclaiming him king, 2 Ki. ix. 13.

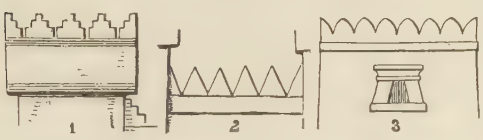
The Roof.—The roof of an eastern house is flat. It is so equally in Egypt, Arabia, Syria, Persia, and Africa (Richardson, Trav. in Sahara, ii. 154; Thomson, Land and Book, p. 39; Robinson, Res. i. 315; Wilkinson, Anc. Eg. ii. 119). But the flat roof of Egypt has peculiarities unknown in the houses of Palestine. It is sometimes supported by columns, sometimes by the mere walls. Within the roof is a large hole, to which is affixed the wooden mulguf, or wind-conductor (Wilkinson, An. Eg. ii. 119, 120). The materials of which the roof is formed are of different kinds. It is sometimes composed of boards or stone slabs (Thomson, p. 359; Buckingham, Trav. p. 170). A very usual kind of roof is constructed in the following manner: The beams or rafters are placed about three feet apart; across these short sticks are arranged close together, and covered with the thickly matted thorn bush called *bellan*. Over this is spread a coat of thick mortar, and then comes the marl or earth which covers the whole (Thomson, Land and Book, p. 359). A large stone roller is kept on the top of the house for the purpose of hardening and flattening the layer of earth, to prevent the rain from penetrating. Roofs however are often of a very inferior description to this. They are at times composed of the palm-leaf, and in other cases are made of cornstalks or brushwood, spread over with gravel (Robinson, Bib. Res. i. 243; ii. 279), or of reeds and heather

with a layer of beaten earth (Hartley, Researches in Greece, p. 240). The roofs of the great halls in Egypt are covered with flagstones of enormous size. Parapets are uniformly placed round the roof, for the purpose of



[341.] Ancient Egyptian House, having a terrace and roof supported by columns.—Wilkinson.

guarding against accident by falling (Wilkinson, Anc. Eg. ii. 122; Thomson's Land, &c. 39; Horne's Introd. to the Scriptures, iii. 388, part iv. ch. i. 7th ed.) The Jews, ere they entered Canaan, were strictly commanded never to build a house without the safeguard of the battlement, De. xxii. 8. The woodcut, No. 342, shows examples of

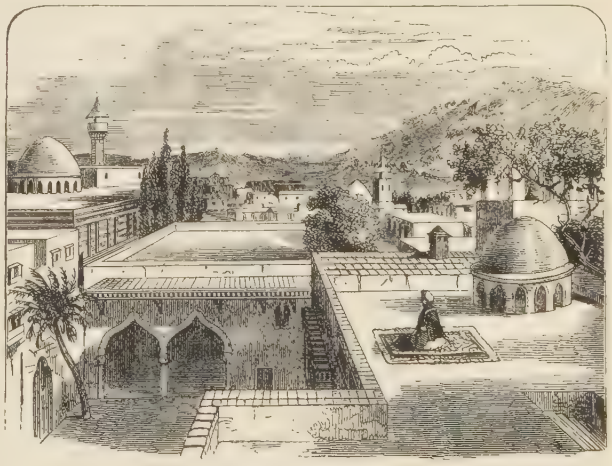


[342.] Ancient Battlements. 1, 2, Assyrian. 3, Egyptian.

Assyrian and Egyptian battlements, derived from the monuments.

The roof is one of the most important parts of an eastern house. Every kind of business and amusement at times proceeds upon it. Thither, after the business of the day is over, people retire from the filth and crowding so common in the narrow streets of an eastern town, to enjoy the cool of the evening, to refresh the eye with the view of the surrounding country, and to carry on, as it may happen, the most serious or the most frivolous occupations (Richardson's Travels, i. 154; Bremer's Travels, ii. 155). Here the worshipper says his evening prayer, and the mother sits with her children clustered round her for supper, or sporting in play. Here neighbours assemble to learn the news, and recline on carpets and mats in the delicious coolness of the evening. In the warmer season the roof is a favourite place of sleeping, and is eagerly sought after as such. Those who cannot obtain a place there, find themselves, even in the upper room, which is the coolest in the house, often plagued with heat and fleas, and look with envy through the lattices on the sleepers calmly reposing on the roof (Wilkinson's Anc. Eg. ii. 120; Robinson's Res. iii. 31-33). From the roof also proclamations are made. The public crier ascends the highest he can find access to, and lifts up his voice in a long-drawn call upon all to hear and to obey (Thomson's Land and Book, p. 42). Here corn is dried, fruit is prepared, linen is hung up (Thomson, p. 39; Shaw, p. 211).

Numerous passages in Scripture are illustrated and explained by the description of the roof in books of travel. We have Rahab hiding the spies beneath the stalks of flax laid on the roof to dry, Jos. ii. 6. We find the roof used as the place for confidential communing, 1 Sa. ix. 25. And on the occasion referred to it appears to have been used as a place for sleeping, for ver. 26 should probably be translated: "And it came to pass about the spring of the day that Samuel called Saul *on the roof* (where he was asleep), Up (*i.e.* rise from sleep), that I may send thee away" (Thomson's Land and Book, p. 39). On the roof of the upper chamber were the altars which the kings of Judah had made for idolatrous worship, 2 Ki. xxiii. 12, a practice referred to in other parts of Scripture, Je. xxxii. 29; Zep. i. 5. Here, in the times of national calamity, the people of the East withdrew to bewail their troubles, Is. xv. 3; Je. xlviii. 38; in times of danger to watch the approach of the enemy, Is. xxii. 1; or in anxious moments to descry the approach of the bearer of tidings, 2 Sa. xviii. 24, 33. Here also, as in the most public place, Absalom spread the tent for his father's concubines, to indicate the unalterable estrangement between himself and David, 2 Sa. xvi. 21, 22. From the house-top the disciples of Christ were to proclaim what was spoken to them in private, Mat. x. 27; Lu. xii. 3; and to it, as to a place retired from the bustle of the house, Peter went up at the sixth hour to pray, and there saw the vision from heaven which announced the abolition of the distinction between the Jew and Gentile, Ac. x. 9. The nature of the eastern roof readily explains the transaction referred to in Mar. ii. 4, Lu. v. 19. Several modes of explanation have appeared. Dr. Shaw supposes that the letting of the paralytic through the roof merely means that the people drew away the awning which is often drawn over eastern courts (Travels in Barbary, i. 382-384.) A more probable explanation is given by those who suppose that the bearers of the paralytic in their anxiety broke up the simple



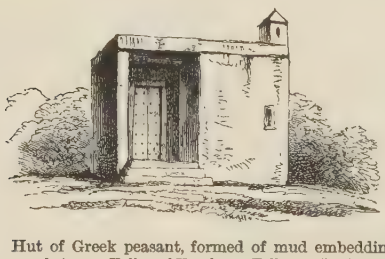
[343.] Flat-roofed Houses at Gaza.—Laborde.

materials of which the roof in question was composed, and through the aperture thus made let down the sick (Thomson, Land and Book, p. 359; Callaway, Oriental Observations p. 71; Hartley, Res. in Greece, p. 240; Neander's Life of Christ, p. 273). Josephus relates of Herod's soldiers breaking up the roofs of houses to get at their enemies (Ant. xiv. xv. 12). This explanation suits all the expressions of the

narrative, aptly displays the faith of the parties, and is quite suitable to the real nature of the eastern roof. The vast size of the roof of Dagon's temple may be inferred from the numbers who assembled on it to witness Samson's feats of strength, Ju. xvi. 27. The flat roof was of the greatest use at the time of the feast of tabernacles; on such roofs the people erected their booths, Ne. viii. 16. The earth of the roof would afford nourishment to grass seeds in the time of rain, while the returning drought and heat would wither the grass before it had time to ripen —a lively illustration of momentary prosperity followed by ruin, 2 Ki. xix. 26; Ps. cxxix. 6. The nature of the roof also afforded ready means for attack or escape, Joel ii. 9; Mat. xxiv. 17. Wilkinson represents a very small chamber in a corner of the tops of Egyptian houses, which he thinks may perhaps illustrate Pr. xxi. 9 (Ancient Egyptians, ii. 108).

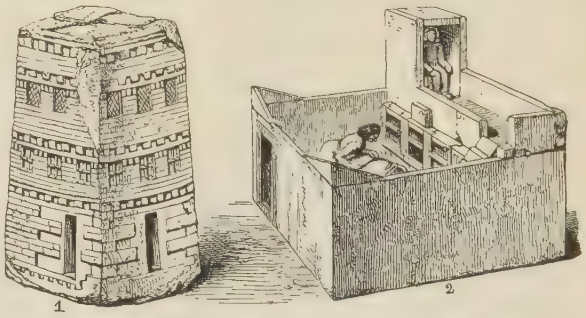
Some travellers have noticed a peculiarity in the roofs of Judea, which gives to its towns and villages a new and striking aspect: it is the erection of two or three small domes on the roof of each house. They serve for the purpose of giving a greater elevation to the room beneath them. Robinson did not notice them farther north than Nablous (Bib. Res. i. 315, 328; iii. 29, 96, 184). Bremer seems to describe huts on the roof of a different kind at Tiberias (Travels in Holy Land, p. 150). They are not referred to in Scripture, and are probably of comparatively modern date.

The *upper room*, or *chamber* (Gr. ὑπερῶον, Heb. עֲלִיָּה, *'alliyeh*), strictly so called, is a sort of loft on the top of the roof. It is often referred to in Scripture, more frequently indeed than would appear from our authorized version. This upper room, which is the most desirable part of the eastern house, is fitted up with greatest care, and as such is given to guests whom it is thought right to treat with peculiar distinction (Thomson's Land and Book, p. 160). It is often large and airy, and forms a kind of upper story upon the flat roof of the house. The favoured guests use it by day for



[344.] Hut of Greek peasant, formed of mud embedding sticks and straw. Valley of Xanthus.—Fellowes' Lycia.

all requisite purposes; and at night occupy it as their sleeping apartment, being, next to the open roof of the house, the coolest place. It has often many latticed windows, as well for the sake of the view, as for coolness; and it resembles a summer palace (Robinson, Researches, iii. 26, 32, 33, 417). Homer speaks of it as a place for prayer (Od. iv. 751). From the accounts of travellers there appears to be generally but one upper room to each house, and the poorer houses have none (Robinson, iii. 26, 32, 33; Wilkinson, An. Eg. ii. 108; Thomson's Land, &c. p. 160). The Assyrian sculptures represent most of the houses with flat roofs and an upper room (see engraving No. 335). In the woodcut No. 345, representing modern Egyptian houses, there is seen in one of them the master of the house sitting in the



[345.] Egyptian Houses.—From models in British Museum. 1, Model of three-storied house in calcareous stone. 2, House with upper chamber and courtyard, in painted wood.

upper room, while his wife is busy at work in the court below. The upper room is frequently referred to in Scripture; and always in a manner that accords with the accounts of modern travel. The guest-chamber, where our Lord partook of his last passover, is sometimes represented as being an upper room such as this, Mar. xiv. 15; Lu. xxii. 12; but that is incorrect, and has arisen from mistranslation, as will be more particularly noticed in connection with the *guest*-chamber. Usually in Scripture the upper chamber is spoken of as if there was but one, Ju. iii. 23; 1 Ki. xvii. 19; 2 Ki. iv. 11; Ac. ix. 39; xx. 8. In the larger houses, however, there were several such; the temple had many of them, 2 Ch. iii. 9; and rich luxurious men are charged with even sinfully multiplying chambers of this sort, Je. xxii. 13, 14 (Heb.) As spoken of by the prophet, they would seem to have been both large, and built for the purposes of comfort and luxury. We find accordingly frequent mention made of them in connection with kings, who appear to have used them as summer houses for their coolness, Ju. iii. 20; 2 Ki. i. 2; xxiii. 12. The summer house spoken of in Scripture was very seldom a separate building. The lower part of the house was the winter house; the upper room was the summer house. If they are on the same story, the outer apartment is the summer house, the inner is the winter house (Thomson's Land and Book, p. 309; Robinson's Res. iii. 417.) We find them allocated to the use of those prophets whom it was wished to honour particularly, 1 Ki. xvii. 19; 2 Ki. iv. 10; used also on account of their size and coolness as places for assembly, Ac. i. 13; xx. 8; and for the similar reasons the dead were laid out in them, Ac. ix. 39. There appears to have been an upper room over the gateways of towns, 2 Sa. xviii. 33; and on their roofs, as being the highest part of the house, idolatrous worship was paid to Baal, 2 Ki. xxiii. 12. In allusion to the loftiness of the upper room, the psalmist beautifully describes God as laying the beams of his *upper chambers* in the waters, and from thence watering the hills, Ps. civ. 3, 13 (Heb.)

Height of Buildings.—The houses in Joshua's time are thought to have been low, from no mention being made in Scripture of an upper story till a later time (Jahn and Ackermann, Archæology Bibl. sect. 33). Sometimes, indeed, the representation given of them conveys that impression; but they appear to have been of various heights, according to circumstances. Those

in the towns would seem to be generally high. The houses of Hebron are of that character (Rob. Rea. i. 315); so are those of Nablous, Sidon, and Beirout (Robinson's Res. iii. 96, 418, 438). Those on the eastern wall of Sidon, Robinson noticed as being of a remarkable height. At Ramleh he occupied a house of three stories (iii. 26). Thomson thinks the houses of Jerusalem, and of oriental cities in general, had not less than two or three stories each (Land and Book, p. 692). The houses in ancient Babylon had each three and four stories (Herodotus, lib. i. c. 180). Some Egyptian houses had so many as five, and usually one or two (Wilkinson, An. Eg. ii. 95-100). Shaw represents eastern houses as usually having one or two stories (Travels in Barbary, i. 374, 379;

[346.] Assyrian Houses of more than one story.—Kouyunjik.

Bremer's Travels, i. 191). The house where Paul preached in Troas had three stories Ac. xx. 9; and from the reference in Am. ix. 6, it would appear that several stories were in use in the prophet's time. Gesenius, however, thinks the word there used (מַעֲלוֹת, *maaloth*), equivalent to "upper rooms."

Rooms and Guest-chambers.—Houses having *different floors* had the principal rooms in the upper floor. Jowett, in his *Christian Researches in Syria* (p. 89-95), gives an account of the several uses of the different floors. The ground floor was used as a store; the first floor was for the daily use of the family; on the next floor all the expense and care was lavished. A very important apartment in the eastern house is *the guest-chamber* (κατάλυμα), Mar. xiv. 14; Lu. xxii. 11. From the use of the article it is plain that each house of any pretensions in Jerusalem had a guest-chamber. In classical usage the word designates an inn, Lu. ii. 7. The Septuagint makes it equivalent to the Hebrew לִשְׁכָּה (*lishkoh*), 1 Sa. ix. 22, where Samuel received his guests to dinner. Gesenius is doubtful of the etymology of this word; but Fuerst derives it from לָשַׁךְ, "to recline or lie down." The guest-chamber is a room opposite the entrance into the court, where all visitors are received by the master of the house. It is often open in front, and supported in the centre by a pillar. It is generally on the ground floor, but raised above the level. Such would appear to have been the guest-chamber where our Lord ate his last passover, Mar. xiv. 15, ἀνάγαιον. This evidently signifies, not the "upper room," but a ground room elevated above the floor. Before entering, the guests take off their shoes; so our Lord is thought to have had his feet naked when the woman washed them, Lu. vii. 38. There are seldom any special bed-rooms in eastern houses. A low divan, raised round the sides of the room, serves for seats by day; and on it they place their beds by night; see woodcut No. 112, p. 199 (Robinson, Res. i. 134, 242; iii. 32; Bremer, ii. 126; Shaw, Travels in Barbary, i. p. 374-379; Buckingham's Travels, p. 170). There seems, however, to be no doubt, that at least in great houses in Palestine there were rooms set apart as bed-rooms, 2 Ki. xi. 2; Ec. x. 20; 2 Sa. iv. 5. In Egypt there were such, Ge. xlii. 30; Ex. viii. 3; and in Syria, 2 Ki. vi. 12. The ground floor of the outer court is occupied by the apartments of the servants. Where there is an inner court, the kitchen is always attached to it, as are also the female servants that labour in it. In the earliest times there seems to have been no place appropriated as a kitchen, the cooking being carried on in the common apartment, 2 Sa. xiii. 8. The earliest mention of a kitchen is in Eze. xlvi. 23, 24, and that in connection with the temple. There are seldom fireplaces in eastern houses, except in the kitchen; and consequently there are few chimneys. Charcoal is frequently used in a chafing-dish; and a fire is sometimes kindled in an open court, Lu. xxii. 55. The mode of heating the room in winter is described in Je. xxxvi. 22; which may be thus translated, "There was *the* fire-pan (or brazier) burning strongly before him" (Gesenius). Hosea compares the dispersion of sinners to that of smoke when it issues from the chimney, Ho. xiii. 3.

Cellars frequently are made under the raised platform of the ground floor for storage (Russell, i. 32). In most villages there are subterranean magazines for grain (Robinson's Res. iii. 56). Under the temple were very extensive vaults (Robinson's Res. i. 452.) The underground magazine may be referred to in Lu. xii. 24. In some houses the granary was on the ground floor, 2 Sa. iv. 6; and in others it was in separate offices, Lu. xii. 18.

The Cistern was a most important feature in the houses of Palestine (Stanley's Sinai and Palestine, p. 514). Where the wells were few and bad—where the towns were frequently built on hills, and so could not depend upon streams for their supply—and when these, even if near, could be diverted by an enemy—the cistern was of the utmost consequence. Accordingly, the greatest attention is, and always has been, paid to this source of supply. There is scarcely a house in Jerusalem which has not one or more of these excavated in the soft limestone rock on which the city is built. Some houses have four. They vary from 8 to 30 feet in length; from 4 to 30 in breadth; from 12 to 20 in depth (Robinson's Res. i. 480; Buckingham's Travels, p. 99). Into these the water is conducted from the roof in the rainy season, and with proper care remains sweet during the whole summer and autumn (Robinson's Res. i. 481). Robinson remarks that most of these are very ancient (Ibid. 482). The immense supply of cistern water accords with Strabo's description of Jerusalem, "within well watered, without wholly dry" (xvi. 2, 40), and explains the fact, that while besiegers of Jerusalem suffered from scarcity of water, its inhabitants never did during the longest sieges. Stanley accounts for this by a spring beneath the temple (Sinai and Palestine, p. 180); see woodcut No. 174, p. 336. Similar cisterns are found throughout all the hill country of Judah and Benjamin (Robinson's Res. i. 481). The antiquity which Robinson remarked in the cisterns of Judea agrees remarkably with Ne. ix. 25, where we read that Israel took possession of a land already full of "cisterns cut or hewn;"

for so it should be, and not "wells digged." From 2 Ki. xviii. 31, we also infer that every house in Jerusalem had at that time its cistern, just as Robinson remarks is the case now; and the making of cisterns was a work worthy of a king, 2 Ch. xxvi. 10. The cistern affords some beautiful allusions in Scripture. Israel's dependence on false gods is compared to the dependence on a broken cistern, Je. ii. 13; the broken wheel, unable to draw up the water of the cistern, is compared to the decay of life, Ec. xii. 6; and the blessedness of conjugal fidelity, to that of him who draws water from his own cistern, Pr. v. 15.

The Foundation of the more important eastern houses is attended to with great care. In 1 Ki. v. 17, we read of "great stones" brought to lay the foundation of the temple; and the accounts of travellers fully bear out this (Robinson, Res. i. 423). The stones are so great that we wonder how they could be brought. This is even more remarkable in the accounts of the enormous stones used by Solomon at Baalbec. We are told in fact of one stone fourteen by seventeen, and sixty-nine feet long (Thomson's Land and Book, p. 234, 235). A like care is usual to this day throughout the country. They commonly dig till they reach the solid rock—sometimes to a depth of thirty feet (Robinson, iii. 192). From this they build up arches to the surface; and though we do not find any account of the arch in Scripture—for the word translated "arches" in Eze. xl. 16, has probably no reference to this feature of architecture (Gesenius)—yet it is now allowed that the arch was known in very ancient times in Babylon, Syria, and Egypt (Wilkinson's An. Eg. ii. 117, 135; Thomson's Land and Book, 691; Robinson's Res. i. 428; Josephus, Ant, xiv. iv. 2; J. W. i. vii. 2; ii. xvi. 3; Townsend's Manual of Dates). Scripture perpetually refers to the foundation as an image of important truths and lessons. Frail man is compared to a foundation in dust, Job iv. 19; the wise man, to him who digs to the rock, Lu. vi. 48; the good minister, to him who builds on the true foundation—Jesus Christ, 1 Co. iii. 10; Jesus is the stone that is the sure foundation, Is. xxviii. 16. See also Ps. cii. 25; Pr. x. 25; He. vi. 1.

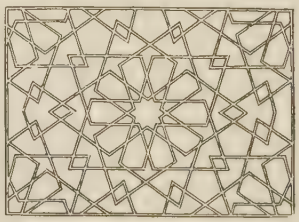
The Corner-stone was also an important part of the building (Robinson, Res. i. 423); and furnishes Scripture illustrations, especially in the comparison of Christ as the corner-stone of his church, Ps. cxviii. 22; 2 Pe. ii. 6. The corner-stone was of large dimensions, and placed at the junction of two walls to form a bond between them. Obviously there must have been many corner-stones in every building; but the principal one, and that chiefly alluded to in Scripture illustrations, would seem to be that which formed the junction of the walls at their uppermost corner.

The Windows of the eastern house have no glass; but have instead a lattice with small perforations, which afford shade from the sun and fresh air through its openings. The apertures of the windows in Egyptian and eastern houses generally are small, in order to exclude heat (Wilkinson, An. Eg. ii. 124). They are closed with folding valves, secured with a bolt or bar. The windows often project considerably beyond the lower part of the building, so as to overhang the street. The windows of the courts within also project (Jowett, Christian Res. p. 66, 67). The lattice is generally kept closed; but can be opened at pleasure, and is opened on great public occasions (Lane, Mod. Egypt. i. 27). Those within can look through the lattices, without opening them, or being seen themselves; and in some rooms, especially the large upper room, there are several windows. From the allusions in Scripture we gather, that while there was usually but one window in each room, in which invariably there was a lattice—

[347.] Latticed Windows, Ben el Kasreyn, Cairo.—Hay's Cairo.

Ju. v. 28, where "a window" is in Heb. "*the* window;" Jos. ii. 15; 2 Sa. vi. 16, in Heb. "*the* window;" 2 Ki. ix. 30, do.; Ac. xx. 9, do.—there were sometimes several windows, 2 Ki. xiii. 17. The room here spoken of was probably such an upper room as Robinson describes above with many windows (iii. 417). Daniel's room had several windows; and his lattices were opened when his enemies found him in prayer, Da. vi. 10. The projecting nature of the window, and the fact that a divan or raised seat encircles the interior of each, so that usually persons sitting in the window are seated close to the aperture, easily explains how Ahaziah may have fallen through the lattice of his upper chamber, and Eutychus from his window seat, especially if the lattices were open at the time, 2 Ki. i. 2; Ac. xx. 9 (Jowett, Christian Res. p. 66, 67).

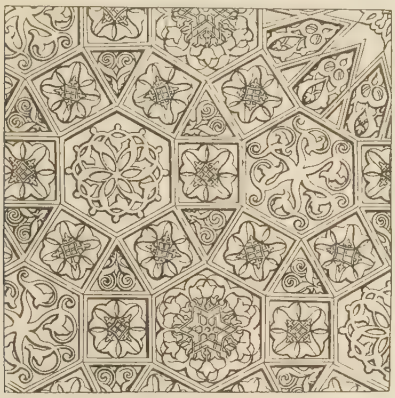
The Ceilings of the principal apartments in eastern houses are the parts on the adorning of which the chief



[348.] Part of Ceiling of modern Egyptian House.—Lane.

care is expended. In the houses of the wealthy these are much enriched by tasteful patterns, generally of an

interlacing character, and often painted in brilliant colours, red, blue, gold, and green being the favourites (Shaw, Travels in Barbary, i 347-379; Lane, i. 18.) Wilkinson gives us representations of the various patterns, and



[349.] Ceiling of Palace at Konieh (one-fourth of pattern). Texier, Description de l'Asie Mineure.

gorgeous colours of the ceilings, of ancient Egyptian houses (Anc. Egypt. ii. 125); and Scripture indicates that similar care was bestowed on these parts among the Jews, Je. xxii. 14; Hag. i. 4.

The Pillar formed often a main feature in the construction of eastern houses. Before the Greeks had brought the pillar to its ideal perfection, the Egyptians had imparted to it very considerable beauty (Wilkinson, Anc. Egypt. iii. 309, 310). The pillar is frequently used to hold up the open front of the reception-room. Seven pillars appear to have been in great houses, Pr. ix. 1. The architecture of Dagon's house, principally supported on two middle pillars, has greatly perplexed commentators to explain, Ju. xvi. 29. Shaw (p. 211) gives his view of its construction. It is quite plain that while the two middle pillars were the main support, there were other, and probably many outer pillars. Like the Dey's house at Algiers, and others of a similar kind which he saw, Dr. Shaw supposes it to have been made in the fashion of a pent-house, supported by one or two contiguous pillars, or else in the centre, the pulling down of which would have the same effect as in the case of the Philistines.

The Furniture in ancient eastern houses was usually very simple, and is still so as compared with the houses of Europe (Horne, Introd. iii. 390, 4th ed.) Wilkinson gives us representations of the different articles of Egyptian furniture (Anc. Egypt. ii. 197, 203). And though we have no exact information respecting the furniture of houses in Palestine, yet, from the variety which appears to have existed in Egypt of stools, chairs, couches, and tables, and the taste displayed in their construction, there may have been among the wealthier classes in Palestine an approach in this respect to modern luxury. But there could not be many of this description.

The Materials of which houses are built are very various. A great many of the houses and villages of Judea are wholly built of mud, in which no lime has been mixed. Habitations of this kind are very ephemeral in their nature, and when deserted for any time by their inhabitants quickly melt away beneath the action of the elements, as Job describes, Job xv. 28, and become undistinguished heaps. Houses of this nature were readily dug through, Job iv. 19; xxiv. 16. It is to walls of such a kind, some think, that God compares a people whose religious teaching has been of a delusive nature. As the wall subjected to the action of the rains and snows and winds of winter suddenly gives way, so do the hopes and faith built upon false doctrine give way in the day of reckoning, Eze. xiii. 10–16 (Robinson, Res. i. 375; Thomson, Land and Book, 391). Houses, however, are very commonly built of stone in Judea (Robinson, Res. i. 315; iii. 27, 96, 139, 250). Limestone abounds in its mountains. A great variety of stone and marble of different colours, among which are supposed to have been porphyry and granite brought from Arabia, were collected by David for the construction of the temple, 1 Ch. xxix. 2. The chalk stones which are spoken of by Isaiah, ch. xxvii. 9, are thought by Gesenius to have been the lime of the country. Brick also was used, though not nearly so much as in Chaldea and Egypt, Na. iii. 14; Je. xliii. 9. We read of David's making the captive Ammonites pass through a brick-kiln, but this would seem to have been in the country of Ammon, 2 Sa. xii. 31. The ancient Egyptian bricks were made of clay, mud, and straw, kneaded together, and baked in the sun. The bricks of Chaldea and other places, when baked in the kiln, possessed almost the hardness and duration of the best stone. Though bricks are not mentioned as being in use among the Jews in Palestine, it is thought that to some extent they were (Wilkinson, Anc. Egypt. i. 50; ii. 96; Pliny, Nat. Hist. b. xxxv. ch. 50). None of the houses of Palestine are built of wood, nor is there any indication in Scripture of their ever having been so. Wood was too scarce a material in that country to be used for such a purpose, especially where there existed an abundance of other materials more easily worked, or more suitable for building. For parts of the house however the Jews used a variety of timber, of which the following are the principal kinds:—Cedar, Ca. i. 17; Je. xxii. 14, &c.; sycamore, Is. ix. 10; olive, 1 Ki. vi. 31-33; fir, 1 Ki. vi. 34. As to the mortar employed, there are apparently several expressions used to denote it: *seed, geer, khoumer, ophor, tophail,* De. xxvii. 2; Is. xxvii. 9; xli. 25; Le. xiv. 42; Eze. xiii. 10. This variety of expression probably arises from the various substances of which mortar was made, and from the different manner in which it was prepared. Some mortar or plaster was made of lime, other of mud or earth. The first was probably used in all houses of a better kind, the latter in the habitations of the poor. This leads us to remark a peculiar propriety in the term used (*ophor*) in Le. xiv. 42. Leprosy would most frequently appear in the houses of the poor, and accordingly the command here is to plaster the walls of the infected houses with the mortar made of mud, which *ophor* certainly is (Fuerst, Gesenius). Of course this would not prevent the use of any better kind of mortar if desired. The mortar spoken of in Ezekiel (*tophail,* translated "untempered mortar") was probably of lime, but not properly prepared (Gesenius). Considerable question has been raised as to the use of iron in ancient times: it is mentioned in Scripture as used, Nu. xxxv. 16; De. viii. 9. It was worked in the time before the flood, Ge. iv. 22, and it is not likely that its use was ever wholly lost. Wilkinson argues its use in Egypt in the early Pharaonic age, and that two kinds of it were known to the Jews (Anc. Egypt. iii. 243-247). On the erection of a house it was the custom to dedicate it, De. xx. 5, a custom also in use in Egypt (Wilkinson, Ancient Egypt. ii. 124; Horne, Int. iii. 390).

The Population of eastern houses is very dense, much

greater than is usual among Europeans. Several causes give rise to this (Robinson, Res. iii. 32; Horne, Int. iii. 386; Bremer, Travels, i. 175). In the poorer houses men and cattle dwell together (Buckingham's Travels, p. 40 and 34; Irby and Mangles, ch. iv. Nov. 19; Buckingham's Arab Tribes, p. 170). Of this custom, even in houses of a superior kind, we find notices in Scripture, Ge. xxiv. 32; 1 Sa. xxviii. 24. Of the assemblage of houses in an eastern city we have now in the accounts of travellers abundant information. Lofty houses overhanging long, narrow, winding, dirty streets, or shooting up on the town walls; streets frequently so close that they almost meet overhead at their projecting windows; dark covered bazaars, and a thronging population through the thoroughfares, are the general characteristics of an oriental city, to which Jerusalem is no exception (Thomson, Land and Book, p. 692; Bremer, Travels, i. 170, 176; ii. 170; Robinson, Res. i. 34, 315; iii. 418).

[The edition of Wilkinson's *Ancient Egyptians* used in this article is the second; London, Murray, 1842. The edition of Robinson is that by Murray; London, 1841. Stanley's *Sinai and Palestine*, 12th thousand, 1862.] [H. C.]

HUL'DAH [meaning uncertain], a prophetess who lived in Jerusalem in the earlier part of Josiah's reign, and the wife of one Shallum—of whom nothing is known. She is spoken of as residing in the *mishneh*, which is rendered *college* in the English Bible, 2 Ki. xxii. 14; but this certainly conveys a wrong impression of the original. The word properly means the *second;* and it depends upon the connection, in what respect, or on what account, the term is to be understood. But there seems no reason for departing from the only ascertained sense; the place of Huldah's residence was on some ground or another designated the second; but on what ground we are not told. The supposition of some, that it was the second quarter of the city is probable (*see* COLLEGE); but in the uncertainty which exists, it is best, perhaps, to retain the word as a proper name, which was done even by the Septuagint translators: "She dwelt in Jerusalem in the Mishneh." How Huldah had given evidence of possessing prophetical gifts, we are not informed, but the fact seems to have been generally known; for on the discovery of the book of the law, when Josiah ordered that inquiry should be made at one qualified to direct in such circumstances, the parties sent repaired to Huldah—not certainly because she was the only person then in the land who had the gift of prophecy (for Jeremiah and others then lived), but probably because she dwelt close at hand, while they were at some distance, and were as yet perhaps little known. The response given by Huldah was such as became a true prophet, and perfectly suited to the occasion: she assured the messengers of the king that the wrath written in the book of the law would certainly come down on the people of Judah, on account of the many sins and iniquities which defiled the land, but that from regard to the tenderness of heart and fear of God which had been manifested by the king, the judgments should not be inflicted in his day. The word proved both a solace to Josiah, and an encouragement for him to proceed with the reformation of abuses, 2 Ki. xxii.

HUR [*hole*]. 1. A person evidently of some note in the camp of Israel, as he was chosen along with Aaron to hold up the hands of Moses during the war with Amalek, Ex. xvii. 10-12. He is again mentioned in connection with Aaron, and as having a joint share in the oversight of the people during the period of Moses' absence on Mount Sinai, Ex. xxiv. 14. No further notice is taken of him; but the apparent intimacy of his relation to Moses and Aaron probably gave rise to the tradition that he was the husband of Miriam, and which is stated in Josephus as a fact (Ant. iii. 3, 4). The same authority reports him to have been the Hur who was the grandfather of Bezaleel (Ant. iii. 2, 1); which is quite probable, though, in the absence of any specific intimation of Scripture, we cannot hold it for certain. 2. One of the five kings of Midian slain at the close of the sojourn in the wilderness bore the name of Hur; kings in this case being equal to princes or leaders, Nu. xxxi. 8; Jos. xiii. 21. 3. Two others are mentioned in later times of the name of Hur, but without any particular marks of distinction, 1 Ki. iv. 8; Ne. iii. 9.

HURAM, another form of HIRAM.

HU'SHAI [*hasting*], denominated the Archite, a friend and counsellor of David, 2 Sa. xvii. xviii. He was probably called the Archite from belonging to the town of Archi, mentioned only in Jos. xvi. 2, as among the places belonging to the children of Joseph. All that is known of him respects the part he acted in the rebellion of Absalom—in which we have more reason to admire the adroitness he displayed in the cause of David, and the effectual service he rendered, than to approve the course he took in order to carry his object. His first intention was to accompany David into exile; but on David's suggesting that he might turn his fidelity and skill to more account by remaining behind, and endeavouring to defeat the counsel of Ahithophel, he followed the advice, and resolved to play the part of a professed friend, though real enemy of Absalom. If deceit in all cases is to be condemned, and a good end is never to be promoted by bad means—which Scripture and conscience alike teach—then neither David nor Hushai can be justified in this course: the circumstances of the time, so full of falsehood and treachery, may go far to palliate it, but they cannot rescue it from the condemnation which justly rests upon the policy of doing evil that good may come. As matters turned out, Hushai undoubtedly served the cause of David well; he did prevail to overthrow the counsel of Ahithophel, who in consequence hanged himself; and so secured breathing time for David, that he might have time to rally his forces, and concert his measures aright for the decisive action. Still, with a little more faith and patience on the part of David and his friends, such a crooked policy might have been dispensed with; God, in that case, would have found some other method for overthrowing the plans of the adversaries, and one that we should have had more pleasure in associating with the name and the cause of David. But viewed in respect to Absalom and his party, one can easily see why it may have been permitted. By falsehood and treachery they expected to succeed in their guilty plot, and by falsehood and treachery they were defeated of their aim. Their own measure was meted back to them.

HUSK. In the most touching of all parables we are told that, when reduced to the deepest distress, the prodigal would fain have pacified his hunger with "the husks (*κεράτια*) which the swine did eat," Lu. xv. 16. Regarding these *keratia* there is no dispute. It is on all hands agreed that they were the horn-like pods of the *Ceratonia siliqua*, or carob-tree, which grows abundantly along the shores of the Levant and in Northern Africa. With its pinnated leaf and papi-

lionaceous blossom, the carob is a handsome evergreen tree, attaining a height of from twenty to thirty feet, and projecting a grateful shadow. In Malta, where it grows in perfection, Lady Callcott describes its "dark green shade" as forming "a curious contrast with the white buildings, and the equally white tufa of which the island is composed. The effect of this contrast is most remarkable by moonlight. Then, seen with its terraced gardens, flat-roofed houses, and long lines of fortification, Malta might be taken for an island of the dead. No sound is heard but the murmurs of the waves, as they wash the rocks, or a stilly breeze scarcely stirring the dark carob-trees, which seem like funereal plumes waving over the tombs below" (Scripture Herbal, p. 252). The fruit is a large flat pod, brown and glossy, bent like a sickle or sheep's horn, and so suggesting the name by which it was known in Greece. The bean

[350.] Carob-tree—*Ceratonia siliqua.*

contained in this pod is very small, and it is said to be the original of the *carat*, or weight used by jewellers in weighing precious stones and pearls. But apart from these beans, the pod is full of a somewhat solid pulp, so saccharine that it is constantly compared to honey. "It is so nutritious that the children of the poor live entirely on it during the season, requiring no other food; for it contains all the necessary elements for the support of life—starch, sugar, oil, &c.; in proper proportion. I found it when new rather too sweet to suit my taste; but children seem to enjoy it, and they thrive on it, eating the shell as well as the seeds. When the fruit is stored it becomes somewhat dry, and less sweet; but on being soaked in honey, it is like new fruit. The Arabs all like sweet food, and of many a man of Judea and Galilee, as well as of John the Baptist, it might be said, 'His meat,' for a season, 'was locusts and wild honey'" (Miss Roger's Domestic Life in Palestine, p. 78). Some pods which we have had in our possession many years still retain their sweetness, but in this desiccated state they have a very *husky* character, and we should think would not be prized except by the poorest of the people. On the other hand, both when newly gathered and when kept for a length of time, they are a chief food of cattle in the countries where they grow. During the peninsular war, "Algaroba" or carob beans formed the chief food of the British cavalry horses, and in Barbary they are given to mules and asses, who prefer them to oats (Burnett's Bot. sec. 2195). The pagan and pork-eating neighbours of the Jews would no doubt give the carobs to their swine; but amongst them, as well as the Romans, it must have been deemed a sign of poverty when people were driven to subsist upon them:

"Vivit siliquis et pane secundo."

It was long debated whether the ἀκρίδες ["*locusts*" *in the authorized version*], on which John the Baptist partly subsisted, were the fruit of this tree, or the well-known insect the locust; and although it is now generally agreed among the learned that the ἀκρίδες of the evangelists can only mean locusts properly so called, the popular impression of the East still gives it in favour of the carob, which is frequently called St. John's bread. [J. H.]

HUZ'ZAB appears in the English Bible as the name of a queen of Nineveh, Na. ii. 7. And so certain authorities, both Jewish and Christian, have held. But it is not a probable opinion; as it is against the usage to bring into a prophetical description the name of any one, especially of a woman, otherwise unknown. It is better, therefore, to take the word as a participle, and to render perhaps, with Gesenius, who joins it to the preceding clause, thus: "the palace shall be dissolved and melt away." But the passage is certainly obscure.

HYMENE'US, or more correctly HYMENÆUS, a heretical teacher in the church of Ephesus. He is mentioned by the apostle first, more generally, as, along with Alexander, losing a good conscience, and in consequence making shipwreck of faith, 1 Ti. i. 20; and again more particularly, as, along with Philetus, giving vent to profane and vain babblings, and erring in respect to the faith, by saying that the resurrection is past already, 2 Ti. ii. 16-18. There is no reason to doubt that it is the same person who is referred to in both these passages under the name of Hymenæus. And though the description is very brief respecting his errors, yet the probability is, that he belonged to the class who in the early church gave way to the Gnostic tendency, as to the inherent evil of matter, and held that the only resurrection which should be looked for was the change that passed over the spiritual part of our natures. A tendency in this direction prevailed very extensively in the first ages of the gospel, and gave rise to many of the corruptions which followed; and it became the apostle to denounce it with earnestness from the first. In the former of the two passages referred to above, the apostle speaks of having delivered the parties over to Satan, that they might learn not to blaspheme; that is, he had solemnly cast them out of the visible church, the proper sphere of the Spirit's agency, and sent them back to the world, the proper sphere of Satan's, with the design possibly of suffering special inflictions of evil from this adverse power. (*See* SATAN.) But it was still, if rightly viewed, for good—for correction and reproof in righteousness, not for final rejection. But whether it proved in reality so or not, we are not informed.

HYSSOP [אֵזוֹב, *'esobh*; ὕσσωπος]. Until very lately, although there might be some uncertainty as to the particular plant which bears this name in the Hebrew Bible, in the Septuagint, and in the New Testament, it was generally agreed that it must be a member of the labiate family. To this extensive but inconspicuous order, so named from its tubular *lipped* corolla, belong plants like thyme, lavender, rosemary, mint, sage, &c., many of them remarkable for their agreeable perfume, all of them harmless, and some of them noted for their healing properties. The hyssop "that springeth out of the wall," 1 Ki. iv 33, would be very well represented by the *Hyssopus officinalis*, which besides, with its numerous small, pointed, downy leaves, is admirably adapted for sprinkling. Maimonides, however, and those who follow Jewish tradition, say that the hyssop of the Bible is an origanum (or marjoram), of common occurrence in the desert of Sinai, and with a strong straight stalk, downy leaves, and white blossoms, growing freely on stony soil, dust-hills, and similar places (Kalisch on Ex. xii. 22).

But for the last few years there has been a general acquiescence in the conclusion arrived at by Dr. Forbes

[351.] Caper plant—*Capparis spinosa.*

Royle. Finding that *aszef* or *asuf* [or *lasaf*] is one of the names given by the Arabs to the caper-plant (*Capparis spinosa*), it struck him that this might be identical with the esobh or esof of Scripture, and in a very elaborate memoir, inserted in the eighth volume of the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, he has brought together a great mass of ingenious evidence in support of this conclusion. Besides the apparent identity of name, the arguments in favour of the caper may be reduced to these three: 1. It occurs in Egypt, in the desert of Sinai, and in Palestine. 2. By the ancients cleansing or healing properties were ascribed to it. 3. Its trailing stem would easily furnish a rod sufficiently long to convey to the lips of the dying Redeemer the restorative mentioned, Jn. xix. 29. To these the learned author might have added, that its sprawling creeping habit, so like the bramble, makes the caper a very good antithesis to the cedar: "Solomon spake of trees from the cedar to the esobh;" suggesting a similar contrast in Jotham's parable: "Let fire come out of the bramble, and devour the cedars of Lebanon," Ju. ix. 15.

At the same time, after carefully pondering the arguments of this able botanist, we own that we are by no means satisfied. It is true that with its bright green foliage the caper plant springs from the rocky clefts in the desert, and, its thorns notwithstanding, it might suit tolerably well for a sprinkler. But would not a fragrant plant answer the purpose still better? and one, like the origanum, also a native of the same regions, which with its straight twigs could readily be formed into a "bunch," Ex. xii. 22; and the slightly villous leaves of which are excellently adapted for both taking up and freely scattering a fluid? Nor do we attach much importance to the healing or cleansing properties which Pliny ascribes to the caper. When he recommends it as a remedy for morphew ("vitiligines albæ"), spleen, and glandular swellings, he never dreams that patients were to be cured by drops of blood or water shaken over them from a caper-sprig. The root is to be made into a decoction, and drunk; or the leaves and roots are to be pounded, and made into a cataplasm (Plinii Nat. Hist. xx. 59). And even if any supposed virtues of the plant had aught to do with its selection for a purpose purely ceremonial or symbolic, it would be easy to make out a still stronger case for the mints, sages, and hyssops which still retain a chief place in popular pharmacy, and which command a large sale in the shops of English herbalists and continental apothecaries. As for the difficulty founded on Jn. xix. 29: other evangelists mention that the sponge was affixed to a reed (καλάμῳ), Mat. xxvii. 48; Mar xv. 36. As Rosenmüller says, "The plain reason why the soldiers presented to the Redeemer a sponge dipped into vinegar, along with some hyssop, seems to be this, that sucking the vinegar from the sponge was to quench the thirst of which he complained, and the aromatic scent of the hyssop was to refresh and to strengthen him" (Biblical Botany, iv. 2); and the sponge with the hyssop around it was affixed to a cane or reed—not a caper-stalk, but a calamus. If we accept the statement of Gesenius, there need be no difficulty: "Under this name ['esobh] the Hebrews appear to have comprised, not only the common hyssop of the shops, but also other aromatic plants, especially mint, wild marjoram, etc." If so, whether in the desert or at Jerusalem, it would at all times be possible to procure the suitable herb from which to make a sprinkler. From its being associated, Le. xiv. 4, 6, 51; Nu. xix. 18, with the fragrant cedar-wood, there is an additional presumption in favour of its being some sweet-scented plant like the hyssop of the Greeks and the origanum of Jewish tradition. [J. H.]

I.

IB'LEAM, the name of a town in the tribe of Manasseh, which must at an early period have been of some importance, as it is mentioned "with its towns," or villages, Ju. i. 27. It was near this that Ahaziah received his mortal wound from the party of Jehu, 2 Ki. ix. 27; but nothing further is known of it, nor has its precise position been identified by modern research.

IB'ZAN, a word of uncertain meaning, and found only as the name of one of the judges of Israel, the tenth in order, Ju. xii. 8-10. He is merely said to have been of Bethlehem, to have judged for seven years, and to have had thirty sons and as many daughters, for all of whom he took wives and husbands. It is but natural to infer that his period of rule was not distinguished by remarkable exploits of a higher kind.

ICH'ABOD [*where is the glory? i.e.* it is gone] the son of Phinehas and grandson of Eli, no further distinguished than as having been born at the time when the Philistines gained one of their most memorable victories over Israel, in consequence of which the ark of the Lord fell into the hands of the enemy. This calamity, more even than the news of her husband's death, fell like a thunder-bolt on the afflicted mother, and broke her heart. In her last moments she gave the name of Ichabod to her child, in commemoration of the disasters which had befallen her house and country, 1 Sa. iv. 19-22.

ICO'NIUM, a town in Asia Minor, about 20 miles south of Laodicea, and as far north of Lystra. It was visited by the apostle Paul, both in his first and in his

[352.] Iconium (Konieh).—Laborde, Voyage en Orient.

second missionary tour through Asia Minor, Ac. xiv. 1-5; xv. 36, 41. In the evangelical narrative it is not expressly assigned to any particular province; but it is mentioned so as to indicate that it must have been either in Lycaonia, or somewhere on its borders; for Paul and his companions are reported to have gone, when driven out of Iconium, "to Lystra and Derbe, cities of Lycaonia." Of heathen writers, Xenophon connected it with Phrygia (Anab. i. 2); while by Pliny, Strabo, and others, it is placed in Lycaonia. In Pliny's time it was the centre of a district, or tetrarchy, which comprised fourteen towns. It must therefore have been a place of considerable importance, and possessed a pretty large population. Such also is the impression conveyed by the account given in Ac. xiv. 1–5, which makes mention of "a great multitude both of Jews and Greeks" receiving the word of Paul. The situation of the town, which is near the foot of Mount Taurus, at the extremity of a vast plain, with a lake in the centre, and well supplied with water, rendered it capable of supporting such a population. And partly on this account, perhaps, it is one of the few towns in that region which still continue to exist, and exhibit some proofs of their ancient greatness. The modern name of the town is *Konieh*, and the population is estimated at 30,000. It is surrounded with lofty and massive walls; which, however, were built in mediæval times, by the sultans of the Seljukan Turks, who resided at Iconium, and made it for a considerable period the seat of government. Many pieces of sculpture, and tablets with inscriptions, belonging to the more ancient city, have been built into the walls, and are distinctly seen. Carpets are manufactured in the place; and from it, as the centre of a rich agricultural district, cotton, hides, leather, flax, and various kinds of grain and fruit are sent to Smyrna. It is also the residence of a pasha.

ID'DO [*timely*], the name, 1. of a prophet of Judah, who lived about the period of its commencement as a separate kingdom, and who is identified by Josephus with the prophet who went to Bethel to denounce the sin of Jeroboam, and was afterwards slain by a lion on his return (Jos. Ant. viii. 9, 1). This cannot, however, be reckoned very probable, from the one notice that is preserved of Iddo in Scripture; it is said that "the rest of the acts of Abijah (Rehoboam's son), and his ways, and his sayings, are written in the story (*midrash*, account) of the prophet Iddo," 2 Ch. xiv. 22. Living, as he thus appears to have done, to the close of Abijah's reign, he could scarcely have been the man who reproved Jeroboam's idolatry and immediately thereafter

died; for that event seems to have taken place at a considerably earlier period.

2. IDDO. The grandfather of the prophet Zechariah also bore the name of Iddo, Zec. i. 1; Ezr. v. 1; but nothing more is known of him.

3. IDDO. An Iddo of the same period as the preceding appears as the head of the Nethinim, settled at Casiphia, a place somewhere in Babylonia, to whom Ezra sent a message, when on the eve of returning to Judea, praying that he and his brethren would accompany them; of these no fewer than 250 responded to the invitation, Ezr. viii. 17-20.

4. IDDO. A chief of the half tribe of Manasseh beyond the Jordan, 1 Ch. xxvii. 21; but the name is not precisely the same in Hebrew, having for its commencing letter *iod* not *ain* (יִדְּנִי), and meaning *lovely*.

IDOLS, IDOLATRY. The references to idolatry in Scripture, especially in the scriptures of the Old Testament, are of great number and variety. It is not quite easy to classify them; for they have respect sometimes to the false worship of the true God, sometimes to the representations made of other or rival objects of worship, and sometimes yet again to these objects themselves—the imaginary deities of the heathen, which were often identified with the material forms that personated them. The second commandment, which is the first formal prohibition of idolatry, does not distinguish between these different senses; it strictly forbids the paying of divine homage to any image or likeness, however made, and whatever being it might purport to represent, of things in heaven, or on earth, or in the lower regions of the deep. But one can easily conceive, that the evil forbidden admitted of diverse stages, as well as forms, and that it would be the more calculated to excite the divine reprobation the further it receded from correct representations of the truth concerning the being and attributes of Jehovah. Even in the simplest and least obnoxious form, when endeavouring to exhibit under some created likeness the Creator himself of heaven and of earth, it necessarily lied against the truth; because no likeness of any existence belonging to the visible creation can possibly form an adequate representation of him who is not only a Spirit, but a Spirit infinite, eternal, and unchangeable. No external form can possibly image such a Being, and, if any one is adopted, it must inevitably tend to debase and pervert, instead of helping men's notions respecting him. So the apostle to the Gentiles declared on Mars' Hill, in the very presence of the finest efforts of genius that have ever appeared to body forth under created forms the likeness of the divine. After setting forth the infinite greatness and all-pervading presence and power of God, he concluded, "Forasmuch, then, as we are the offspring of God, we ought not to think that the Godhead is like unto gold, or silver, or stone, graven by art and man's device," Ac. xvii. 29. Such material forms could but imperfectly represent even a finite human being, and they altogether failed in respect to the infinite and divine. Not only so, but they also conducted by a necessary sequence to polytheism; for, as no image, even the most perfect, could give more than a very partial and fragmentary exhibition of the idea of God derived by the human mind from the phenomena of conscience and creation, another and another in endless succession were necessarily added to supplement felt deficiences. Hence, in those countries in which the representations were fashioned after the *human* type, the male form, imaging the more severe and manly attributes of deity, required to have its counterpart in the female—wherever there was a Baal there must be an Ashtoreth, wherever a Jupiter a Juno; nay, in either division there must be again subdivisions endless—images of men and women with the predominant virtue in their aspect, of bravery or skill, of wisdom or beauty, and so on, till every property of the human constitution, every phase of the human character, and even every lust of the human heart, had its deified representation in some visible object of worship. It was precisely similar in those countries in which the idol-tendency took more of the *symbolical* direction, and the Godhead was conceived of and worshipped under the shadow of beasts, and birds, and creeping things. In every particular form the symbol was readily perceived to image but a part; it brought only one aspect of nature, or one department of life, into sensible contact with the Deity; so that others from time to time were required to fill up the representation, till the whole cycle of created being in a manner was ransacked for its symbols of the divine. Even this was found insufficient; for fanciful and composite forms were often devised to supply what seemed lacking in the actual world.

But as this process of idolatry by means of images and symbols advanced, the symbols insensibly became realities, and the images passed into so many actual deifications. The unity of the Godhead was lost sight of; and instead of lifting men's minds up to God, the sensible forms under which they worshipped him corrupted their very notions of his nature, dragged him down, as it were, into the conditions of sense and time, and merged the Creator in the creature. Thus, heathenism, if not in its beginnings was at least in its ultimate issues, but a form of pantheism; and not otherwise than by its abolition could the true knowledge of God be attained, or the distinction be solidly established in men's minds between the infinite and the finite, the invisible God and his visible creation.

It is quite easy, therefore, to understand why Scripture should have so sternly prohibited every form of idol-worship, and also why it should so often treat the worshippers of idols, even when people professed to adore under them the one true God, as serving other gods. Thus, when the Israelites made the molten calf at Horeb, although there can be no doubt that it was Jehovah they intended to worship under the symbol of the bovine form, after the manner of Egypt, yet Moses says concerning them, "Oh! this people have sinned a great sin, and made them gods of gold," Ex. xxxii. 31. And so at a later period, regarding the sin of Jeroboam, it is spoken of as "the golden calves which Jeroboam made for gods," 2 Ch. xiii. 8. Hence, "to serve graven images" was of itself to turn from serving the living God. Still, it was not so palpably going over to the ranks of heathenism, as when the images avowedly represented "strange gods," which was the more obnoxious form of evil introduced by Ahab, and never afterwards wholly extirpated from the kingdom of Israel, 1 Ki. xvi. 30; 2 Ki. xvii. 7, &c. It was, however, but a further development of the same great evil; and the sin which Jeroboam set up at Dan and Bethel, had its natural consummation in the foul abominations afterwards established at Samaria. For the deity worshipped in the former places under the merely natural symbol of

the calf, however it might be called by the name of Jehovah, was no longer the pure and holy Jehovah of the old covenant; with the change of the character of the worship, the object of worship also became essentially different; so that the way was prepared for other kinds of worship, nominally, as well as really, opposed to the service of the Lord.

A considerable part of the denunciations of the prophets against idolatry is devoted to the exposure of the senselessness of idol-worship—its contrariety to the views of right reason and the first principles of a rational piety. The searching and vehement expostulations of Isaiah upon the subject are particularly striking, Is. xl. 18, seq.; xli. 6, 7, &c.; and those of Jeremiah, though briefer, are in a similar strain, ch. x. 3. The same object is also sought to be accomplished by the contemptuous epithets applied in various parts of Scripture to idols. They are called אֱלִילִים (*elilim*), inanities or nothings, Le. xix. 4; אָוֶן (*aven*) utter emptiness, nonentity, whence Beth-el, the house of God, was designated, after it became a centre of idolatry, Beth-aven, house of vanity, Is. lxvi. 3; Ho. iv. 15; הַבְלִים (*habalim*), vapours or light and frothy things, 2 Ki. xvii. 15; Je. ii. 5; Ps. xxxi. 7; שִׁקּוּצִים (*shikûtsim*), abominations, Le. xi. 10; 1 Ki. xi. 5, &c.; also גִּלּוּלִים (*gillulim*), blocks or logs of wood, Le. xxvi. 30; 2 Ki. xvii. 12, &c. Thus, by a variety of expressions, all indicating worthlessness and vanity, a feeling of contempt and abhorrence was sought to be awakened in the minds of the people toward all sorts of images of worship.

The whole, however, proved insufficient to check the tendency to fall in with the sensuous and corrupting forms of heathenish idolatry, until repeated and desolating judgments burned, as it were, the impression of the truth into the national mind, and caused an anti-heathenish spirit to spring up and take firm and permanent root in the Jewish soil. The strength of that tendency in Israel, and the extreme difficulty of its eradication, undoubtedly arose mainly from the imperfect nature of the Old Testament religion, which but partially revealed the purposes of God, and associated itself in so many ways with the local, the fleshly and temporal. Serious and thoughtful minds, which could penetrate beneath the surface, perceived in all its institutions and services a manifestation of God, entirely different in its character and design from anything that was to be found in heathenism, and caught a spirit that was alike opposed to the senselessness of its idolatry and the foulness of its corruptions. But the great multitude, who were ever prone to look to the mere show and garniture of things, naturally paid more regard to the resemblances, than the differences between Judaism and heathenism: with them the shell was in a manner everything, the kernel nothing; and seeing, as they did, in heathenism a pomp and glory that fascinated the senses, and withal a tendency to adapt itself to the corruptions of the human heart, while it had many resources to work upon its fears and hopes, they were but too ready to fraternize and fall in with such a worship. But the true at length prevailed, because it was of God, while the false sunk under the weight of its own vanity and corruptions; and for the world at large there only needs the general diffusion of the knowledge of God in Christ Jesus, to bring every form of idol-worship to cease from among men. For there is but one image which God can own, or which men can find really serviceable to aid their conceptions of his being and character, one that he himself has made; namely, the intelligent, rational, and holy nature of man—an image, which became marred in the hands of its original possessor, as it still is in those of his natural descendants; but which has reappeared in all its completeness in Christ, and in a measure also is found in his people, in proportion as they have imbibed the spirit of his gospel, and have become conformed to his likeness.

IDUMÆ'A, the Greek form of the Hebrew name Edom (which signifies *redness*), derived from Esau, Ge. xxxvi. 8, the elder twin brother of Jacob—31° 25′; 29° 50′ N. lat.; and 35° 38′ 9″ E. long. (*See* ESAU.) We find Edom as the name of the people, Nu. xx. 20, 21; and of the country, Je. xlix. 17. The phrase "land of Edom" frequently appears, Nu. xxi. 4; xxxiii. 37, &c. "Field of Edom," Ju. v. 4. The children of Edom, daughter of Edom, La. iv. 21, 22. Edomite, Edomites, De. xxiii. 7; 1 Ki. xi. 1. Idumæa or Edom was the mountainous tract between the Dead Sea and the Red Sea. It was bounded on the north by the cultivated land of Judea on one side of the Dead Sea, and that of the Moabites on the other. On the north-west Edom touched upon the land of the Philistines, and on the west it was separated from Egypt by the Midianites of Mount Sinai, and by the desert to the north of Mount Sinai. On the east and on the south the wide desert of Arabia was thinly peopled by other tribes of Arabs of the same wandering unsettled habits, the nearest being the Sabeans, Hagarites, and other tribes of Midianites. In later times the boundaries of Idumæa extended northwards almost to Hebron, and even included part of the hill country of Judea. Previously to the occupation of Edom by the descendants of Esau, it was called Mount Seir, which is first mentioned in the Bible, Ge. xiv. 6, where Chedorlaomer and the kings that were with him smote the Horites in their Mount Seir. The Horites of Mount Seir dwelt in caverns in the mountains, whence their name is derived, "Hor," cave; and Jerome tells us that at his day "the whole of the southern part of Idumæa to Petra and Aila was full of caverns, used as dwellings on account of the excessive heat" (Jer. on Obadiah). Traces of these abodes are yet seen in and about Petra. To the Horim succeeded the children of Esau, De. ii. 12. Esau had removed here during his father's lifetime, and his third wife was a daughter of Ishmael and sister of Nabaioth, whose descendants the Nabatheans long after obtained chief power in the land of Edom. The northern part of Mount Seir is now called Jebal, and the southern E'sherah. At the base of the chain are low hills of limestone or argillaceous rock; then lofty masses of porphyry, which constitute the body of the mountain; above these is sandstone broken into irregular ridges and groups of cliffs, and farther back are ridges of limestone, probably nearly 3000 feet high. The porphyry cliffs are estimated to be elevated fully 2000 feet above the great valley between the Dead Sea and the Ælanitic Gulf. The whole breadth of the mountain tract between the Arabah and the eastern desert above does not exceed fifteen or twenty geographical miles. The mountains on the western side of the valley are entirely desert and sterile, while those on the east are visited by rain, and are covered with tufts of herbs and occasional trees. The valleys are full of trees, shrubs, and flowers, the eastern and higher part being extensively cultivated and yielding good crops.

As long as the navigation of the sea was difficult, Edom offered the readiest route for the passage of merchants from the Persian Gulf to Egypt. The caravans or troops of camels laden with merchandise passed from the head of the Persian Gulf to Edom, and thence to the Hebrew cities on the east of the Delta. Towns arose on the spots which gave water to the camels and their owners on the march; these flourished for some centuries, until it was found that the merchandise of the East could be carried more cheaply along the southern coast of Arabia and up the Red Sea. Among the towns either within the bounds or bordering upon Edom mentioned in Scripture are Dinahab, Bozrah, Teman, Avith, Pau, Ge. xxxvi. 32-35, 39; Kadesh-barnea, Nu. xxxii. 8; Elath, 2 Ki. xiv. 22; Ezion-geber, 1 Ki. ix. 26; but the most important place in all the region was Selah, Petra, or Joktheel, the capital of Arabia Petræa. This city was situated about 110 miles S.S.E. of Jerusalem, in a small inclosed hollow in the range of Mount Hor, on the east side of Wady Arabah, and surrounded by steep cliffs of a rose-coloured sandstone, but watered by a brook which gave the spot its value. The place is called in Scripture Selah, the rock, 2 Ki. xiv. 7; Is. xvi. 1; of which Petra is the Greek translation having the same meaning. It is not easy to determine the extent of the ancient city, though it could not have extended beyond the natural boundaries formed by the mountains, namely, a length of a little more than a mile, with a variable breadth of half a mile; but following the irregular line formed by the numerous valleys which open into the principal one, the circumference may have been four or five miles; it was nevertheless a place of great magnificence (Strabo, Pliny, Josephus), and commanded a large share of the traffic of the East. Being withdrawn from all the caravan routes, the roads which lead to it through the dreary mountain passes cannot be found without the help of a guide. On one side the entrance is through a frightful chasm, so narrow that not more than two horsemen can ride a-breast; on the other side, the road which leads down into it is too steep for a loaded camel. The small brook (Pliny, Nat. Hist. 6. 28, v. 32) which enters the valley through the Wady Syke on the east, was paved at the bottom, and the sides were faced with hewn masonry. Considerable remains of the wall and pavement, and some large flagstones belonging to a paved way that ran along the side of the river, still remain, as do the foundations of several bridges that spanned its channel. Laborde and Linant arrived from the south and descended by the ravine; advancing a little, they "commanded a view of the whole city covered with ruins, and of its superb inclosure of rocks pierced with myriads of tombs, which form a series of wondrous ornaments all round." The city contains a number of remarkable excavations. The temples hewn out of the rock are all of a Roman style of architecture, ornamented with porticos and Corinthian columns of the age of the Antonines. One building, to which the Arabs have given the name of House of Pharaoh, is in the form of a square thirty-four yards each way. The four walls are nearly entire, and the east one is surmounted by a handsome cornice; but the other details with which the interior was overloaded were in stucco plastered on the walls. The front facing the north was adorned with a colonnade, of which four pillars are still standing; and behind the colonnade is a piazza, from which three chambers are entered, one of them by a noble arch from thirty-five to forty feet high, where the ground was covered with fragments of columns five feet in diameter. The theatre, which is of a semicircular form, with seats cut like steps in the rock, is capable of holding 4000 persons. A triumphal arch (No. 353) springing from rock to rock, spans the narrow

[353.] Triumphal Arch at Petra.—Laborde.

gorge by which the city is entered. The tombs in which the inhabitants were buried remain in the form of cells pierced into the cliffs on all sides, and upon different levels, around the theatre, the market-place, the temples, and along the roads even for miles out of the city; but the dwelling-places of the living have long since disappeared, swept away in all probability by the waters of the little stream, which in the winter season is often swollen to a torrent. (Bartlett's Forty Days in the Desert.) The most remarkable tombs stand near the road which follows the course of the brook. The first of these on the right is cut in a mass of whitish rock which is in some measure insulated. The interior has been a place of sepulture. Farther on to the left is a wide façade of rather a low proportion loaded with ornaments in the Roman manner, but in bad taste, with an infinity of broken lines, unnecessary angles and projections, multiplied pediments, half-pediments, and pedestals set upon columns that support nothing—all most fantastical; what is observed of this front is applicable more or less to every specimen of Roman design at Petra. The doorway has triglyphs over the entablature, and flowers in the metopes. The chamber within is not so large as the exterior indicates. Immediately over this front is another of almost equal extent, but so wholly distinct from it that even the centres do not correspond—the doorway has the same ornaments. The rest of the body of the design is no more than a front without any other decoration than a

plain moulding. Upon this are set in a recess four tall and taper pyramids. The interior of the mausoleum is of moderate size, with two sepulchral recesses upon each side, and one in form of an arched alcove at the upper end; a flight of steps leads up the narrow terrace upon which it opens (Irby and Mangles, p. 405-407). The engraving,

[354.] Petra, South-east view of the Khasné. - Laborde.

No. 354, represents the principal monument, the Khasné, or Treasury of Pharaoh, so called from the belief of the natives that the wealth of Pharaoh, the supposed founder of such costly edifices, is inclosed within the urn which surmounts its top, at a height of 120 feet. Hence whenever they pass, they discharge their guns at the urn in the hope of demolishing it and thereby obtaining the treasure. This monument is sculptured out of an enormous and compact block of freestone, slightly tinged with oxide of iron. Although the front is so splendid, the interior appears unfinished, and the monument seems to have been abandoned soon after it was executed. There are two lateral chambers, one of which is irregularly formed, while the other presents two hollows, apparently for two coffins, which may have been placed provisionally in this little rock until the grand receptacle should be completed. Linant sketched a tomb which seemed to combine in itself two characters, each of which may be found separately in those by which it is surrounded, "the upper part being in the Syriaco-Egyptian style, the lower part decorated in the Græco-Roman fashion." To the right of this monument are two tombs entirely detached from the rock of which they had formed a part. An excavation in an unfinished state afforded a clue to the plan which was pursued in the construction of the other monuments. The rock was at first cut down in a perpendicular direction, leaving buttresses on each side which preserved the original inclination of its surface. The front thus made smooth was next marked out according to the style of architecture adopted, and then the capitals and columns were fashioned. Thus the workman began at the top and finished at the bottom, allowing the weight of the material to rest on the ground until the monument was completed. A strange spectacle! a city filled with tombs, some scarcely begun, some finished, looking as new and as fresh as if they had just come from the hands of the sculptor, while others were fallen into ruin and covered with brambles.

The peninsula of Sinai, between the two gulfs at the head of the Red Sea, was in ancient times held by the Midianites, a tribe of Arabs usually at peace with Egypt and dependent on that kingdom. The Egyptians not only worked the copper mines in the peninsula and held Feiran (Paran), Nu. x. 12, the chief town, but also several small towns on the coast, particularly at the head of the eastern gulf, named Ezion-geber, in a spot still marked by its Egyptian name Wady Tabe, the valley of the *city*, and the only port on the Red Sea which naturally belonged to the Edomites. When Moses, after escaping out of Egypt, reached Ezion-geber, and there left the friendly Midianites, he asked leave of the Edomites to pass through their land, Nu. x. 29; but being refused, he made a circuit through the countries to the east of Mount Hor, and reached the valley of the Jordan through the land of Moab. From that time forward the wars of Judea with the Edomites were almost unceasing.

History. — The early Edomites were strict believers in one true God, but in course of time they became idolaters (2 Ch. xxv. 20; Joseph. Antiq. xv. 7, 9). They were a warlike and unsettled people, whose whole property consisted in their cattle, their waggons, and what their waggons could carry. They did not cultivate the soil and had no respect for a landmark. Like the Ishmaelites their hand was against every man, and every man's hand against them, Ge. xvi. 12.

When the twelve tribes of Israelites first placed their armies under one leader, and made Saul their king, the Edomites were among the enemies from whom he had to clear the frontier, 1 Sa. xiv. 47. As the Hebrew kingdom grew stronger, David, after conquering the Philistines, the Moabites, and the Syrians, put garrisons into the chief cities of Edom to stop their inroads for the future, 2 Sa. viii. 14. The Edomites had been living for many generations under one petty chief or king, and the names are known of seven "dukes that came of Hori" (Lotan, Shobal, Zibeon, Anah, Dishon, Ezer, and Dishan), and of eight kings (Bela, Jobab, Husham, Hadad, Samlah, Saul, Baal-hanan, and Hadar), who ruled over them "before there reigned any king over the children of Israel," Ge. xxxvi. 29, 39. They were, however, too unsettled to allow of the power descending from father to son; and the cities of Teman and Bozrah, with other places, in their turn gave chiefs to the whole tribe, Ge. xxxvi.; 1 Ch. i. 43. Joab, the captain of David's forces, put an end to this line of kings, and during the six months he remained in Edom, he slew every man and every male child in the land, who did not escape from him by flight. Among those who fled was Hadad, a son of the chief, whose servants carried him off in safety, and brought him into

Egypt, where he was kindly received by the king of Bubastis, 1 Ki. xi. 15. For the rest of David's reign, and for the greater part of that of Solomon, the Edomites remained in quiet obedience to the king of Judea.

It is probable that during the quiet of Solomon's reign, the caravans through the land of Edom were more numerous, and the wealth of the cities greater, than when the country was independent. The most important route was from Dedan on the Persian Gulf, through Teman, and thence on to Egypt. Another great route which crossed the first near Petra was from Sheba, in South Arabia, to Jerusalem, Job vi. 19; Is. xxi. 13, 14. To increase the trade from the coasts of the Red Sea to Jerusalem, Solomon, and Hiram king of Tyre, jointly fitted out a fleet of merchant-ships at Ezion-geber, the port at the head of the Ælanitic Gulf. The ships were of the largest class, and called ships of Tarsus, taking their name from that city so famous for ship-building. The ships were launched once in three years, and were manned by Tyrian sailors. As they sailed only with the wind, and bartered along the coast, their progress was slow; the voyage out and back probably occupying two years, the third being spent in port, while the foreign treasures were sent on to Tyre and Jerusalem. This new trade was no loss to the cities of Edom, as the caravans from Ezion-geber all passed through their country. Solomon's ships brought gold from Ophir, the port of the Nubian gold mines, with apes, ivory, ebony, and rare birds from the countries beyond Abyssinia, 1 Ki. ix. x.

As Solomon's life drew to a close his power grew weaker. He had married an Egyptian princess, a daughter of Shishank of Bubastis, and his first trouble came from his father-in-law. It has been already stated that when young Hadad the Edomite fled from David, he was kindly received in Egypt. Shishank gave him the sister of his own queen Tahpenes to wife; and Hadad's son Genubath was reared in the palace with the Egyptian princes. When Shishank of Bubastis became king of all Egypt, and too strong to value his alliance with the Israelites, he sent back Hadad, who was now more than forty years old, to raise the Edomites in rebellion against Solomon and to make himself king. The Edomites readily followed Hadad in an attack upon their old enemies the Israelites, 1 Ki. xi. 14, and at once stopped Solomon's trade on the Red Sea. Eighty years afterwards, B.C. 897, Jehoshaphat king of Judah again made the Edomites submit. He dethroned their king, sent a deputy from Jerusalem to rule over them, and attempted to regain the trade of the Red Sea. For this purpose he built a number of merchant vessels at Ezion-geber, but the port was attacked and his ships broken to pieces either by the Edomites or by the Egyptians; and the Israelites were never again masters of the trade on the Red Sea. In the reign of Jehoram, the successor of Jehoshaphat, the Edomites revolted from Judah and again made for themselves a king. Jehoram fought a severe battle with them, but was unsuccessful, and the Edomites remained independent, 2 Ki. viii. 20. B.C. 838, Amaziah king of Judah fought another great battle with the Edomites, and slew many thousands of them in the Valley of Salt near the Dead Sea. He also took the city of Selah (Petra) afterwards called Joktheel, 2 Ki. xiv. 7, and the record of the event is the *first mention* in history of this interesting city.

Uzziah or Azariah, the next king of Judah, followed up this conquest of Petra by again acquiring for the trade of his nation a port on the Red Sea. Solomon's port had been at Ezion-geber on the western side of the head of the Ælanitic Gulf, but there may have been reasons for thinking the opposite side of the bay better suited for ships, and there Uzziah built the town of Elath, the Ælana of the Romans, and now called Akabah, not five miles from the old port. The Jews, however, were not strong enough either to use or to hold these conquests, and in a very few years Elath and Petra were again in the hands of the men of Edom, 2 Ki. xiv. 22. B.C. 742, in the reign of Ahaz king of Judah, while the land was invaded on the north by the powerful Syrians, and on the east by the equally powerful Philistines, the Edomites overran the southern portion, and carried off numerous captives. Ahaz in his despair took the unwise step of calling in the Assyrians to help him. The Assyrians readily came, but they only added to the misfortunes of Judea, and they carried off such treasure as had escaped the former invaders, 2 Ch. xxviii. 16. Then probably was written the prophecy of Joel, who says that what the first flights of locusts had left, the latter, namely the Assyrians, had eaten, ch. i. 4, and also Ps. lxxxiii., in which the poet declares that among the enemies who had made a league for the destruction of the nation, were the Edomites and Moabites, and Philistines and Tyrians; and that the Assyrians also had come to help those descendants of Lot. On the conquest of Judea by the Babylonians, B.C. 600, the Edomites again rushed in to snatch at their share of the booty. When Jerusalem was being stormed and plundered by the Chaldean army, the Edomites cried "Raze it, raze it, even to its foundations," Ps. cxxxvii.; and the anger of the Jews against the insults and lesser injuries caused by the Edomites, was almost equal to that which they felt against the Babylonians. It was then that the prophet Ezekiel wrote that, in punishment for the cruelty of Edom against Judah, it should at a future day be made desolate even as far as Teman, and the men of Dedan should be put to the sword, ch. xxv., and that the cities of Mount Seir should be laid waste, ch. xxxv. It was then that the prophet Obadiah wrote of the city of Petra, that the pride of its heart had deceived it, that though dwelling on high in the clefts of the rock, it should be brought low.

When Cyrus king of Persia led his conquering armies westward, and restored the Jewish captives in Babylon to their country, giving them leave to rebuild their temple, B.C. 536, the Edomites were among the nations whom he conquered. The Jews rejoiced at hearing of their slaughter, and thought it a just punishment for former injuries, Is. lxiii. The Edomites, with the rest of their Arab neighbours, remained subject to Persia as long as that empire lasted, but regained their independence when the Persians were overthrown by Alexander the Great. About this time we find the name of Nabatæans, or Nebaioth, given to the inhabitants of Edom. This did not imply that any change had taken place in the population, for in the book of Genesis, ch. xxv., among the Arabs of the desert, or sons of Ishmael, we find Nebaioth mentioned together with Kedar and Tema, and other tribes of that neighbourhood. It had been usual for the Edomites of Petra to send a yearly tribute of a lamb to Jerusalem, and Isaiah says, "Send ye the lamb to the ruler of the land from Selah, through the desert, unto the mount of the daughter of Zion," ch. xvi. 1. And in the later writings of Isaiah, the same tribute is

said to be sent from the Nabatæans, ch. lx. 7. We see therefore that the Edomites of Selah or Petra are also called Nabatæans; and in yet later times we shall find the names of Arabia Nabatæa and Arabia Petræa both given to the desert country of Edom. At the same time we find an alteration in the limits of Edom, which were now removed as far as the hill country of Judea. Historians rarely speak of any but the governing class in a nation; so much so, that if from any cause these are removed and a lower class rises into notice, the country seems peopled by a new race of men; thus it was in this southern portion of Judea. When the priests and nobles were carried into captivity by the Babylonians, the peasants left behind readily formed one nation with the Edomites, with whom they were more closely allied in blood and feeling than with their Jewish masters, and henceforth we shall find two meanings belonging to the word Edomite or Idumæan; sometimes the name will belong to the Arabs of the desert about Petra, but the Greek name of Idumæan more usually belongs to the less wandering race of southern Judea, within twenty miles of Jerusalem; the wilder Edomites or Nabatæans being driven back to the south of the Dead Sea. The successors of Alexander never held Edom. The Ptolemies were willing to uphold it as an independent state, usefully placed between Egypt and her rival kingdoms. Antigonus, when king of Asia Minor, was defeated in his attempt to take the city of Petra. Having heard that the Nabatæans had left the city less guarded than usual, he sent forward four thousand light armed foot and six hundred horse, who overpowered the guard and seized the city. The Arabs, when they heard of what had happened, returned in the night, surrounded the place, came upon the Greeks from above, and overcame them with such slaughter, that, of the four thousand six hundred men, only fifty returned to Antigonus to tell the tale. The Nabatæans then sent to Antigonus to complain of this crafty attack upon Petra. He endeavoured to put them off their guard by disowning the acts of his general, and sent them home with promises of peace, but at the same time sent forward his son Demetrius with four thousand horse and four thousand foot to take revenge. The Arabs, however, were on their guard; and these eight thousand men under the brave Demetrius were unable to force their way through the narrow pass into the city (Diod. Sic. lib. xix.) When the Maccabees made the Jews again for a short time an independent nation, they renewed the old war with the Idumæans, but they did not attempt to enforce Jewish authority over any portion of the country, except that which had once been Judea. Judas Maccabeus, B.C. 164, did not march farther southward than the heights of Acrabattene, which divide the valley of the Dead Sea from the country of Edom (Josephus, Ant. xii. 8, 1, and xiii. 9, 1).

In the reign of the emperor Trajan, Arabia Nabatæa was received into the bounds of the Roman empire, and the rocky fastness of Petra was obliged to receive a Roman garrison. Under the Romans the city once more became prosperous, but this prosperity was only a gleam of brightness before its death. The improvements in navigation, and the geographical discoveries marked by the voyage of Scylax in the reign of Darius, by that of Eudoxus in the reign of Ptolemy Euergetes II., and by that of Hippalus in the reign of the emperor Claudius, slowly but surely ruined these cities in the desert. The trade winds had been discovered between the mouths of the Indus and the coast of Africa, and the Alexandrian merchants regularly sailed from the Red Sea to India and Ceylon. Tyre and Sidon lost their trade by sea, and Petra its trade by land; and in the reign of the emperor Valens, about A.D. 370, Petra was again recovered by its native Arabs, but lost its importance, and its fall was hardly noticed by historians (Socrates, Hist. lib. iv.; Zozomen, Eccl. Hist. lib. vi.) In the Greek ecclesiastical Notitiæ of the fifth and sixth centuries it appears as the metropolitan see of the Third Palestine. Of its bishops, Germanus was present at the council of Seleucia, A.D. 359, and Theodorus at that of Jerusalem, A.D. 536 (Reland). From that time the rock city was lost to the civilized world, and had no place in the map until it was discovered by Burckhardt in our own days (Sharpe's Historic Notes). Burckhardt passed through the land of Edom in 1812, entering it from the north; in 1818 Messrs. Legh, Bankes, Irby and Mangles entered at the same point, and ten years later Laborde and Linant entered from the south, since when it has been visited and described by numerous travellers. The whole region is at present occupied by various tribes of Bedouin Arabs (Burckhardt's Travels; Robinson's Bib. Researches; Laborde, Voyage de l'Arabie Pétrée; Olin's Travels in the East; Schubert; Stephens; Irby and Mangles). [J. B.]

ILLYRICUM, a district of country lying along the north-east coast of the Adriatic, but of very uncertain dimensions. Even in ancient times it appears to have been understood somewhat differently by Greek and Roman writers; and among the Romans it often shifted its boundaries, from the incursions of the Gauls and other local vicissitudes. It is only once mentioned in the New Testament, and that simply as the extreme limit to which, in the direction toward Rome, St. Paul at a particular period had carried the preaching of the gospel, Ro. xv. 19. The inhabitants were a wild race, the kind of mountaineers of Greece, and in modern times have their representatives in the Albanians. But nothing depends either on the exact boundaries of the district, or the particular character of the people, for the elucidation of Scripture; and it is enough to have indicated its general position.

IMAGERY, CHAMBERS OF. *See* CHAMBERS.

IMMANUEL, or EMMANUEL [*God-with-us*], the name imposed on the prospective child, which the Lord by Isaiah declared he would give as a sign to the house of David, Is. vii. 14. It has been a long-agitated question, whether the child meant was the Messiah, or a child born in the time of the prophet, perhaps to himself, typical of the birth at some future time of the Messiah; or, finally, of such a child simply, with nothing more than a name and accompaniments, that admitted of being accommodated to Messiah's person and birth. It is the former alone of these opinions that we believe to be justified by the use made by the evangelist Matthew, ch. i. 22, 23, and even by the original passage itself, when closely examined, and viewed in all its parts. But the investigation of the subject is too long and complicated for a work like the present. Those who wish to see the grounds of the opinion here indicated, will find them in Fairbairn's *Hermeneutical Manual*, p. 416, seq. Other views may be seen in Barnes on *Isaiah*, the *Commentaries* of Grotius, Meyer, Olshausen, Alford, &c., also the *Scripture Testimony* of Dr. Pye Smith.

IMPUTE, IMPUTATION. The sense of the original verb, which corresponds to our *impute* both in

the Hebrew (חָשַׁב) and Greek (λογίζομαι), is simply to *count, reckon,* or *be counted, reckoned, charged* to one. And so our translators understand them, and use these English equivalents interchangeably with *impute,* Ro. iv. 2-4, 6, 8. The word itself (λογίζομαι) seems not to convey any meaning beyond this. It is the context alone that determines whether that which is said to be counted or reckoned to one is something which actually or personally belongs to him, or something which belongs not to him in this sense, but to another, and is simply set down to his account, so that he is regarded and treated as if the thing in the strict and proper sense were his. The English word, from the Latin *imputare,* has precisely the same sense, although use has confined it to matters of morals, and in great measure indeed to things that are blameworthy. Without doubt, therefore, the true idea is better conceived by the English reader under such terms as *count, reckon;* for the allusion seems to be to the books of judgment, Da. vii. 10; Re. xx. 12; and when this is kept in mind the phraseology of counting or setting down to one is seen to be at once appropriate and forcible. Undue stress seems to have been laid by some on the mere word, as if it contained in itself a doctrinal system, or at all events presented an important proof of that system. Whereas there is obviously no more mystery in the original term than in the English renderings mentioned above. It scarcely needed the ability and pains which a recent writer of distinction has bestowed on it to prove this point. Nor is it altogether clear that the divines to whom he refers do not speak of the use of the word *in its connections.* His work, however, contains the most profound and elaborate critical analysis of the words with which we are acquainted, and the reader is referred to it as containing all that can be desired on the subject—*Sermons on Faith,* by Bishop O'Brien, 2d ed. p. 409–456.

What we are mainly concerned with is the use or application of the words in Scripture. Are they applied only to things strictly personal to a man, or have they the wider latitude which we have assigned them? It is often asserted with great confidence that "there is not one passage in which the word is used in the sense of *reckoning* or *imputing* to a man that which does not strictly belong to him, or of charging on him that which ought not to be charged on him as a matter of personal right." That the words are very frequently used in relation to things of this strictly personal character is undeniable, Le. vii. 18; 2 Sa. xix. 19; Ps. xxxii. 2; Ro. iv. 9. When, in the second of these passages, Shimei says unto David, "Let not my lord *impute* iniquity unto me," he acknowledges in the same breath that the sin was his and only his—"for thy servant doth know that I have sinned." It is equally true, however, that the words in question are frequently applied to things that do not strictly belong to us, but which, though not belonging to us, are set down to our account, Le. xvii. 4; Nu. xviii. 27; Phile. 18; Ro. iv. 6. In the first of these passages it is declared that the man who brought not his sacrifice or victim to the door of the tabernacle of the congregation, according to the divine institute, should have *blood imputed to him,* and should be cut off from among his people. He had committed no actual murder, yet that crime is imputed to him, and he is dealt with accordingly. So in Paul's letter to Philemon, the apostle requests that the wrong which Onesimus had done might be *placed to the writer's account,* though manifestly he had no hand in committing it whatever. And in Ro. iv., where righteousness is said to be imputed *without works,* there is undoubtedly an imputation of righteousness which is not *by works,* &c., which does not personally or actually belong to us, but to another, and is set down to our account.

Divines find a threefold imputation in Scripture, viz. that of Adam's sin to his posterity; that of our sins to Christ; and of his righteousness to us or to his people. In relation to the first of these, they speak of mediate and immediate imputation—mediate being that corruption or depravity of nature which we derive from Adam; and immediate, the guilt, or rather liability to punishment, which belongs to us in consequence of his sin. The sin of Adam is counted in the sight of God as ours, and we are dealt with accordingly. In like manner, the sins of his people are counted to Christ, and he is dealt with accordingly—*made sin* for us, who knew no sin. Christ's righteousness, also, is counted in the sight of God as ours, and we are dealt with accordingly—*made the righteousness of God* in him, 2 Co. v. 21; Ro. v. 19. (*See* JUSTIFICATION, SIN, &c.)

This is not the place for anything like an exposition of these co-relate doctrines. It is, however, but just to state that their advocates are careful to guard against two sources of misconception, to one or other of which they think nearly all objections may be traced. First, they deny that imputation supposes either actual personal sin, or actual personal righteousness, in the parties to whom sin or righteousness is imputed. Adam's sin never can be ours in the same sense in which it was his. The same is true of Christ's righteousness. In both cases there is simply a placing to our account. Second, they deny that imputation supposes any transference of moral character. The *imputation* of sin or righteousness is not the *infusion* of it. Finally, a denial of the imputation of sin removes none of the difficulties connected with the fact of mankind coming into the world with a liability to suffering and death antecedent to all personal transgression. The natural depravity out of which actual sin springs is itself to be regarded as penal. Since then God manifestly deals with us as a guilty race, or treats us *as* guilty, this doctrine of imputation seems to furnish some ground for it. He can treat none as either guilty or righteous whom in some sense he does not hold or count such. [R. F.]

INCENSE. The compound of sweet-smelling ingredients denoted by this term appears to have been employed among the covenant-people only in acts of worship; and that special compound, which was appointed to be used in the services of the sanctuary, was expressly forbidden to be applied to purposes of common life. "As for the perfume (or incense) which thou shalt make, ye shall not make to yourselves according to the composition thereof; it shall be unto thee holy for the Lord," Ex. xxx. 27. The ingredients of this sacred aroma are defined to be equal portions of stacte, onycha, galbanum, and pure frankincense (for which see the several words); and these, after being beaten small, were laid up in the tabernacle, to be ready for daily use. As it was simply, however, in connection with the altar of incense that the article thus compounded was employed in the divine service, the explanations necessary to bring out its meaning and design will be best given in connection with it.

ALTAR OF INCENSE, AND ITS RITUAL OF SERVICE.—This article of the tabernacle furniture was made of wood—shittim-wood, as it is in the English Bible, but as it should rather be, acacia-wood—overlaid with gold; on which account it was sometimes called the *golden* altar, in contradistinction to the altar of burnt-offering, which was made of brass, Ex. xl. 5; Re. viii. 3. The form was square—a cubit in breadth, and two cubits in height; that is, it was a stand made in a square form, probably about 2½ feet broad and 3½ feet high: of suitable proportions both ways for a pedestal, on which to place the pot or censer containing the incense. The top was surmounted by a crown or projecting ornament, and at the several corners were horns—partly, perhaps, also for ornament, but more especially as a mark of correspondence and agreement with the altar of burnt-offering. For the prescriptions respecting this altar of incense have throughout a bearing on the brazen altar in the outer court, and seem intended to place the two in a mutual relation to each other. The name alone of altar (מִזְבֵּחַ, *mizbeach*, slaying or sacrificing-place), which is the common designation of both, sufficiently indicates this; for such a term could be applied to the incense-table only on the ground of a real connection between it and the place where sacrifices of slain victims were actually presented. This connection was also marked by the sprinkling of its horns with the blood of the sin-offering on the great day of annual atonement—the only article apparently in the holy place to which that blood was specially applied—precisely as the horns of the altar of burnt-offering were also sprinkled, Ex. xxx. 10; Le. xvi. 16, 18. Then, there was the coincidence of the daily service at the two altars—the offering of incense on the one morning and evening (when the lamps were put out and lighted) so as to afford a kind of perpetual incense before the Lord, corresponding to and concurring with the morning and evening burnt-offering on the other, by which there was effected a kind of perpetual burnt-offering, Ex. xxx. 7, 8, compared with ch. xxix. 38-42—the perpetual incense within ascending simultaneously with the perpetual burnt-offering without. These various points of contact between the two altars seem plainly designed to indicate a close relationship between them—as if the one were somehow the necessary complement of the other. And this impression is confirmed by the fact, that in the services specially connected with each, neither could proceed without the other: the pot of incense had every day to be replenished with live-coals from the altar of burnt-offering, as the only fire by which the cloud of incense was to be raised from the sacred perfume; while, on the other hand, this same cloud of incense had to be raised, and sent by the high-priest into the most holy place, before he could enter there with the sin-atoning blood that had been offered on the brazen altar, and sprinkle the mercy-seat. Instant death was even threatened if he presumed to enter without the incense going before, and covering the mercy-seat, Le. xvi. 11-13. So that, as there could be no incense offered without fire from the sacrificial altar to kindle it, neither could there be any acceptable sacrifice for sin without the interposition of incense to open the way for its presentation.

Wherein then lay the virtue of this sacred odour? What was expressed or symbolized by it? The perfume, formed of the four ingredients already specified, we have no reason to suppose differed in itself from other things of a like kind, any farther than that it yielded an odour peculiarly sweet and fragrant: it was the best known of such compositions; and so was set apart for a sacred use, and designated pure and holy. As a sign of this consecration, and fitness for the service of the sanctuary, it had the common symbol of incorruptness applied to it—it was salted, Ex. xxx. 35 (not tempered together, as in the Sept. and our English Bible). But not in this, nor in the natural properties belonging to it, did there lie any virtue entitling it to such a place in sacred ministrations—for the idea of some, that it was chosen as a corrective to the unpleasant smell apt to be generated by offerings of blood, scarcely deserves to be mentioned. It was the *symbolical* meaning of the perfume which alone was regarded in the important function assigned to it. The expressed odours of sweet-smelling plants are the breath, as it were, of their pure and balmy nature—a fragrant exhalation from their innermost being, most grateful to the senses, and refreshing to the powers of our bodily frame. And as such it was fitted to serve as an appropriate emblem of that in the soul of man, which is most grateful to the mind of God—namely, the devout breathing of spiritual desire and affection toward him. What can be more pleasing to the Great Source of life and being, than to find the souls he has made turning their regards to him in the simplicity and confidence of faith—making him the sanctuary of their inmost thoughts and feelings—and pouring out before him the varied expression of their fears and hopes, of the sense they have of their own guilt and his infinite goodness, and of their earnest desires for his forgiveness or his help? This is emphatically the breathing of the soul's best, holiest, heavenliest aspirations; and therefore, in the sphere of natural things, was fitly symbolized by the ascending odours of the sweetest-scented herbs. The offering of incense, then, was an embodied prayer; but prayer in the larger sense, as comprehensive of all the appropriate outgoings of the believing soul toward God—supplication, indeed, primarily, but along with that, adoration, confession, and thanksgiving.

So the matter is explained in various parts of Scripture. It is so most distinctly in the book of Revelation, which is not only written in the language of type and symbol, but often also accompanies its use of these with explanatory statements of their meaning. Thus at ch. v. 8, where the twenty-four elders, representatives of the church of Christ's redeemed ones, appear each with golden vials or censers, full of incense or odours, "which are," it is added, "the prayers of saints;" and the same explanation is again given at ch. viii. 3, in connection with the action of an angel, and an action represented as taking place at the golden altar. It was, so to speak, the old service of the earthly sanctuary proceeding in the heavenly places, and to the incense was given "the prayers of saints"—the reality to the symbol—that they might be offered before God. But in Old Testament times also this was perfectly understood. David expressly designates his prayer incense: "Let my prayer, (incense, so it is literally) be set in order before thee," Ps. cxli. 2—implying that the one was but another name or form of the other. And in the historical statement made quite incidentally at the beginning of St. Luke's gospel, that while Zacharias was offering incense in the sanctuary "the whole multitude were praying without," it is clear

that the people generally had a correct understanding of the symbol: they were accompanying the priestly action by an exercise, which at once showed their apprehension of its meaning, and their sympathy with its aims.

Now, we have only to carry with us this view of the incense-offering, in order to see the propriety and naturalness of the prescriptions respecting the altar of incense and its rites of service. Its connection by name and otherwise with the altar of burnt-offering explains itself on the ground, that prayer also is a sort of sacrifice—the offering up of the desires and feelings of the heart to God—and, as such, the internal counterpart of the external offering of slain victims. Not only so, but acceptable prayer on the part of the sinner must raise itself on the foundation of sacrifice by blood; as a sinner he could only approach God through a medium of blood, without which there was no remission of sin; his very prayer must, as it were, rise from the altar where such blood was shed, and derive thence its warrant to enter into the presence of the holiest. And as prayer thus leaned on the atonement, so again did the atonement require for its actual efficiency the appropriating and pleading energy of prayer: it saved not as a natural charm, but only as an accepted channel of communion with heaven: even with the blood of atonement in his hand the worshipper must go as a suppliant to the footstool of the throne. It is so still; the pattern given here in the handwriting of Moses is inwrought with lessons that speak to all times. For it is in the name of Jesus, and on the ground of that holy atonement for sin, which he once for all accomplished on the cross, that the believer must draw near to God; his prayers, as well as his deeds of righteousness, are accepted only in the Beloved. Prayer offered otherwise is like incense offered with strange fire—a virtual repetition of the sin of Nadab and Abihu. And the action here also is reciprocal; for the worshipper's acceptance in the Beloved is to be sought and obtained through prayer; so that neither is the atoning virtue of the cross available to the individual sinner without the prayer of faith, nor is this prayer accepted but in connection with the atonement. Nay, in Christ himself, as the representative of fallen man, we see the twofold truth exemplified, and rising to its fullest realization; since he is at once the perfect sacrifice, and the all-prevailing intercessor; and while he both offered his own blood without spot to the Father, and thereafter entered with it into the heavenly places, it was not without the incense of prayer preceding, as well as following the work of reconciliation. It is not less true that he saves by his intercession, than that he saves by his death.

A still further peculiarity in the account of the altar of incense finds a ready explanation in the preceding remarks. For, while the altar of incense had its position simply in the holy place, "before the veil," and not actually within it, language is used concerning it, which might seem to imply that it belonged to the most holy as much as to the holy place. Thus it is itself designated "most holy," Le. xxx. 10; and in the description given of the service of the great day of atonement, it is spoken of as "the altar that is before the Lord"—as if in a sense it were within the veil. In the Apocalyptic vision, formerly referred to, it appears in the immediate presence of Jehovah, Re. viii. 3; and also in He. ix. 4, the golden censer, which was but an appendage of the golden altar, is assigned to the holy of holies—not that it actually belonged to the furniture of that innermost region of the tabernacle, but that in its highest intention and use it had respect to the things therein contained. From it the high-priest, on the great day of atonement, had to raise the cloud of perfume which covered the mercy-seat; and every day, though in a smaller degree, the same incense-cloud had to be sent within the veil and made to fill the presence-chamber of God. For this end the altar was placed directly in front of the veil, that the smoke arising from it might the more readily penetrate within. And thus, again, was a salutary lesson proclaimed for all times; namely, that the believer should be ever dwelling beside the secret place of the Most High, so as to have freedom of access to the throne of grace, and be in a manner praying always with all prayer and supplication. If it is but a rare, or an occasional work with him, he too clearly knows not the height of privilege to which he is called in the Redeemer, nor has found his way to the reality symbolized in this portion of the handwriting of ordinances.

INCHANTERS, INCHANTMENTS, considered as distinct from the acts of divination, and the persons who practised them, had respect more especially to the charming of noxious animals, such as adders, serpents, &c. Magical arts of this kind have from an early period been particularly cultivated in Egypt, and even constituted a sort of separate craft, of which notice has already been taken under the article ADDER. Arts of this description were strictly forbidden by the law of Moses, De. xviii. 9-12; because, though lying perfectly within the compass of human ingenuity and skill, they were closely allied to demonology, and most apt to be abused to purposes of superstition. Inchantments in this special sense do not appear to have been practised in Israel; such as existed belonged to the more general heads of divination, magician, and witchcraft (which see).

INDIA is no farther mentioned in Scripture than as one of the boundaries of the great empire of Ahasuerus —"from India unto Ethiopia," Es. i. 1; viii. 9—and as nothing depends on it for the interpretation of the Bible, so it cannot with propriety be made a subject of inquiry here. Neither its precise locality, nor population, nor products are ever referred to.

INGATHERING, FEAST OF. *See* FEASTS.

INHERITANCE. This, in the English Bible, is the translation of three different terms in the Hebrew. There is first יְרֻשָּׁה (*yerushah*), from יָרַשׁ (*yarash*), to seize, take, occupy; then נַחֲלָה (*nachalah*), from נָחַל (*nachal*), to seize, take, distribute; and חֵלֶק (*chêlek*), from חָלַק (*chalak*), to divide. The Hebrew word אֲחֻזָּה (*achuzzah*) very frequently occurs in connection with "inheritance," signifying the actual possession of that which is one's right by inheritance, but it is never so translated, see Nu. xxxii. 32; Eze. xlvi. 16, 18. Inheritance refers chiefly to the inheritance of land, Nu. xvi. 14; xxxiv. 18, not to the inheritance of movable property, or even of houses, except in some instances, as will afterwards be noticed. It is a subject of the greatest social importance, exercising a powerful influence on the national condition, and is therefore worthy of the place it takes in the national constitution of the Jewish people (M. de Tocqueville de la Democratie en Amérique, c. iii.; M'Culloch on the Succession to Property, p. 1 and 2).

Of the patriarchal law of inheritance we have very

few details, nor does it bear much upon the principal question of this article, as the patriarchs had no land in their possession. Their entire property was movable, Ge. xiii. 2. Over this they appear to have exercised very considerable control in its distribution. From a comparison of 1 Ch. v. 1 with Ge. xlviii. 5, 6, it would appear that even then the eldest son succeeded by right of birth to a double portion of his father's property, for Jacob's assuming Joseph's two elder sons as his own, and thereby giving to Joseph a double portion in Israel, is described as the transfer of Reuben's, his eldest son's, birthright from him to Joseph. And in this instance we find the father setting aside the elder son for misconduct, and substituting one of his younger sons in his room. With regard to their other children, they probably gave them equal shares, unless something in their conduct caused them to make a difference. In the case of Abraham, it is easy to see why he made a marked distinction between Isaac and his other children. To all of them he gave gifts, but to Isaac he gave the great bulk of his property, Ge. xxv. 5, 6; xxiv. 36. This was evidently on account of God's promise to Isaac, Ge. xvii. 21, and perhaps also on account of his personal good conduct. It is a mistake to suppose, as some do, that this was made because Isaac was a legitimate son, and the others were illegitimate. All Abraham's children were legitimate. The concubine of that early time had not the rank or dignity of the wife, but there was then little, if any difference, except the name. The man with whom she lived is called in Hebrew her husband, as she also is sometimes designated wife, Ge. xvi. 3; Ju. xix. 3; xx. 4; her father is called his father-in-law, Ju. xix. 4; and he is called her father's son-in-law, Ju. xix. 5; no distinction was made in the treatment of the sons, whether by wife or concubine, Ge. xxxvi. 12-16; xlix. 1, ff.; and the children of the concubine were reckoned the children of the wife, who also was usually the one to present the concubine to her husband, Ge. xvi. 2; xxx. 3, 13; xxxvi. 12-16. The position of concubine became afterwards more degraded, but it was such in the patriarchal time (see Jahn's Arch. Bib. c. x. § 155). The case of Jephthah, Ju. xi. 1, 2, is sometimes alleged as showing the radical distinction between the children of wives and concubines in the matter of inheritance, but it has no proper bearing on the question. Jephthah was not the son of a concubine, but of a harlot (זוֹנָה, *zûnah*), a term never confounded with that of concubine, but distinguished from it, Ju. xix. 1, 2. The position of daughters as to inheritance is not so clear, but they would seem to have usually obtained a share. The complaint of Laban's daughters that they had no longer an inheritance in their father's house, shows that they considered themselves to have been deprived of that which it was usual for daughters to receive, Ge. xxxi. 14. In the land of Uz they sometimes, but apparently not always, received their share of the paternal inheritance, Job xlii. 15. Where there was no child, the son of some confidential servant, such as a steward, born in the master's house, appears to have been occasionally, at least, made the heir, Ge. xv. 2, 3.

The Mosaic law of the inheritance of land is laid down most distinctly in Nu. xxvii. 1–11, and from this, taken in connection with other passages, we can form a perfectly clear idea of it. On the father's death his land was divided among his sons, his daughters receiving no share of it, Nu. xxvii. 8. If there was but one son, he inherited all; if there were more than one, the eldest inherited twice as much as the younger sons, this distinction being conferred in the Mosaic law on primogeniture, De. xxi. 17. Up to Moses' time there was no rule as to who should be reckoned the eldest son, the father selecting the eldest son of whichever wife he pleased. This gave rise to great jealousies and intrigues, which were put an end to by Moses' enactment (De. xxi. 17; M'Culloch, Succession to Property, p. 16). Illegitimate sons did not share in the inheritance with legitimate sons, Ju. xi. 2. In the division of the land disputes occasionally arose, and wrong was sometimes done, to remedy which there would appear to have been judges or dividers appointed, Lu. xii. 13, 14. The rule of the exclusion of daughters from a share when there were sons living, is sometimes thought to have been departed from in the case of Caleb's daughter, Jos. xv. 18, 19; Ju. i. 15; 1 Ch. iv. 15. It may be an exception, but it is not necessarily one. Caleb may have acquired by conquest rights independent of his inheritance by lot, and over which he may have had more control, Jo. xiv. 6-15. Even in the English feudal system a liberty of alienation was allowed in the case of land acquired by individuals, which was not allowed in regard of patrimonial inheritance (M'Culloch on Succession, p. 9). The preference of males to females in inheritance was shared by the ancient Germanic nations, and prevailed in England (M'Culloch, p. 22, 23). In Greece and Rome, when a man had no son, he was permitted to adopt the son of another, even though he was not related to him. The adopted son took the name, and succeeded to the property of his new father (Potter's Grecian Ant. b. iv. c. xv; Adam's Roman Antiquities). A similar custom seems to have prevailed in ancient Egypt (Ex. ii. 10; Josephus, Ant. ii. 9, 7). There was no such custom among the Jews; on the contrary, it was opposed to their law of succession. Accordingly, while we have the term (*υἱοθεσία υἱοθέτησις, adoptio*), in Greek and Latin, we have no corresponding term in the Hebrew; and while illustrations of the new relation of believers to God as their Father in Jesus Christ, are not unfrequently taken in the New Testament from the custom of adoption, they are addressed to churches where the Roman and Grecian custom was well understood, Ro. viii. 15; Ga. iv. 5; Ep. i. 5. The law of the heir while under age, Ga. iv. 1, 2, would naturally be the law of Judea as of other parts of the world. This would give the parent a certain amount of authority over his sons in protracting or limiting the time during which they should exercise power.

If a man died without sons, his daughters inherited equal portions, Nu. xxvii. 4-8. By thus retaining the land in the family the name of the deceased was kept alive, ver. 4. While other women might marry in whatever tribe they pleased, heiresses must marry within their own tribe, Nu. xxxvi. 8. As a general rule they would marry their nearest kinsman in the permitted degrees, Nu. xxxvi. 11; Tobit vi. 12; vii. 14; but this was not required in the original law. If they failed to marry within their own tribe, their inheritance was forfeited, and went to the parties next named in succession (Joseph. Ant. iv. 7, 5). Under some circumstances this law seems to have been departed from, as in 1 Ch. ii. 34–36, where we read of an heiress marrying an Egyptian servant, and their son inheriting. There is another alleged exception in 1 Ch. ii. 21–24, Nu. xxxii. 41; but it is possible that the daughter of Machir may not have been an heiress at the time of her marriage. A considerable liberty of choice was thus

left to Jewish heiresses, and one much greater than was permitted in Athens, where they were compelled to marry their nearest kinsman (Potter's Grecian Ant. on Laws belonging to Marriages; M'Culloch on Succession, p. 17). The early Roman law excluded females from inheritance when there were brothers, and their privilege of adoption had the same effect (M'Culloch, p. 18, 20); the law of gavelkind in Kent is exactly that of Moses in regard to daughters (M'Culloch, p. 23); the law of Mahomet gives sisters one-half of their brothers' share of the inheritance (Sale's Koran, i. 94 and 100, ed. 1764). We thus find the Mosaic law recognizing the natural equity of leaving a father's inheritance to his children; while with respect to the apparent injustice of leaving daughters unprovided for where they had brothers, the injury was only apparent. Where Jewish women were as a rule unprovided for, and where marriage was all but universal among the men, the want of fortune brought no disadvantage; while beauty, and personal worth, would give to individual women that distinction which wealth alone too often confers with us.

We come now to a remarkable peculiarity in the Jewish law of succession, viz. in the case of those who died without children, their widows surviving them, De. xxv. 6. This law was, however, derived from a much earlier period, and existed in full force in the family of Jacob, Ge. xxxviii. 8, 9. The law was, that if a man died without leaving any child, his brother or nearest kinsman should marry the widow, their eldest son should succeed to the inheritance of the deceased as his son, while the other children should belong to the actual father, and succeed to his inheritance, De. xxv. 5, 6. Some might from the Hebrew raise the question whether this law did not come into force if a man died without *a son*, for where the authorized version translates by "child," in De. xxv. 5, the Hebrew is בֵּן (*ben*), which very rarely includes the female (Gesenius, Fuerst). Here it seems to do so. Both Septuagint and Vulgate thus understand it; the law of succession to daughters, in the absence of sons, appears to require it; and so the Jews all understood it, Mat. xxii. 23, and parallels. The law that the nearest kinsman of the deceased should marry his widow was not absolutely compulsory, but the refusal to do so was looked on as a great reproach, De. xxv. 7-10. In case of such refusal the obligation devolved on the kinsman next to him, who in such a case also redeemed the land of the deceased if it had been sold, Ru. iii. 12, 13; iv. 1-12. The instance in the book of Ruth is curious. Naomi being past the age for marriage, ch. i. 12, Boaz marries Ruth her daughter-in-law, and the widow of her son, but the child born from this marriage is reckoned the son of Naomi, and of course of her husband Elimelech, ch. iv. 17, the intervening generation being passed over. Boaz did not raise up a son to Chilion, but to Elimelech. From this case we may judge that when a man died leaving sons, who also died without issue, the property reverted to the widow of their father during her lifetime; for it is Naomi, not Ruth, who sells the land of Elimelech, ch. iv. 3. On Naomi's death Ruth would inherit, ch. iv. 5. From Pr. xxx. 23 it would appear as if a handmaid, when she was a concubine, inherited after the wife, in case neither had children.

On the failure of sons and daughters, the brothers of the deceased inherited, Nu. xxvii. 9. By brothers here we must understand the sons of his father, not kinsmen, which the term is often put for. If he had no brothers, the inheritance went to his father's brethren, or, as we would say, his uncles, by the father's side, Nu. xxvii. 10. Up to this the law of Jewish inheritance is precisely the same as prevailed among the ancient Germans, with the exception of the law regarding widows; but here there is a divergence. If there were no uncles by the father's side, the inheritance went, among the Germans, to the maternal uncles (Tacitus de Mor. xx.); but these were not recognized in the Jewish law, as the inheritance would in that case frequently pass from one tribe to another. In the absence of paternal uncles the inheritance went to the nearest kinsman of the deceased belonging to his family and tribe, Nu. xxvii. 11.

While the law of succession thus kept land in the possession of the same family from generation to generation, the law of mortgage had the same effect. In no instance could a Jew alienate his inheritance for ever by the sale of it, Le. xxv. 23. A redemption for the land, Le. xxv. 24, called the right of the redemption (מִשְׁפַּט הַגְּאֻלָּה, *mishpat hagulah*, Je. xxxii. 7), must in every case accompany the temporary sale of the land. A kinsman could at any time redeem it by payment of a regulated charge; or the owner could at any time redeem it for himself on the same terms, if he had acquired the means, Le. xxv. 24-27. This would act as a spur to industry. In any case the land must return to the original owner or his heirs at the year of jubilee, without any payment, Le. xxv. 28. All these conditions would reduce land, as a marketable commodity, very low. The two cases in Scripture where details are given of the redemption of land, acquaint us with further particulars, Je. xxxii. 6-9; Ru. iv. 1-6. These do not appear to be the redemption of land which had been sold out of the family, but the sale of the properties by their proper owners. In both cases it appears that the first offer of the land must be made to the nearest kinsman, which is indeed implied in the power he possessed of redeeming it any time, Le. xxv. 25. From Ruth it appears that where the land to be sold belonged by possession or reversion to a widow, not past the time for marriage, the kinsman purchasing was obliged also to marry her. It was this which made Elimelech's nearest kinsman refuse the right of redemption, lest he should mar his own inheritance, Ru. iv. 6. Josephus (Ant. v. 9, 4) thinks this was because he had already a wife and children. A more likely reason is, that he was afraid that if he had but one son, that son would be the legal son of Elimelech, and not his own, and so the succession of his own name should be endangered, Ge. xxxviii. 9; De. xxv. 6. Elimelech's inheritance was at this time probably in the hand of the nearest kinsman (Josephus, Ant. v. 9, 4); but nothing probably had been paid for it at the time of Elimelech's departure, when the land, owing to the famine, was of little or no value, ch. i. 1. The inalienability of land has been generally enforced; in England it continued down to the reign of Henry VIII. (M'Culloch on Succession, p. 9). The Roman parent had the power to disinherit his son (Adam's Roman Antiquities—Right of Testament), but this power was not possessed in Judea. Over his movable property a Jewish parent had power, but not in the disposition of the land. It is probably of movable property that Pr. xvii. 2 speaks. It was the inalienability of the land that made the pious Naboth reject Ahab's proposal with horror, 1 Ki. xxi. 3. The most accurate maps

and accounts of the several inheritances of each family must have been made and preserved, when we find each, after the seventy years' captivity in Babylon, returning to his own inheritance, Ne. xi. 20. It was not in the power of the prince to alienate his own inheritance, or that of his people, Eze. xlvi. 16-18. The inalienable right of succession by birth may illustrate the nature of our Lord's sonship, which was his by inheritance, He. i. 4, 5; and adds force to the frequent declarations of Scripture that glory is the inheritance of the wise, and folly of the simple, Pr. iii. 35; xiv. 18.

The inalienability which attached to the land of Judea did not attach to houses and movable property. Houses in walled towns could be alienated for ever if not redeemed within one year from the day of sale, Le. xxv. 29, 30. Houses in unwalled towns and villages could not be alienated, as being probably essentially connected with the neighbouring land, Le. xxv 31. The agricultural population seldom lived out of villages. The power thus given over houses was of course much more exercised over movable property, with respect to which there is no law in Scripture, and over which therefore the owner had full control. It would in ordinary circumstances go to one's children or nearest kinsman, but the owner had full power to dispose of it during his lifetime in any way he judged best. From Pr. xvii. 2 we judge that it was sometimes given to a servant in preference to a son. The liberty thus granted argues great wisdom in Jewish law. The power of alienating movable property is essential to progress (M'Culloch on Succession, p. 5). This power was granted in its full extent to the Jews, while it was very much restrained among nations accounted more civilized. No kind of property could be devised in Athens, except to children, before the age of Solon; nor in Rome, except by a will made in an assembly of the people; and the disposal of it was much restrained in England to the reign of Henry II. (M'Culloch, p. 3, 4, 7, 8). Jewish law of the remotest period was framed on a wiser plan. The property spoken of in Lu. xv. 11–13, is by some supposed to be movable property, but others with greater probability think it to be the landed inheritance (so Alford, Gr. Test. in loco).

As landed property could not at any time be alienated from children, so movable property in Judea would appear to have been disposed of during the owner's lifetime, and by his verbal disposition, rather than by written wills coming into force after his death, as with us, Ge. xxiv. 36; xxv. 5, 6. The will is not once mentioned in the Old Testament; there is no Hebrew word for it. The διαθήκη of the New Testament, frequently translated "testament," is never so used in the Septuagint, which is our best guide to the New Testament Greek. (*See* COVENANT.) We know of no instance of wills in use among the Jews except in the case of the Herods, and even these refer only to the disposition of the kingdom (Josephus, Ant. xvii. 3, 2; Jewish Wars, ii. 2, 3). Tobit viii. 24 has the appearance of a Jewish will, though not really one, but was a paper drawn up to guard against misappropriation after death, Tobit vi. 12. To suppose the patriarchal blessing, Ge. xxvii. 19, 37, analogous to a modern will is rather fanciful, and Caleb's blessing, Jos. xv. 19, was the bestowal of property in his lifetime. And this absence of the will in Jewish antiquity is conformable to general custom. It is a mistake to represent it as of immemorial antiquity (Townsend's Manual of Dates—Wills). The power to devise by will was unknown in the earlier periods of society (M'Culloch on Succession, p. 3). There was no will at Athens before Solon, and even then it was only such as had no children that could devise. At Rome the power to devise was not of early date, and it was a very considerable time before this power was conceded in England (M'Culloch, p. 3, 5, 7, 8; Blackstone's Com. ii. 32).

The last feature of the Jewish law of inheritance that requires consideration is the perpetual division and subdivision of land made by it among the Jewish proprietors. The law of primogeniture, the grand characteristic of the feudal system, was only so far recognized in Judea as that the elder son should inherit a double portion. The necessary effect of this was to subdivide the land and create a great body of small landed proprietors, every Jewish male being born to land. Political economists differ as to the general propriety of this rule, but in the case of Judea we find that even those who deny its general propriety allow it to have been of use there. This is all that is required, as no one supposes that laws of this kind were intended for use elsewhere under different circumstances. Adam Smith condemns the law of primogeniture as most injurious under present circumstances, and advocates the division of landed property (Wealth of Nations, p. 171, M'Culloch's edition). M'Culloch approves generally, and with much reason, of the law of primogeniture. He shows in the instances of Ireland and France that endless subdivision of land is injurious, and fortifies his arguments by the opinion of Sir Matthew Hale (M'Culloch, p. 30, 34, 87-90; Hale's History of Common Law, ch. xi. p. 253, Runnington's edit. 1779). The division of land in France is however twice as great as in Judea: in France it is divided among sons and daughters (M'Culloch, p. 81), while in Judea it was divided only among sons, when sons existed. M'Culloch notices cases in which he thinks the subdivision of land useful, and where its injurious effects are prevented by the peculiar circumstances of the times or country. Many of these apply with peculiar force to Judea. Thus in a hilly country, where the lands do not admit of the easy employment of horses, or of improved implements, he thinks small farms preferable to large. Beyond almost any country Palestine agrees with this, a land of hills and valleys, where in ancient times manual labour raised terraces up to the tops of the hills (Josephus, J. Wars, iii 3; De. viii. 7-9). He also thinks small farms are preferable in the vicinity of large towns (M'Culloch, p. 128). There are few countries where considerable towns lie so thickly as they did in the two Galilees, the smallest of them containing over fifteen thousand inhabitants (Josephus, J. Wars, iii. 2, 3; De. vi. 10). M'Culloch mentions other circumstances in favour of the subdivision of land. He mentions the great popularity of the law even in France, and the attachment to the country which the proprietors have in consequence: also in Germany (p. 101, 136). It had of course this effect among the Jews when every one ate of his own vine and his own fig-tree, Is. xxxvi. 16. He also mentions the extraordinary impulse which under certain circumstances the subdivision of property gives to population (p. 137), an impulse very desirable in a land subject to frequent wars and waste of population. It is to the frequency of war in the early state of Rome that he attributes the fact that there this subdivision led to no injurious consequences (p. 169). He might have added that but for this rapid increase of population Rome could never have sent forth those native armies to which she owed

her empire. No country required a quick increase of population on this account more than Judea. In perpetual war with the neighbouring smaller nations, her little territory was the battle-field of Egypt and Assyria, of Greece and Rome. With all this necessary waste, her population was recruited so as to meet it. The law of inheritance, it may be, inapplicable to England or France in their present state, was the wisest law for the land for which it was enacted. It provided a numerous population to defend the soil which possession made dear to every Jew: it provided food for an urban population of vast amount: it clothed the rugged hillsides of Pærea and Judea with the olive and the vine, the fig-tree and the palm, and enabled manual toil to maintain there a population more numerous than that which cultivated the great plain of Esdraelon, or the fertile valley of the Jordan. [H. C.]

INK is referred to in but a few passages in Scripture, and simply as the fluid used in writing. That it was usually black, we know from other sources and from the remains of antiquity that have descended to modern times. It was differently composed from that now in current use, being formed sometimes of the finest soot of lamps, sometimes of the black liquor found in the cuttle fish and other substances, together with a certain intermixture of gums and acids, which produced a composition that was remarkably durable, even more so than modern ink, but was thicker, and less adapted for speedy execution. For ornamental purposes, however, other kinds of ink were employed by the ancients, and of various colours—red, blue, purple, and of gold and silver tints. (*See* WRITING.)

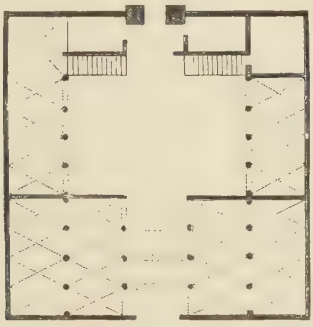
INN. This word occurs altogether five times in our English Bibles; but scarcely in any of them can it be said to be a proper rendering of the original; as *inns* in our sense of the term had no existence in ancient Palestine and the adjacent countries. The earliest mention of an inn is in connection with the history of Jacob's family, Ge. xlii. 27; on their return homewards his sons stopped to give their asses provender in the *inn* (מָלוֹן, *malon*), literally the lodging-place, where travellers were wont to make a halt in their journey. So again it occurs at Ex. iv. 24, in the account of the return of Moses from Midian to Egypt. At the threshold of the New Testament history it meets us in connection with the birth of our Lord at Bethlehem; who was laid in a manger (or stall), because, it is said, "there was no room for them in the inn" (ἐν τῷ καταλύματι). The word here employed, if viewed in respect to its etymology, means a loosing-place—a place where travellers ungirded their beasts of burden, and rested for the night, or during the heat of day. But there can be no doubt that the word is used with some latitude in the Greek translations of the Old Testament scripture, and that it also denoted any place for rest or refreshment, such as a couch, or tent, or settled abode, 1 Sa. ix. 9; Ex. xv. 13; Je. xxv. 38. So that the mere use of the word (καταλύμα) at the beginning of the gospel history would not of itself determine to what

[355.] Interior of Vizir Khan, Aleppo.—From a drawing by E. Falkener, Esq.

class of buildings the birth-place of Jesus belonged; for this, we are thrown upon the general manners and customs of the East; and these still retain so much of their ancient type, that there is no great difficulty in sketching what was, at least, the probable state and aspect of things.

By the inn, then, we are to understand the khan or caravanserai so often described by those who have visited the East, and which, unlike the inns of our own country, are entirely unfurnished. It is a kind of building intended merely to afford convenient shelter and lodging-room for travellers, usually constructed in the form of a quadrangle surrounding an open court, the entrance to which is by an archway closed by a strong gate. • The walls are generally lofty and strong, and sometimes provided with means of defence. The compass of this court, and the number as well as character of the apartments which surround it, differ materially, according to the position and plan of the building. Almost invariably, however, there is a well in the centre of the court, and, if there are no stalls for the cattle, then these, after being unburdened of their load, are left to repose in the inclosure, or to browse on what herbage they can find in the immediate neighbourhood. But commonly there are openings in the surrounding wall

into a number of recesses, which contain chambers both for the traveller and his beast. The floor of these receding apartments rises two or three feet above the central court, and consists of a platform or bank of earth faced with masonry. When stalls are attached, these usually run in covered avenues behind the separate apartments, but on a somewhat lower level; in which case the more elevated floor of the apartments is made to project behind into the stable, so as to form a bench, toward which the head of the horse or camel is turned, and on which the nose-bag is allowed to rest. It was in a place of this sort that the Virgin Mary brought forth the blessed Redeemer. The khan at Bethlehem had cells or apartments for the travellers, as well as stalls for the cattle; but the former were already pre-occupied before the holy family arrived;



[356.] Plan-section of Khan at Adalia.—From a sketch by E. Falkener, Esq.

and they had nothing for it but to betake to one of the outer pendicles destined for beasts of burden. There the Saviour of the world was born, and on the projecting ledge, which had its appropriate use in supporting the nose-bags of horses and camels, did he find his first humble bed. With inimitable simplicity the evangelist merely records this astounding fact; but the thoughts it is fitted to raise of the love and condescension of Christ, and of the aspect borne by his mission to the lowest and poorest of mankind, it might take volumes to unfold. The caravanserais on the highroads of the countries farther to the east appear to have been, from ancient times, of a more spacious and costly description than those in Palestine and its immediate neighbourhood. Layard characterizes the khans between Bagdad and the sacred places as "handsome and substantial edifices, which have been built by Persian kings, or by wealthy and pious men of the same nation, for the accommodation of pilgrims" (Nineveh and Babylon, p. 478). The general plan and structure, however, usually correspond with the description already given. But a somewhat different form is found, especially in Asia Minor, as may be seen from the engravings. No. 355 presents a considerable elevation, with apartments entering from covered galleries for the accommodation of the travellers, while the lower story is devoted to stables for horses or other cattle, and store-rooms for goods. No. 356 exhibits a plan-section of another building of the same description. In this plan the main entrance is at the lower part, the stairs leading to the covered galleries from which the sleeping apartments enter are at the farther end of the court. The pillars that sustain the flat roof are represented in section by little dark circles, and the structure of the roof itself by a series of oblique lines. Khans of such a description are probably not very numerous, and only found where there is much traffic.

Manifestly different from the ordinary khan was the inn (*πανδοκεῖον*) mentioned by our Lord in the parable of the good Samaritan, Lu. x. 34. As a host (*πανδοκεύς*) was connected with it, it presents a nearer approach than the other to what is now known as an inn. But the probability is that it is rather to be understood of a lodging house, than a place of public entertainment. That houses of that description existed in towns there can be no doubt, although we possess little specific information concerning them, and find them occasionally associated with persons of loose character, Jos. ii. 1. There is no reason however to suppose, why they may not also have sometimes been kept by persons of good repute.

INSPIRATION. A word of but rare occurrence in the English Bible—once only in the general sense, of the spiritual influence by which men are enabled to attain to the knowledge of divine things, Job xxxii. 8; and once in the more special sense, of the supernatural agency by which the revelation of these is communicated in sacred Scripture, 2 Ti. iii. 16. It is simply in this latter sense that the word is now commonly taken, when used of what pertains to the religious sphere; and its importance, as connected with Scripture, is not to be estimated by the word itself occurring only in a single passage, for the idea embodied in it is expressed in many passages, and is often presented as of the highest importance. If the distinctive character of Scripture consists in its having been given by inspiration of God, then by the sense attached to this distinction will necessarily be determined the place Scripture occupies in men's regard, and its relative position in respect to other writings. The subject, especially when viewed in connection with recent speculations, is of large extent, and can only be treated here with reference to its more essential features, and the main objections urged by the opponents of inspiration in the proper sense of the term. Little more indeed than an outline in either respect can be attempted; but the sources will be indicated, as we proceed, where fuller investigations may be found.

I. *The sense to be attached to the inspiration of Scripture as this may be gathered from Scripture itself.* In exhibiting the import of Scripture on the matter, it is necessary to make a distinction between one portion of the sacred writings and another, in particular between the Old Testament and the New. For, while both form properly but one book, yet the one being completed ages before the other came into existence, and also being distinctly borne witness to, and authenticated by the other, the evidence for that portion of Scripture is in some sense peculiar, and may be best taken apart. Two lines of proof seem perfectly sufficient to establish its plenary inspiration.

1. First, then, *the writings of the Old Testament* viewed collectively are characterized by epithets which mark them as emphatically of God. They are designated "holy Scriptures" (*ἱερὰ γράμματα*), or simply "the Scripture," by way of eminence, having a place and a character altogether its own, 2 Ti. iii. 15; Ro. i. 2; Jn. v. 39; x. 34-36. Still more characteristic and decisive is the epithet "oracles of God," applied to them by the apostle Paul, Ro. iii. 2, since by oracles were universally meant communications bearing on them the

full impress of the Deity they were understood to come from; and to call the Old Testament writings God's oracles was all one with saying they were strictly divine utterances. But the most conclusive, and, as it may fitly be called the classical passage on the subject, is the one already referred to in 2 Ti., in which, after having described the Scriptures, with which Timothy had been familiar from his childhood, as able to make him wise unto salvation, the apostle adds, "All scripture is given by inspiration of God (literally, every scripture, that is, every particular portion of the collective whole designated immediately before 'the holy Scriptures,' is theopneustic, God-inspired), and is profitable for doctrine, for reproof, for correction, and for instruction in righteousness." The object of this statement plainly is to individualize the productions designated immediately before as "the holy Scriptures," and to assert for them one and all the same divine, and because divine, profitable character. To render, as some would do, "every scripture that is God-inspired is also profitable," so as to leave altogether indetermined what, or how much of Scripture actually is such, would obviously bring an element of uncertainty into the apostle's train of thought, strangely inconsistent with its professed aim. Instead of confirming what had been said before, and assigning a fundamental reason for it, as one naturally expects, the passage would rather create perplexity and doubt; for while it had been affirmed of the Scriptures generally, that they are fitted to make wise to salvation, *now* it would be intimated that only such of them as had been inspired of God are profitable for spiritual uses. But then the question inevitably arises, which? How, or where is the line to be drawn between the one class and the other? On this important question not a hint is dropped, and, we may certainly infer, there was no intention to raise it. The passage, however, may be so read, as to throw the predicate simply on the *profitable* (every scripture inspired of God is also profitable, &c.) —though not in our judgment the natural construction —but if so construed it must be after the manner of Origen in ancient times, recently followed by Ellicot, Alford, and some others, by connecting the epithet *theopneustic*, as well as the predicate *profitable*, with the entire body of the writings in question. The meaning in this case comes to be nearly identical with that obtained by the other mode: every scripture being given by inspiration of God is also profitable, &c. So that thus also the declaration, to use the words of Ellicot, "enunciates the vital truth, that every separate portion of the holy book is inspired, and forms a living portion of a living organic whole."

2. Beside these more general testimonies embracing the entire compass of Old Testament scripture, there are *specific testimonies asserting the same of particular portions*. The *law* is one of these portions, which is constantly represented as having been given by God, though instrumentally brought in by Moses, De. xxxiii. 3, 4; Jn. i. 17, &c. Its common name is "the law of the Lord;" and so sacred was it deemed on account of this high origin, that our Lord declared "one jot or tittle should in no wise pass from it till all should be fulfilled," Mat. v. 18. The *historical portions* also of the Pentateuch have substantially the same character ascribed to them; they belonged to the divine law in the wider sense, and bore on them the attributes of God's supreme authority and unchanging faithfulness. Referring to some things contained in those historical records, the apostle calls upon the persons he addressed to hear therein the law, Ga. iv. 21. Referring to other portions, our Lord once and again prefaces his quotations from them with the emphatic announcement, "It is written"—as if to have found them there were enough to insure their absolute verity—and he once speaks of them as constituent parts of a scripture which from its essential character cannot be broken, Mat. iv. 4, 7; xix. 4; Jn. x. 35. If we turn to the *prophetical parts* of Old Testament scripture, we find them, if possible, still more intimately connected with the immediate agency of God. Thus Peter affirms that "prophecy came not in old time (rather, at any time, *ποτέ*) by the will of man, but holy men of God spake as they were moved by the Holy Ghost," 2 Pe. i. 21, 22. Whatever may be the legitimate bearing of this testimony on the interpretation of prophecy, there could scarcely be a stronger assertion made of the divineness of its origin; and it is even stronger in the original than in our translation, as *borne along*, rather than *moved* by the Holy Ghost, is the exact import of the expression concerning the prophets. The testimony is equally explicit and comprehensive. Of the prophetical writings generally it affirms that they were the product, not of man's genius or foresight, but of the Spirit of God operating through the medium of a human agency. Nothing short of this, indeed, is intimated by the prophets themselves, prefacing their utterances, as they so commonly do, with "thus saith the Lord," or delivering their messages of weal and woe as "the Lord's burden." Nay, we find them expressly distinguishing their case from that of false prophets, in that the latter went after their own spirits, hence saw nothing, and spake from their own hearts, while the others followed the Lord's Spirit, and saw and spake the Lord's word, Eze. xiii. 2, 3; Is. ii. 1, &c. Hence, also, we so often read in New Testament scripture of the Lord having spoken by the mouth of such and such a prophet, or of the Holy Ghost having through him uttered what must needs be fulfilled, Ac. i. 16; iii 18; iv. 25. Indeed, it is upon these writings of Old Testament scripture, especially the prophetic writings, that the apostles avowedly based the chief articles of the faith respecting Christ; to these they constantly appealed as providing an indefeasible warrant for the testimony they delivered, Ac. ii. 16, &c.; 1 Co. xv. 3, 4; Ro. xvi. 26; and as this plainly implied the infallibility of Old Testament scripture, such infallibility must have presupposed as its ground the inspiration of the writers. The testimonies are thus every way full and explicit; and by no fair construction can they be understood to import less than that the writings of the Old Testament, individually and collectively, bear on them the stamp of God's authority, and are to be regarded as the peculiar revelation of his will to man.

Passing now to the *Scriptures of the New Testament*, there are several considerations which conclusively establish for them the same rank. (1.) First of all, it may be inferred from *the personal standing of the writers* by whom they were indited, which places them above that of the sacred penmen of earlier times. Apostles and prophets rank next to Christ in the gospel dispensation; and apostles as such stand higher than those who were simply prophets, hence taking precedence in the enumeration made alike of heaven-endowed agents and of instrumental working in the establishment of the New Testament church, 1 Co. xii. 28; Ep. ii. 20; iv. 11. The

prophets mentioned in such passages are those of the New Testament, as is manifest from their relative position: first Jesus Christ, then apostles, then prophets. Now, in Old Testament times, the highest function was that of prophet—the highest, if we except Moses, who, as mediator of the old covenant, had a place altogether peculiar, by virtue of which he stood in a relative correspondence with Christ. But in the new dispensation, without including Christ, there is a higher class than prophets—the apostles; whose revelations of divine truth can in no respect be assigned to a lower sphere than that occupied by ancient prophets. If regard be had to the measure of knowledge communicated through them concerning divine things, a greatly higher place belongs to them, and one which it were utterly incongruous to associate with a less direct influence from above. Even the prophets of the New Testament rank in that respect above those of the Old; for he who was less than they was still greater than all who had gone before him, Mat. xi. 11; and their insight into the mysteries of God's kingdom was such as the prophets of former times had not been able to reach, Ep. iii. 5; 1 Co. ii. 9, 10. But the apostles occupied a position of still greater nearness to the Lord, and were the more immediate expounders of his will to men. So that whatever has been affirmed in New Testament scripture of the writings of the old covenant, as to their strictly authoritative and divine character, may, *a fortiori*, be affirmed of the writings which proceeded from the apostles and prophets of the new. (2.) *The special promises given by our Lord to his immediate disciples respecting the supernatural and direct aid of the Holy Spirit* form another argument for the inspiration of by much the greater portion of New Testament scripture. In the first recorded promise of that description he so identifies them with the agency of the Spirit, that the words they should speak were to be rather his than theirs—"not ye that speak, but the Spirit of your Father which speaketh in you," Mat. x. 20. The promise, indeed, had immediate respect to the troubles and dangers connected with persecution for the cause of Christ; but if for this, then assuredly for all the other emergencies and duties connected with their office, in which they should require the like special guidance and support—most of all for what they had to do as the exponents of Christ's mind to the church in all future time. To leave no doubt, however, that such was our Lord's meaning, subsequent promises expressly certify them of this—Jn. xiv. 16, 17, 25, 26; xv. 26, 27; xvi. 12-15—assuring them of the Spirit as an abiding guide and comforter, who should bring all that Christ had said to their remembrance, should lead them into all the truth, should also show them things to come, and should in all respects bear such a witness for Christ in their souls, as they had to bear for him to the world. If such promises were actually fulfilled, as we cannot doubt they were, what could the result be but that the things they spoke and wrote, as they were received by them from above, so they were again given forth with infallible certainty as the oracles of God. (3.) *Historical testimonies* still further confirm the conclusion. On the day of Pentecost the apostles are declared to have spoken as the Spirit gave them utterance, Ac. ii. 4; and St. Paul expressly affirms that the things he taught had been received by revelation from the Lord, and that he spake forth what he received in words taught him by the Holy Ghost; so that the things he communicated to the churches were to be received as the commandments of the Lord, Ga. i. 11, 12; Ep. iii. 3; 1 Co. ii. 10-13; xiv. 17. Or, as he again puts it, Christ spoke in him, and his word was the word of God, 2 Co. ii. 17; xiii. 3. In like manner the apostle Peter expressly designates the gospel which he and his fellow-disciples preached, "the word of the Lord, which liveth and abideth for ever," 1 Pe. i. 25; and his own words, and those of the other apostles, in particular Paul's, he classes with those of the prophets, and assigns them a place among "the scriptures," 2 Pe. iii. 1, 2, 16. It is as the writings of apostles, that this high character is claimed for them—as indeed the very office of apostle gave those who held it a right to represent, and authoritatively declare the mind of the Lord. And hence also, in the closing book of New Testament scripture, so completely is the word of the apostle identified with that of the Master, that final excision from the family of God is threatened against any one who should either add to, or take from, the things he had written, Re. xxii. 18, 19.

The proof every way is satisfactory and complete; it is so for the inspiration of the New as well as of the Old Testament writings; and the assertion of Coleridge, that he could find no claim to proper inspiration in word by the sacred writers, explicitly, or by implication (Confessions, p. 17), has probably few parallels for its utter obliviousness or disregard of the facts of the case. It is easy, no doubt, for speculative minds to start cavils and throw out questions of doubt or difficulty at various points along the line of proof; but on the supposition that the sacred writers were sincere and honest men—seeking to convey, not for sophists and disputers, but to plain and simple-minded persons like themselves, an impression in accordance with the native import of their words—no conclusion may more certainly be drawn, than that according to their representations, Scripture in its totality—the collection as a whole, and each particular part of it—was given by inspiration of God, and is in consequence to be regarded as the peculiar and authoritative revelation of his will to men.

Necessary explanations. It is not to be understood by what has been said, that Scripture is entirely of a piece. Written as it is with much variety of form—containing a revelation from God made in divers manners, as well as at sundry times—and assuming often the form of narrative and dialogue—it cannot intend, when asserting its immediate connection with the Spirit of God, that every portion, viewed singly and apart, is clothed with divine authority, and expresses the mind of Heaven. For that, it would require to have been cast throughout into the form of simple enunciations or direct precepts; and all conversational freedom of discourse, and expressions of thought and feeling adverse to the truth, must have been withheld. In speaking, therefore, of the inspiration of Scripture, respect must be had to the distinctive characteristics of its several parts. And where the sentiment uttered, or the circumstances recorded, cannot, from its obvious connection or import, be ascribed to God, the inspiration of the writer is to be viewed as appearing simply in the faithfulness of the record, or the adaptation of the matter contained in it to its place in the sacred volume. Were it but a human idea, or a thought even from the bottomless pit, yet the right setting of the idea, or the just treatment of the thought, may as truly require the guidance of the unerring Spirit, as the report of a message from the upper sanctuary.

This diversity, however, in the *form* of the revelation gives no countenance to the idea of diverse *degrees* of inspiration—such as of supervision for one kind of writing, direction for another, elevation for a third, suggestion for a fourth. Wherever the gift of inspiration was actually possessed and exercised, it was a supernatural work of the Spirit; and, as already indicated, we have no materials for determining its precise action on the individual mind, or any warrant to say, here there was less of the element, and there more. We cannot so distinguish even in the commoner operations of the Spirit, of which every true believer is the subject; and much less can it be done in regard to the special agency, of which the sacred penmen were conscious.

In one respect we *can* distinguish between the actions of the Spirit in this supernatural territory—for it is matter of revelation—but it is only in respect to the different *modes* of manifestation, or the respective states of those who were subject to them. Every word given by inspiration of God, and every document composed under the influence of the same, is equally a word of God, and equally entitled to the implicit regard of man; but, according to the form assumed in the action of the inspiring Spirit, it may indicate a higher or a lower stage in the development of the divine counsels—a relatively greater or less importance in the communications made. It was the distinguishing characteristic of Moses in Old Testament times, that God "spake with him face to face, as a man speaketh unto his friend;" and again, "With him I speak mouth to mouth, even apparently, and not in dark speeches, and the similitude of the Lord shall he behold," Ex. xxxiii. 11; Nu. xii. 8. In this Moses stood on a higher level than the prophets, of whom it was at the same time said, by way of comparative depreciation, "If there be a prophet among you, I the Lord will make myself known to him in a vision, and will speak unto him in a dream," Nu. xii. 6. The mode of revelation to the prophets by way of vision and dream, implying a state of ecstasy on their part—a kind of unnatural state, in which they were for the moment carried out of themselves, so that they might be able to apprehend the representation made to them—high as it raised them, in one respect, bespoke in another, a relative inferiority. More elevated than this, because denoting less of distance from the heavenly sanctuary, bespeaking closer fellowship with God, was the condition of him, who, without needing to be thrown into any ecstatic transport, simply in the habitual frame and temper of his mind, was honoured to become the channel of direct communications from above. Such, in ancient times, was the more distinguished privilege of Moses, who, therefore, stood above all the prophets that lived under the old covenant. But higher still was the position of Jesus Christ, who, not at stated times merely, but perpetually, and in his ordinary moods of thought and feeling, enjoyed the freest intercourse with the Father, and disclosed the mind of the Father. (*See* PROPHECY.) The apostles, too, shared in a measure in this freer mode of communication, and but rarely required to be raised into the ecstatic condition. But whatever diversity there may have been in the *mode*, it does not at all affect the *result* as to its proper character and bearing. However received, and however uttered, it was the word of the Lord, which those chosen instruments of the Spirit were commissioned to make known; it was this, and not man's word, which at first proceeded from their lips, and which now stands recorded in their writings.

II. *Objections urged against the doctrine of plenary inspiration.*—These are of the most varied and heterogeneous nature; but they may not inconveniently be ranged under a threefold division: first, those which strike at the existence of a written revelation from heaven, by holding it to be impossible, or at least actually impracticable and unnecessary; secondly, those which admit a portion of the contents of the Bible to possess an inspired character, but deny it of others; and thirdly, those which own a kind of universal inspiration, but only as connected with the spirit, not with the letter of Scripture—with its general scope and meaning, not with its formal utterances and actual contents.

1. The most fundamental line of objection is undoubtedly that which stands first, and which is directed against the possible or actual existence of a book-revelation, bearing on it the stamp of God's authority. The persons who take up this position do not usually deny a sort of inspiration, and are much in the habit of speaking of "heaven-taught souls," "God-inspired men," but what is meant by this is the attribute merely of genius or elevated moral feeling, and belonged to Milton, Shakspeare, and even the sagacious Franklin, as well as to "the wisdom of Solomon and the poetry of Isaiah" (Foxton). But inspiration of this sort has in it nothing of the supernatural; it may distinguish one man from another as to comparative clearness of apprehension or correctness of view; but it indicates nothing as to a more direct communion with heaven, such as lies beyond the reach of nature's powers and capacities. Inspiration involving the play of a supernatural element has no place in the creed of such men; for this is all one with the miraculous, and the miraculous is altogether excluded from their philosophy. On this aspect of the matter, however, it is needless to enter here, as it will come into consideration in its proper place. (*See* MIRACLE.) But apart from this ground, the idea of inspiration in the proper sense is held by some to be at once unnecessary and impracticable, because it is to the religious consciousness or spiritual faculty in man, that the cognition of the truth belongs; to this it is alone competent; so that "an authoritative external revelation of moral and spiritual truth is essentially impossible to man" (Newman). The representation has been made in various forms; and of late it has more commonly assumed the form of exhibiting inspiration as from the very nature of things incapable of rising above the subjective acts and operations of human consciousness. It neither is, nor can be, more than "a spiritual apprehension on the part of the sacred writers, which admitted of many degrees, some being more inspired than others." When the prophets spoke of the word of the Lord coming to them, or when they began their messages by "thus saith the Lord," it is not meant that "the Deity really spoke to their external organs of hearing, or that they received a distinct commission to write. They were moved by their own spiritual impulse to utter or write the extraordinary intuitions of truth, which the Spirit enabled them to reach. . . . God spake to them not by a miraculous communication, foreign to human experience, but by the inward voice of spiritual consciousness, which daily and hourly tells every one, if he will listen, what his

work in this world is, and how he should do it" (Davidson, Introd. to the Old Test. vol. ii. p. 179, 239, &c.) In short, there is a divine element in man, simply as such, though it exists in some, whether by natural constitution or by superior moral training, in higher potence than in others; and the expression given to this divine element is for the time the voice of God speaking in and by man, but only speaking according to its measure of light, and consequently giving forth no absolutely correct and authoritative utterance—often partially erring, indeed, in its views of the true and right.

The argument, especially when put in the first form, as directed against the possibility of an inspired person or volume carrying the stamp of Heaven's authority, consists of a shallow and almost transparent fallacy. (See Rogers' Eclipse of Faith, p. 63, 246.) For, grant all that can be claimed for a spiritual faculty in man's nature, designated the religious consciousness, or whatever name may be preferred, it can no more lie beyond the reach of external influences than any other innate faculty of the soul. It is common, however, to one and all of these alike, that they not only may be addressed from without, but must be so, in order to become capable of higher attainments—they must lay themselves open to the external sources, which are fitted to stimulate and direct their energies. The understanding, when grappling with the abstract conceptions of natural science—even the imagination, the most independent and creative of all the faculties, when scorning the bounds of sense and time, and making for itself a world of its own—requires in many ways to serve itself of adventitious helps and written compositions. And whatever power there may be in man, capable of receiving or giving forth impressions of spiritual things, it cannot but be susceptible of like influences from without, whether coming direct from above, or through the channel of human agencies, nor, judging from the history of the past, can it be said to be less dependent on them. Practically, this spiritual faculty has not been able to save the great mass of its possessors from the grossest errors of superstition; ignorance of God, painful uncertainty in regard to the higher interests of the soul, wide-spread and ineradicable corruption of manners have ever prevailed where men have been left to its unaided direction. Should it seem strange, then, for God to have stepped in to the rescue, and, through some more select instruments of his working, provided for this defective attribute of humanity an unerring light, which it had elsewhere searched for in vain? The province of this objective aid (supposing it to have been given) is not to supersede the faculty itself, but only to supply it with the materials needed to secure its safe and healthful operation. And the fundamental fallacy of those who repudiate the idea of such aid, consists in their groundless belief, that the subjective action of the faculty is itself sufficient—a belief which is belied by the whole history of the past, and which in former times was sharply rebuked by Ezekiel, ch. xiii., and some of the other prophets. These divine seers, it is held, did not mean what, in one of the above quotations, it is asserted they did mean, when they spoke of seeing the vision, and uttering the word of the Lord.

Leaving this higher ground, however, of the possible or impossible, it is alleged against the stricter view of the inspiration of Scripture, that there is positive evidence of its not having belonged to the sacred penmen. For example, it is affirmed even of the highest of these, the apostles, that "they were sometimes involved in *minor misconceptions, and taught specific notions inconsistent with a pure spiritual Christianity*, as Peter did when he was chided by Paul" (Morell). If such had really been the case, it must have furnished a proof against much more than the doctrine of plenary inspiration; for misconceptions of any sort in regard to divine truth, and notions at variance with spiritual Christianity, involve something else than merely verbal inaccuracy. But the statement itself is groundless. The case referred to of the rebuke administered by one apostle to another (viz. by Paul at Antioch to Peter), is no evidence whatever that the notions of either of them were wrong, but simply that the conduct of one was not upright. It proves, indeed, that Peter's sanctification was imperfect, but indicates nothing as to his inspiration being partial. The supernatural influence of the Spirit promised to him and the other apostles guarded their doctrine against all error—for otherwise they could not have fulfilled their mission to the world—but it did not secure them as individuals against sinning. What they spake in the Lord's name carried with it the weight of his authority; but their personal actions must be judged by the divine standard of rectitude, which they were themselves authorized to set up.

The individuality stamped upon the writings of the sacred penmen, is urged as another proof against their plenary inspiration. "It is inconceivable that each writer should manifest his own modes of thought, his own educational influence, his own peculiar phraseology; and yet that every word should have been dictated to him by the Holy Spirit." Sometimes the objection is put even more offensively, and we are told (by Coleridge for example) of the doctrine turning the sacred penmen into "human ventriloquists," "automaton poets," tending to "petrify the whole body of holy writ with all its harmonies and symmetrical gradations," and such like. The objection assumes what no judicious advocate of inspiration will allow, that, as some of the older, especially Lutheran, writers put it, the inspired writers were mere scribes or pens, "to whom every word was dictated by the Holy Spirit, simply to be noted down" (Hollaz). If this had been the case, then all Scripture would need to have been given like the law of the two tables at Sinai. The inspiration of the sacred writers undoubtedly consisted with their freedom and individuality. There is not a volume in existence, composed by different authors, more strongly marked by the distinctive peculiarities of the several writers, than the Bible. The style, the language, the imagery, the reasoning and the rhetoric were all such as each individual from his particular circumstances and native cast of mind might have been expected to employ; and not less in the rapt effusions of the prophet, when disclosing the higher purposes of God, or foretelling things to come, than in the homely evangelist, and the apostolic herald of the gospel, every appropriate feeling has its play, and every distinctive gift its befitting exercise. This was necessary to secure the end the Bible has in view. It would in great measure have failed of its purpose, if the divine had not been thus tempered by the human, and the human exhibited in its manifold variety. Being made *for* man, the laws of human sympathy required that it should come *through* man, and through man speaking not less freely and naturally, that the Spirit of God employed him as his organ. Here, indeed, lay the great problem which had

to be wrought out in order to provide a suitable revelation for the world. It had to be at once of God and of man, of God as to the matter, of man as to the manner—divine in the doctrines taught and the tidings made known, human in the form they assumed and the channel through which they were conveyed. And thus we have a Bible "competent to calm our doubts, and able to speak to our fears. It is not an utterance in strange tongues, but in the words of wisdom and knowledge; it is authoritative, for it is the voice of God; it is intelligible, for it is in the language of men" (Westcott, Introd. to Study of the Gospels, p. 7). To hold a problem of this sort incompatible with the laws of human thought and action, would be to limit the Holy One of Israel, and also to judge otherwise respecting his connection with the words his agents employ, than is commonly done respecting the actions they perform. When Joseph discovered himself to his brethren in Egypt, he told them not to be grieved at what had happened, for "God had sent him before them to preserve life." So also the apostles, when speaking of the events connected with our Lord's crucifixion, declared that Herod, and Pontius Pilate, and the Jews had only done what had been appointed to be done by the determinate counsel and foreknowledge of God. The actions, though in different respects, were as truly God's as man's; on the one side God-ordained, on the other planned and executed by man. It was not as mere senseless tools, mechanically doing the will of another, but with their own free consent and deliberate choice, that either the children of Jacob sold Joseph into Egypt, or the rulers and people in Judea crucified Christ. And yet the things done in both cases alike—apart, of course, from the motives prompting their performance—were of God. It is the very perfection of the divine administration, that it brings about the ends which it requires to have accomplished, by means of rational agents, without in the least infringing on their liberty of choice and action. And why may not the same perfection be displayed in the bringing forth of that Word, which God delights to magnify above all his name? Can he not here also act upon men's faculties in accordance with their natural laws? Have we so thoroughly explored all these laws, and all the modes of access which the infinite and unsearchable Spirit has to the minds of his creatures, that we can venture on denying its practicability, except by a mechanical dictation of vocables? There neither is, nor can be, any such necessity; for "where the Spirit of the Lord is, there is liberty." The soul never moves so freely, and with such buoyant energy along its course of action, as when it is most fully under the influence of that blessed Spirit. There is, therefore, no essential contrariety between the doctrine of plenary inspiration, and the free development of human individuality in the writers. (See Lee's Inspiration of Holy Scripture, sec. i.; also Westcott's Introduction to the Study of the Gospels.)

It is further alleged that Scripture itself shows a *comparative disregard of minute verbal accuracy*, since in quotations and repetitions of previous portions of Scripture it often departs from the precise words, sometimes gives the substance only, but not the exact meaning of the original. The question here also is not as to the fact, but as to the proper explanation of the fact. Even in Old Testament scripture several examples are to be found of the kind of variations referred to. The repetition of the ten commandments in De. v. differs in a few slight particulars from that given in Ex. xx.; Ps. xviii. in like manner differs frequently in the words, though very little in the sense, from 2 Sa. xxii.; so also Ps. liii. as compared with Ps. xiv., &c.; and in the quotations from the Old Testament made in the New, many are given according to the Septuagint, even when it does not very exactly render the original, and others differ to some extent as well from the Septuagint as from the original. Being a matter of detail, it is impossible to go at length into it here. The objection, however, proceeds on a ground by no means to be conceded—namely, that the original passage was so absolutely the best for all times and circumstances, that no deviation could anyhow be made from the letter of it without substituting a worse for a better. Some of the deviations are chiefly to be regarded as notes of time, and on that account serve an important purpose (as in De. v. compared with Ex. xx., showing the former to have been meant to be a substantial, though not slavish rehearsal of the latter). Others may be regarded as proofs of the individuality of the writers—itself also in certain respects a matter of considerable importance—and of their desire to bring out some specific shades of meaning, which might otherwise have been overlooked. Many of them find their solution in the change of circumstances which rendered a sort of explanatory or paraphrastic rendering of the original advisable and proper. And while nothing in respect to doctrine or duty is ever built on the variations introduced into passages subsequently employed or quoted, while often the greatest stress in those respects is laid upon the precise words of the original, the freedom thus manifested in the handling of Scripture is itself fraught with an important lesson, serving as a kind of protest against the rigid formalism and superstitious regard for the letter, which prevailed among the rabbinical Jews. Unlike these, the New Testament writers always exhibit the deepest and most correct insight into the spirit and design of the Old Testament passages they refer to, even when showing an apparent disregard of the precise form. They showed, as Auberlen remarks (Die Göttliche Offenbarung, p. 216), that they knew how to read, as well as write Scripture. So that, when the matter is fully considered, and weighed in all its bearings, there is nothing in it that militates against the doctrine of the plenary inspiration of Scripture. (See for the details Fairbairn's Hermeneutical Manual, part iii.)

Closely akin to the preceding objection, is one founded on the *discrepancies of Scripture;* such as the disagreements that occasionally appear in the numbers and dates mentioned in one place as compared with another; the verbal differences that are found in the reports of our Lord's discourses as given by the several evangelists; and in various transactions of his life, the dissimilar notices of things said or done, which seem to bespeak a want of perfect coincidence. It is the practice of the opponents of inspiration to magnify to the uttermost such discrepancies, and to represent them as incapable of any satisfactory explanation; while careful inquiry, and sometimes a perfectly probable supposition, would readily dispose of the difficulty. Explanations of this nature will be found at their proper places in many parts of this work. There are, however, some which undoubtedly indicate error—as at 2 Ki. viii. 26, where Ahaziah is said to have been twenty-two years old when he began to reign, as compared with 2 Ch.

xxii. 2, which gives his age at forty-two. Both cannot be right; and indeed, as Jehoram, the father of Ahaziah, died at the age of forty, the son could by no possibility be forty-two when he began to reign. The error is so palpable, that it can only be ascribed to an accidental corruption in the text; and several others might be mentioned of a like description. In the course of transmission from age to age the Scriptures were liable to occasional corruptions of this sort, and could not have escaped it, except by a perpetual miracle. But the corruptions are so few and unimportant, as in no material degree to affect the general result.

As regards the verbal differences in the accounts of our Lord's parables, discourses, and ministerial transactions, it must be admitted there is a relative imperfection; for the diverse reports cannot be equally exact. The only question is, whether the imperfection may not have been such as in the circumstances was unavoidable, in order to secure the main result; whether it might not be inseparable from that human element which had here to be allied to the divine? To give play to the freedom and individuality attaching to this element, imperfections of various kinds are unavoidable. A human ministry, holding the treasure of the gospel in earthen vessels, must exhibit imperfections, as well in the unfolding, as in the receiving of the truth, which would not have attached to a ministry of angels. Yet God has seen meet to prefer the human to the angelic; and, as we can easily perceive, has wisely done so, for the sake of that sympathy and fellow-feeling between the bearers of the message and those to whom it is sent, which was indispensable to its free entertainment. So, too, in connection with particular agents of God's working, with many even of his more honoured instruments, there have been imperfections in style, in manner, in spirituality of soul or strength of frame, which could not but impress themselves more or less on the form of their communications from the upper sanctuary. No one who intelligently holds the doctrine of inspiration will deny this; for apparently it could not have been avoided, without controlling the liberty of the individual, and turning him into a kind of automaton—whereby a greater evil should have been incurred than it had been attempted to avert. With all the supernatural grace and energy of the Spirit, scope must still have been allowed for the operation of personal gifts and tendencies; so that what appeared to one in our Lord's words and actions as fit to be noted, did not always so present itself to another—different epitomes of his discourses were adopted, and the Greek words, which seemed to some the best equivalents for the original Aramaic, did not in every instance precisely correspond with those adopted by others. Yet shall we err, if we hold each sacred? Shall we not find in each something which expresses the mind of the Lord? Doubtless we shall; none of them give the whole; but what is more specific in one throws light on what is more general in another; what is more full here, on what is more concise there; and thus, though each by itself is relatively imperfect, the whole together may afford as complete an exhibition of the truth as it was reasonable to expect, or possible to obtain.

It is further to be noted, that on the supposition of the Bible being a book given by inspiration of God, the analogy of God's procedure in nature and providence would lead us to expect difficulties of various kinds, apparent anomalies, and things in one place not quite easy to reconcile with others that occur elsewhere. Origen in the comparative infancy of Christianity drew attention to this point, and threw out the profound reflection—"In both (*i.e.* nature and revelation) we see a self-concealing, self-revealing God, who makes himself known only to those who earnestly seek him: in both we find stimulants to faith, and occasions for unbelief." "There are apparent anomalies," says an acute living writer, "in the phenomena of the material world; but their general uniformity teaches us that these are only discrepancies in appearance. There are difficulties in applying the great doctrine of gravitation—as in the case of the tides—but we *feel* that they arise, not from any want of universality in the law, but from our ignorance of the conditions of the problem. There are also difficulties in Scripture; and shall we not rest assured from that divine wisdom which we can discern, that they spring only from our ignorance of the circumstances on which the question turns? If the gospels [or the Scriptures generally] had presented no formal offences, how soon should we have heard objections drawn from the general course of God's dealings? How readily should we have been reminded of the plausibility of human forgeries, and the mystery of divine providence? It would have been even said, that the advance of Christianity was due to the beauty of its external form, and the perfection of its superficial smoothness, and not to the power of its inner truth; whereas, at present, the discrepancies of Scripture lead us back to the Author of nature; and as we do not question his eternal providence, though many parts of it transcend our knowledge, so neither let us doubt the perfect inspiration of the Scriptures, though frequently we may be unable to recognize the treasure of God in the earthly vessels which contain it." (Westcott, Introd. to Study of the Gospels, p. 374, ch. vi. vii. viii. treat this branch of the subject admirably.[1])

Once more, *the various readings in the manuscript*

[1] The particular aspects, and, as such, incomplete representations of things inseparable from the *human* element in inspiration, as above stated, is probably all that is meant by Auberlen and Delitzsch in the qualifications they on that account connect with the doctrine of inspiration. Speaking of the differences appearing in the gospels, Auberlen says that "one report must be controlled by the others, and that where such control is impossible, there may be a want of exactness in external things" (*Die Göttliche Offenbarung*, p. 210)—that is, apparently, the impression produced being only partial would necessarily have been imperfect, one-sided. Hence, while he speaks of our having in Scripture "an absolutely true original source of revelation," he yet will not have this to be understood "in the sense of absolute faultlessness." Delitzsch, finding fault with the view of the old Lutheran systematic theologians as too rigid, uniform, and constrained (*Biblische Psychologie*, p. 367, 2d ed.), justly says, that the inspiration-act should and must be represented as an organic life-like interpenetration of the divine and human factors, without thereby imperilling the infallible certainty of the revelation of the truth made in Scripture, and the trustworthiness of the original history of salvation fixed in it for all coming time." As necessary to this, he thinks that full play required to be given to the manifold individuality and freedom of the several writers; which, he further conceives, could not be done, without admitting of certain failures in memory or in powers of combination—such failures as the very highest and most spiritually gifted human agency cannot be supposed to be altogether free from. Taken in connection with the other statement respecting the infallible certainty and truthfulness of Scripture, the failures here meant can scarcely be more than what we understand by individual aspects or partial representations of things—true as far as they go, yet not the whole truth.

copies of Scripture, rendering it in certain cases doubtful which is the true text; and the necessity of using translations for the great mass of those to whom Scripture comes, have been urged as arguments against its plenary inspiration; for practically, it is alleged, and as among the general readers of the Bible, it is not absolutely the whole, or every word of Scripture, but only its general substance, which they can regard as being of God. In reality, however, the cases are essentially different. Was all Scripture given by inspiration of God? is a question of a far more fundamental kind, and, in the answer to be given to it, far more important, than this other, Is such a version a faithful representation of its meaning, or are such and such copies exact transcripts of its original contents? These latter points are fair subjects for human inquiry and research; they lie within the province of man's powers and capacities; but not so the question which concerns the fidelity of the original records to its professed object—its title to be regarded as an unerring and infallible revelation of the mind of God. If this was not the character of the original Scriptures, no power of man can bring them up to the mark, or even tell precisely wherein they come short. There is no sure criterion to fall back upon, no higher counsel to call in for the rectification of that wherein it might be erring or defective. But in respect to versions, we have an ultimate standard in the original Scriptures, so far as the true text is capable of being ascertained; and, again, for the ascertaining of this, we have innumerable resources of a learned kind, which, as is well known to every person of moderate theological attainments, have left very little room to doubt as to the correct reading of all but a mere fragment of Scripture. The passages are scarcely worth naming, in regard to which there is now any material difference of opinion among those who are competent to judge in such matters.

2. A second class of objections to the doctrine under consideration, is directed only against parts of Scripture —admitting a partial, but rejecting a universal inspiration in the writers of it. Those things which came directly from God, such as the words of Christ, and the utterances of the prophets, are allowed to be inspired; but there are many other things in Scripture to which this element, it is thought, cannot belong—partly because it was not needed, and partly because it was unsuitable. Indeed, the authority of the apostle is not unfrequently appealed to in support of this view; since in 1 Co. vii. he expressly distinguishes between certain things he wrote as from himself, and the things enjoined by the Lord. There are altogether three advices of that sort. The first has respect to the behaviour of married persons in respect to their common joys—in these he says it would be well for them to agree occasionally to a remission, that they might the more unreservedly give themselves to prayer, ch. vii. 5. But in so speaking, he added, he spake by permission, not by commandment; that is, he gave merely a prudential advice, but did not impose an authoritative prescription. He still wrote as an inspired man—only the inspiration under which he acted, showed itself in his declining to bring such a matter under explicit enactment, and confining what he said to a piece of friendly counsel. The same explanation is undoubtedly to be given in regard to the last of the points in question, his word to virgins—concerning whom he intimates, that he had no commandment from the Lord, but gave his judgment, that, on account of the existing troubles to which believers were exposed, it were better for them to abide as they were, ch. vii. 25-28. Here also it may be said the matter of the advice was not inspired; it did not go forth as an authoritative deliverance, which as a matter of conscience unmarried females were to obey, but was only a word of counsel they were to consider. Yet even so there was an element of inspiration in the word, in that the apostle judged it a matter improper to be laid as an obligation on the conscience—a most important element, indeed, if one has respect to the false teaching and ensnaring vows which on this very subject came in process of time to be prevalent in the Christian church. We are inclined to view in much the same light also the word spoken by the apostle on the intermediate subject—what he says regarding the preservation and disruption of the marriage tie, ch. vii. 12-15. He had immediately before delivered a command, as from the Lord, to persons in wedlock, that the wife was not to depart from the husband, nor the husband to put away his wife. He puts a case, however, not embraced in any command uttered by our Lord, the case of one of the parties remaining in unbelief, after the other had been converted; and in respect to such a case he gives the twofold advice as from himself, not from the Lord—Adhere to the marriage relation if you possibly can; but if the other party absolutely refuses to abide, and resolutely abandons the relationship, then let it be so; the believing brother or sister is not bound by obligations it is no longer possible to fulfil. Some, among others Gaussen, would regard the apostle as here by his apostolic authority revoking an order which had been appointed in earlier times, viz. that a believing person should not be yoked to an unbelieving or heathen spouse; this might now be, the apostle states, in the circumstances supposed:—a very forced interpretation, and one that does not fairly meet the point in hand; for the case of persons under the old covenant marrying heathen wives is not at all parallel to that of two who had been married in heathenism, while one afterwards became Christian. Others, such as Haldane, Wardlaw, Henderson, Alford, conceive the apostle as giving an authoritative word on a case, regarding which he could refer to no express deliverance of the Lord, though the word he himself gave was not the less binding, and in its matter is part of the inspired record. It may, perhaps, be so taken—only such a view introduces a distinction somewhat dangerous, and not elsewhere so broadly stated, between the word of the Lord and the word of his apostle. It was the very honour of the apostles, that they were to speak the mind, and give forth the commandments, of the Lord: so it is stated even in this epistle, ch. xiv. 37. Therefore, it seems better to regard the apostle here, as in the other cases, giving merely a prudential advice on a matter that did not admit of specific legislation; he could advise as a Christian man, but he could not as an apostle impose an authoritative obligation; in this caution and reserve his inspiration from above showed itself.

Rightly understood, then, these were plainly exceptional cases, and afford no ground for excluding certain portions of Scripture from the inspired record. The portions so excluded are of various classes; and the *historical portions of Scripture* may be regarded as among the first to be so reckoned. For these, it is alleged, nothing more was needed in the writers than competent knowledge and strict veracity on the part

of the narrators: it is simply a matter of testimony, which depends on the credibility of the witnesses. And this credibility, it is sometimes alleged, would even have been impaired by supernatural influence; for to be trustworthy, it must be independent, and so "unprompted and unassisted by human, and much more by divine co-operation" (Kitto's Journal of Sacred Literature, April, 1850). This last form of the objection, which has been urged with great confidence, proceeds on the same false assumption which has already been exposed—namely, that there could be no powerful, regulating influence from above on the minds of the inspired writers without suspending their freedom, and rendering them the unconscious instruments of another's will. On the contrary, however the supernatural influence may have operated, it must have consisted with the entire freedom and spontaneous action of the individuals themselves. The principle announced above has in its main position to be reversed:—the testimony of the sacred historians must, indeed, have been free from *human* interference or control, but was perfectly compatible with a full afflatus from the *divine;* for the action in this case, unlike the former, must be from within, and so perfectly harmonizes with the soul's own movements.

Granting, however, that the divine element in inspiration does not neutralize, or in any sense impair, the human character of the testimony, was it needful? Might not the sacred historians have done their work without it? They do not themselves, it is true, bring it distinctly forward, or rest on it their title to be believed; some of them speak of the natural advantages they had for obtaining a correct knowledge of the things they relate (St. Luke in particular does so); but they are silent as to any supernatural aid derived from the Spirit of God. So, indeed, they should have been; as writers of history they come before us as witnesses, and in so far as they mention anything connected with their testimony, they mention only that which lies within the cognizance of our faculties, and which formed a natural and obvious recommendation of their testimony. The Spirit, in his higher, as well as in his ordinary workings, never disparages the human, in what properly belongs to it, but rather serves himself of it to set forth and exhibit that which is divine. The fittest, therefore, even in a human respect, were chosen to deliver to the church the testimony she was to believe respecting the wonderful works of God—though still the portions containing this testimony, as well as other parts of Scripture, are declared to have been given by inspiration of God, and the special supernatural aid of the Spirit was promised to the disciples by our Lord, for the express purpose, among other things, of enabling them to bear faithful witness to what they had seen and heard. Nor will any one be disposed to question the propriety, and even the necessity of this, if he seriously considers how much depends upon the historical portions of Scripture. A large part of God's revelation of his mind to men is embodied in the facts of history. It was so from the earliest times; and so far is it from being otherwise now, that there is scarcely an element of truth, a ground of obligation, or an aspect of Christian hope, which are unfolded in the doctrinal parts of Scripture, that are not connected with, and made to grow out of, the fundamental facts of Christianity. How important, then, that these should have been exhibited in a form that might serve as the proper basis of what had to be built on it? The truthfulness of the narrative was certainly an essential property in it for such a purpose; but it was by no means the only one. There was needed, besides, a principle of selection, that those things only might be introduced which were suitable to the end in view; and along with this, a mode of narration which was in proper agreement with the things recorded, and fit for being translated into the languages of all nations. Who without the special unction of the Holy One could have decided what, in either respect, was best, or, even after conceiving the idea in his mind, could have executed it aright?

Especially may this be said of the history of Jesus, God manifest in the flesh. How easy, and how natural also, in regard to such a life, had it been to run into endless details; and into these details to crowd many things, which it would have been gratifying to human curiosity to know? But to comprise the whole that was needed in the compass of a few chapters, which might be read through at a sitting; and in a space so brief to give a distinct and faithful portraiture of the wonderful Being to whom it relates—to condense what was to be transmitted for future ages of the words and the works of Jesus, as profitable for doctrine, for instruction, and admonition in righteousness—an undertaking like this was immensely too critical and difficult for any merely human narrator to do as of himself. And least of all could it have been left to the comparatively rude and unskilled hands to which it actually fell to be executed. The more may we so judge, when we think of the reserve that had to be maintained, the wisdom of withholding what might have been communicated, as well as of communicating what might have been withheld, which constituted a great part of the difficulty of the undertaking. Looking back now through the successive tides of error and corruption, which at different periods have made way upon the church—as, for example, to the huge systems of priestcraft and Mariolatry which have been reared, one might almost say, in the marked absence of anything to countenance them in Scripture—it seems marvellous that so little should have been recorded, that could even seem to afford a handle to those, who would have been sure, had it existed, to seize upon it for evil. Sacred history has hence been aptly "likened to a dial, in which the shadow as well as the light informs us" (Trench, Hulsean Lectures).

Yet even this was not all; for the mode of narration, hardly less than the things narrated, required the moulding and impress of a divine hand. Not only had the right things to be told, but they had to be told in such a manner as to affect suitably every thoughtful mind, become even a sort of germinal power in the heart of every believer, and the history of every nation in Christendom. They *have* been so written; and hence, to use the words of Gaussen, "that mysterious, and ever fresh attractiveness, which belongs to all their narratives, which captivates the mind in every clime; in which, throughout life, we find, as in the scenes of nature, a charm always new; and which, after having arrested and engaged our affections in early youth, have a still stronger hold upon the heart when hoary hairs find us on the verge of the tomb. There must surely be something superhuman in the very humanity of terms so familiar and so artless. Men know not how to write thus" (Theopneustia, ch. iii. sect. 2; the whole section well worth reading).

Another large portion of Scripture, which the advo-

cates of a partial inspiration would exempt from its operation, consists of such parts as make use of *reasoning in some form for the establishment of truth*—including many sections of Old Testament scripture, and the greater part of the epistles in the New. Paley, in his *Evidences* (part iii. ch. 2), distinguishes between the doctrinces in the apostolic writings, and the analogies, arguments, and considerations by which they were illustrated and enforced—the one, he said, came to them by revelation, the other were suggested by their own thoughts, and might be held valid or not. Morell, in his *Philosophy of Religion*, seeks to carry the matter farther, and to ground it on a fundamental principle; namely, that it is not the logical, but the intuitional consciousness which has to do with the perception of divine truth; and "to speak of logic as such being inspired, is a sheer absurdity, because no amount of inspiration can affect the formal laws of thought." But intuition also stands related to these laws, as well as logic; and if God can, notwithstanding, present to man's intuitional faculty what it could not otherwise apprehend, he may surely breathe such energetic impulse into the logical, as shall enable it to reason with a precision and a certainty, which otherwise were unattainable. And that he both needed to do so, and actually did it, in the case of the apostles of the Christian faith, is confirmed beyond all reasonable doubt by the history of the past. What is the formal ground of the many heresies in doctrine and crude speculations, which have continually marred the perfection, and often endangered the existence of the Christian church? What but the tendency to misuse, or, in other words, to reason amiss upon the facts of gospel history? No doubt, the faculty of reason is an attribute of humanity, and *should* be able to draw from those facts the conclusions they legitimately yield in regard to soundness of doctrine and integrity of life. But from the current of depravity in the soul, what should be done by the reasoning powers of man, and hypothetically can be done, has never actually been accomplished; nay, there is scarcely a form of error, or a perversity in conduct, which has not in some form or another sought its justification in the ostensible realities of the gospel. And it is mainly because of the sound and unerring logic respecting these, exhibited in the epistolary writings of the New Testament—the logic of men who wrote and reasoned under the inspiration of God—that Christianity has stood its ground against the sophistries of men, and has ever thrown off the noxious spawn of corruptions which have from time to time been engendered within its pale. Had the apostles left the church without such means of solid instruction and infallible guidance, they would but too manifestly have launched the ark of God on a heaving and perilous ocean, wanting the necessary safeguards against evil, and the chart requisite to steer her course amid conflicting opinions. And this inestimable service, it must be borne in mind, was rendered by plain and comparatively unlettered men—and by them, working not in a calm and philosophic retreat, but amid the most stirring and eventful scenes that the world has ever witnessed—in a time of marvellous change, when the things of God's kingdom were forsaking their old channels, and creating for themselves new forms of life and action. In such a time, and with such elements boiling and fermenting around them—themselves also tossed as from wave to wave on a sea of trouble—it was in the nature of things impossible that their minds should have preserved their even balance, and produced the clear, compact, and profound writings which proceeded from their pen, unless they had been specially qualified for it by the inspiration of God.

Again, exception is often taken to certain things, in themselves *small and unimportant, or things pertaining to the natural rather than to the religious sphere*, in respect to which, it is thought, the sacred writers required no supernatural aid, and might even have occasionally erred without at all interfering with their commission, or invalidating their authority in spiritual matters. Of this sort are the genealogical tables, and such thing as the request of Paul to Timothy to bring the cloak he had left at Troas, or to take a little wine for his stomach's sake; perhaps also his notions, and those of the other apostles, about evil spirits. Viewed by themselves, no doubt, notices and requests of this sort could have been written by any one of competent information; but incorporated, as they are, with a record which claims to be, not in part, but in whole, a revelation from God, they cannot be so isolated; and it would be a serious matter for the general character of Scripture, if these were separated from the sacred volume as inspired. For who then could draw the line of demarcation between the inspired portion and the non-inspired? "If St. Paul, for instance, were mistaken or insincere in his expressions as to the existence of evil spirits, or the immaterial nature of the soul of man, what reason have Christians for their confidence that a future state of retribution may not be a faulty inference from insufficient grounds, or a compliance with Jewish error? How are we to be sure that on the unity of God himself the apostles may not have mistaken their Master, or that the Son of God has not, in this instance, conformed to the established usages of speech, and the popular superstition of his countrymen? It is the misfortune of this Scythian mode of warfare, that it is only suited to a territory which, like Scythia, is little worth preserving; and that the practice once begun of abandoning to the pursuer whatever parts of Scripture it does not exactly suit us to defend, no means of defence will at length remain for those tenets themselves which we now regard as of vital importance" (Heber's Bampton Lectures, lec. viii., where this point is well reasoned).

If the points in question are held to be free from mistake or error, yet trivial and common, they are not on this account to be placed beyond the inspired domain; for as such they are only on a footing with the wilds and deserts of nature, which are not the less a part of God's handiwork, that they appear to human view to be comparatively worthless; they still, beyond doubt, have their hidden uses. But this is ground we are scarcely required to take up in regard to such portions of Scripture which have, if less important uses than others, yet uses that can quite readily be discerned and appreciated. This, at least, belongs to all of them of a serviceable character, that they connect the writer with the times and circumstances in which he lived. They were so many points of contact between himself and the living world around him; and points that often form a kind of bridge between the sacred and the profane territory; in the first instance, giving an air of naturalness and verisimilitude to the revelation, and afterwards supplying data for the verification of its contents. How much should the Bible have wanted

in general interest and appearance of truthfulness, if it were stripped of the minor details which are found in it? And how many incidental confirmations of its genuineness and authenticity should have been lost, which, mainly in connection with these notices of common affairs, have been furnished by later research? It is to them, in great measure, we owe the possibility of such works as Paley's *Horæ Paulinæ*, Smith's *Narrative of Paul's Shipwreck*, and many similar works, which have rendered the most essential service to the defence of the Bible. The genealogies themselves have their value; for they are, in a manner, the skeletons of history, on whose naked ribs, or projecting outlines, we can often grope our way to interesting or important movements in the past. And, besides the more special lessons which it will always be found on careful reflection can be derived from the mention of things comparatively little and common, there is this instructive lesson —that the book, which is emphatically the revelation of God's mind to men, does not disdain to touch on even the smaller matters that concern them, and while it seeks to lift them above earthly and sensuous things, still willingly accords to these the place that properly belongs to them.

Certain portions of Scripture have yet again been excepted to, because they teach, it is alleged, *a defective morality;* and what is of such a character cannot, in the strict sense, be ascribed to God. As instances of this description it is usual to point to the law of divorce allowed under the Old Testament, but absolutely repudiated under the New (except for the one cause of fornication); to the permission, within certain limits, in former times to retaliate against evil, now also prohibited; to the expulsion of the Canaanites, &c. These subjects will be found treated in their places (*see* BLOOD-AVENGER, CANAANITES, DIVORCE, &c.), and vindicated from the false charges often made against them. Undoubtedly, there is a difference in such things between the Old and the New, as there is generally between preparatory and ultimate dispensations. The divine economy could not be progressive without admitting imperfections of a certain kind at one period, as compared with another. And the fallacy of the objection lies in this, that it supposes what is fit and proper for the more advanced state must have equally been so for the immature; it would insist upon the child being put upon precisely the same regimen as the full-grown man. In no age of the church can God sanction or countenance sin; but he may be more or less severe, also more or less outward, in the methods he authorizes or adopts for checking and chastising sin, according to the state of privilege enjoyed by his people, and the circumstances in which the world is placed. This consideration, fairly apprehended and applied, will be found quite adequate to account for the differences which, in a moral respect, exist between the earlier and the later portions of Scripture.

3. There still remains a third class of objectors to the doctrine of inspiration, as now maintained; consisting of those who indeed admit a kind of universality in the inspiration of Scripture, but only, as they are wont to express it, in the spirit, not in the letter. In the letter there may be much that is of no importance, or that is even tinged with prejudice and error; and to follow it implicitly might be to fall into sundry mistakes, and at all events to come greatly short of an enlightened and spiritual Christianity. But we are safe, if we imbibe the spirit of the Bible—this, this alone is of God. There is something so vague in such a mode of representation, that it is scarcely possible to grapple closely with it. What it denominates the spirit of the Bible is a varying commodity, ever changing with the times, and rejecting now less, now more of the plain teaching and essential doctrines of the gospel, as suits the caprice of the individual, or the moral atmosphere of the age. "Not the letter but the spirit of Scripture," though it has sometimes been adopted as a maxim by persons who were substantially evangelical in their views, has yet more commonly been the watchword of those who have sought, alike in doctrine and practice, to exalt the human over the divine, and to make the Bible teach what their own corrupt hearts desire to find in it. It *was* the watchword of the scandalous party in Geneva, who, at the period of the Reformation, styled themselves *spirituals*, but who were more commonly, and much more appropriately, designated *libertines;* that also of the rationalists in the last century, and the "friends of light," and "German Catholics" in the present, who, amid various specific differences, have had one common characteristic, that little of Christian has belonged to them but the name.

This vagueness and uncertainty is fatal to the principle as one aspiring to throw light on the subject of inspiration. It has nothing determinate or fixed about it. But, apart from this, the disparaging of the letter of Scripture for the sake of exalting the spirit, always proceeds upon a false assumption—namely, that the spirit, as either actually possessed, or capable of being possessed, by men, may of itself decide authoritatively upon everything that is or should be found in a revelation from God. Alike false, whether the assumption may take a rationalistic or a pietistic direction! Naturally, indeed, there is a spirit in man which gives him understanding; and in the children of faith there is a spirit in the higher sense, which they receive from above, and which qualifies them for knowing and experiencing the things of God. But in neither case does this proceed so far as to entitle those who have it to decide what should be in a revelation from God, and what should not. There must still at many points be room for the question, "Who hath known the mind of the Lord; or who hath been his counsellor?" "Cannot man acquiesce," asks a learned German writer (Hamann), "in knowing nothing of the mysteries of those things which are in heaven above him—when he is compelled to acknowledge that he knows nothing, even in the circle of this world's ordinary events, of that which is before him, of futurity? And if it be difficult adequately to translate the phrases of one *human* language into another, on account of the want of correspondence between the ideas of one nation and another, how much more must it be impossible to set forth in human language the mysteries of *divine* things?" Much more, indeed, especially since there is not only such an imperfect medium of communication as human language, but also such a limited organ of apprehension as the human mind. Considering what the sacred volume purports to be, we may as fitly expect that there should be certain things in it, respecting which we should have to say, "These are matters for my faith to embrace, not for my reason to comprehend," as that there should be others of which we can say, "I acquiesce in them, because they are in accordance with the light of my reason and conscience." Here, therefore, the only true watch-

word is, Scripture at once in letter and spirit—the one as well as the other, and indeed for the sake of the other. God has joined both together, and let no man put them asunder. The Spirit in his working among men ever links himself to the written word as the channel in which he moves, and the instrument by which he accomplishes his blessed results. And nothing contrary to what is found there, nothing even that is superadditional to it, can proceed from him, who has here disclosed the whole counsel of God, and sealed it up as heaven's treasury of truth for men till the consummation of all things.

[Many of the works have been already noticed in which the subject of inspiration, or particular points connected with it, have been treated at some length. The work of Gaussen, *Theopneustia, the Plenary Inspiration of the Holy Scriptures*, 1841, handles some points well, but as a whole is defective, and wants thoroughness both in learned and scientific exposition, for present times—not inaptly characterized by Tholuck as more distinguished for its enthusiastic and brilliant religious rhetoric, than for profound theological study (Herzog's *Encycl.* art. "Inspiration"). *The Inspiration of Holy Scripture*, by Dr. Lee of Dublin, 1857, 2d ed., maintains substantially the same view as Gaussen, and contains much excellent matter; unhappily, however, takes the form—imperfectly adapted for such a theme—of pulpit discourses, supplemented by notes so extremely numerous, and often on points of such inferior moment, as both to interfere with the reader's comfort, and also somewhat weaken the general impression. Hannah's Bampton Lecture, for 1863, on the *Relation between the Divine and Human Elements in Holy Scripture*, presents a fresh investigation, in a thoughtful and reverent spirit, of many of the topics now agitated on inspiration, and is an important contribution to the literature of the subject. The works of Auberlen and Delitzsch, referred to in the preceding article, only incidentally touch on inspiration; nor has German theology produced any recent work of moment on the subject. Undoubtedly, the doctrine of plenary inspiration is still held only by a few in Germany. A good article by Steudel, on the *Infallible Inspiration of the Apostles*, appeared in the *Tübinger Zeitschrift für Theologie*, 1840, and a translation of it in the *British and Foreign Evangelical Review*, for Oct. 1862; also an article by Rudelbach, chiefly historical, written in a healthy and vigorous tone, at the commencement of Rudelbach's *Zeitschrift für Luth. Theologie*, the first part of which appears in the *British and Foreign Evangelical Review*, for April, 1863. Tholuck's article in Herzog's *Encycl.* is also chiefly historical, and in principle belongs to the middle position usually maintained by the author.]

INTERCESSION. This word is commonly employed in the English Bible as the rendering of a word (ἐντυγχάνω, ἔντευξις) which does not precisely correspond with it. The Greek word, whether as a noun or as a verb, signifies primarily a falling in with one, or getting close to him, then having intimate converse or dealing with him, obtaining his ear for anything we want, so that to press a suit or make entreaty with one came to be a quite common meaning of it. But it did not necessarily imply that what was sought had respect to another, any more than to one's self; and it might indifferently be a good or an evil that was the specific object of the entreaty. Hence, it is sometimes coupled with the preposition *against*, as when Elias is said to have made "intercession against Israel," Ro. xi. 2, although the link of connection is usually *for*, or in favour of one. As an equivalent, *intercession* is somewhat too limited, since it always carries a reference to others as the objects of the entreaty. But in regard to the more prevalent application of the term, in Scripture as well as in common discourse—namely, as regards the priestly action of Jesus in representing the cause, and seeking the good, of his people in the presence of the Father—the English word conveys the idea with substantial correctness, Is. liii. 12; Ro. viii. 34; He. vii. 25. Elsewhere it is called his advocacy, or simply his praying for them, 1 Jn. ii. 1; Lu. xxii. 32. In its aim and sphere the intercession of Christ must be understood to be as wide as those of his mediatorial work generally; it has respect to all for whom he died, and is specially directed to the end of bringing home to their experience the blessings of his redemption. In one passage—though only in one—the action of the Holy Spirit in the souls of believers is designated by the same term, Ro. viii. 26, "he maketh intercession for them with groanings." The word *intercession* here plainly does not quite suit, as they are themselves the subjects, as well as the objects of the operation. The meaning is, that he has close dealing and intercourse with them for their spiritual good, raising in them the affections and desires which are proper to their condition.

IRA [meaning uncertain], the name of one or more of David's distinguished men of valour. In 2 Sa. xx. 26, we read of "Ira the Jairite" as a *cohen*, strictly a priest, but probably here, as in some other places, a chief officer, or active man of business for David—this, rather than "chief ruler," the rendering adopted in the English Bible. In 2 Sa. xxiii. 26, "Ira the son of Ikkesh the Tekoite" appears in the list of thirty heroes. And still again at ver. 38 we have "Ira the Ithrite" as another of the same class. It is possible that the first may have been identical with one of the two latter; but these two themselves, occurring in the same list, must have been diverse persons. Except the distinction, however, of having attained to such high positions in David's military or civil staff, nothing further is known of them.

IRON. The references to this metal in Scripture are both of very early and very frequent occurrence—implying that somehow mankind must have come in a comparatively rude state of science and art to considerable skill in the manufacture of iron, and in applying it to a variety of uses. In the Cainite section of the antediluvian race, Lamech's son by Zillah, Tubalcain, is said to have been "an artificer in brass and iron," Ge. iv. 22. And though no mention is made of the use of iron in the construction of the ark, yet there can be no doubt that instruments of iron must have played an important part in the erection of such a vast structure. "A furnace of iron" is taken as the image of the fearful bondage from which the Lord delivered his people in Egypt, De iv. 28—an image which could never have been thought of, unless furnaces in connection with iron had already been in familiar use. So well was the article known at that early period, and so much esteemed for the purposes it was made to serve amid the conveniences of life, that Canaan is said, among other natural advantages, to have possessed hills out of which the people might dig brass and iron, De. viii. 9. Iron is also specified among the spoils of war taken at the overthrow of the Midianites, which had to be purified by being passed through the fire, Nu. xxxi. 32. And in the subsequent history of the covenant-people we read of iron being used as the material from which a great variety of implements were formed—axes, harrows and saws, nails, weapons of war, bars and gates, rods and pillars, &c., De. xix. 5; 2 Ki. vi. 5, 6; 2 Sa. xii. 31; 1 Ch. xxii. 3; 1 Sa. xvii. 7; Ps. cvii. 16; Is. xlv. 2; Je. i. 18, &c. Nor is the evidence of Scripture singular on this point; it is borne out by the well-nigh contemporary testimony of the monuments. "In the sepulchres of Thebes," Wilkinson says, "I have had occasion to remark butchers sharpening their knives on a round bar of metal at-

tached to their apron; and the blue colour of the blades and the distinction maintained between the bronze and steel weapons in the tomb of Remeses III., one being painted red and the other blue, leave little doubt that the Egyptians of an early Pharaonic age were acquainted with the use of iron" (Ancient Egyptians, c. ix.) In Ethiopia, he also states, iron was even more abundant than in Egypt; and that while among the ancient Latins and Greeks bronze was much used in the fabrication of warlike weapons, the Etruscans are known to have almost invariably used iron for swords, daggers, spear-heads, and other offensive weapons, confining bronze to defensive armour. The remains of ancient Nineveh still further confirm the testimony; for though articles simply of iron have not been found there, any more than in Egypt (on account of the rapid decomposition it undergoes from exposure to air and moisture), yet *coated* articles of iron have been found at Nineveh, overlaid with bronze, several specimens of which were discovered by Layard, and have been deposited in the British Museum (Nineveh and Bab. p. 191). Iron weapons also were found, but in so brittle a state, that most of them fell to pieces when exposed to the air. Fragments, however, of shields, arrow-heads, axes, and other things, have been saved, and brought to this country.

There can be no doubt, therefore, of the fact, that among the nations of antiquity generally the use of iron was known from very remote times, and in reference to purposes which bespoke its comparative cheapness and abundance. The difficulty is to understand how the practical skill could have been acquired, which was necessary for such an end. For it is rarely found in the metallic state, never in any quantities; and the extraction of it from the ore, and raising it to the proper degree of hardness, is not quite a simple process. It requires, in the first instance, a considerable degree of heat, much beyond what is needed for melting most of the other metals. Tin melts at a temperature of 470° Fahrenheit, copper, silver, and gold at 1800°, or from that to 2000°. But to melt cast-iron requires a heat of 3000°, and malleable iron is only softened by a heat of this temperature. It seems doubtful, however, whether the ancients knew cast iron, although it is certain they were acquainted with malleable iron and steel. And it is supposed that the process adopted is much the same with that by which Indians of the present day smelt the iron ore, and convert it into *wootz*, or Indian steel. It is thus described in Ure's *Dictionary of Arts and Manufactures*, under "Steel":—"The furnace or bloomery, in which the ore is smelted, is from four to five feet high; it is somewhat pear-shaped, being about five feet wide at top, and one at bottom. It is built entirely of clay, so that a couple of men may finish its erection in a few hours, and have it ready for use the next day. There is an opening in front about a foot or more in height, which is built up with clay at the commencement, and broken down at the end of each smelting operation. The bellows are usually made of a goat's skin, which has been stripped from the animal without ripping open the part covering the belly. The apertures at the legs are tied up, and a nozzle of bamboo is fastened into the opening formed by the neck. The orifice of the tail is enlarged and distended by two slips of bamboo; these are grasped in the hands, and kept close together in making the stroke for the blast; in the returning stroke they are separated to admit the air. By working a bellows of this kind with each hand, making alternate strokes, a tolerably uniform blast is produced. The bamboo nozzles of the bellows are inserted into tubes of clay, which pass into the furnace. The furnace is filled with charcoal, and a lighted coal being introduced before the nozzles, the mass in the interior is soon kindled. As soon as this is accomplished, a small portion of the ore, previously moistened with water to prevent it from running through the charcoal, but without any flux whatever, is laid on the top of the coals, and covered with charcoal, to fill up the furnace. In this manner ore and fuel are supplied, and the bellows are urged for three or four hours. When the process is stopped, and the temporary wall in front broken down, the bloom is removed with a pair of tongs from the bottom of the furnace." The iron thus made is converted into steel by being cut into pieces, and put into a crucible made of refractory clay, mixed with a large quantity of charred husk of rice. In this state it is put into a furnace and subjected for two or three hours to heat urged by a blast, when the process is considered complete. The crucibles are taken out and allowed to cool; they are then broken, and the steel is found in the form of a cake at the bottom.

The mode of hardening iron or steel by plunging it when red hot into water is of great antiquity. And the hardness of iron above the other metals was matter of frequent reference both with sacred and classical writers. Hence, rods, bars, or yokes of iron are proverbial expressions for things of great firmness and strength, Job xl. 18; Ps. ii. 9; Je. xxviii. 13; and the fourth kingdom in Daniel's vision is represented as being strong as iron, which breaketh in pieces and subdueth all things, Da. ii. 40. There is no evidence, however, of the ancient Israelites having been themselves manufacturers of iron; and it is still doubtful, whether the expression formerly quoted about the mountains of their land being such, that iron and brass could be dug from them, is to be understood in a literal or a metaphorical sense. Iron is mentioned among the articles of commerce in which Tyre traded, Eze. xxvii. 19; and the allusion in another prophet to northern iron as of superior value, Je. xv. 12, has been supposed to refer to that produced by the Chalybes on the Euxine Sea, who were celebrated for their skill in this line of industry.

I'SAAC [properly *Yits'hak*, יִצְחָק, occasionally יִשְׂחָק, *laughing*], the son of Abraham by Sarah, and emphatically the child of promise. Born, as he was, out of due time, when his father was an hundred years old and his mother ninety, the parents themselves laughed with a kind of incredulous joy at the thought of such a prodigy, Ge. xvii. 17; xviii. 12; and referring to the marvellousness of the event when it had actually taken place, Sarah said, that not only she, but all who heard of it, would be disposed to laugh, Ge. xxi. 6. The name Isaac, therefore, was fitly chosen by God for the child, in commemoration of the extraordinary, supernatural nature of the birth, and of the laughing joy which it occasioned to those more immediately interested in it. Why his birth should have been appointed to take place in so remarkable a manner has been explained in a previous article (*see* ABRAHAM). It was a sign from heaven at the outset, indicating what kind of seed God expected as the fruit of the covenant, and what powers would be required for its production—that it should be a seed at once coming in the course of nature, and yet in some sense above nature—the special gift and offspring of God.

The first noticeable circumstance in the life of Isaac was what took place in connection with his weaning. His precise age at the time is not given, but we may suppose him to have been (according to eastern custom) fully two years old. In honour of the occasion Abraham made a great feast, as an expression, no doubt, of his joy that the child had reached this fresh stage in his career—was no longer a suckling, but capable of self-sustenance, and a certain measure of independent action. For the parents, and those who sympathized with them, it would naturally be a feast of laughter—the laughter of mirth and joy; but there was one in the family—Ishmael—to whom it was no occasion of gladness, who saw himself supplanted in the more peculiar honours of the house by this younger brother, and who mocked while others laughed—himself indeed laughed (for it is the same word still, צָחַק, Ge. xxi. 9), but with the envious and scornful air which betrayed the alien and hostile spirit that lurked in his bosom. He must have been about sixteen years old at the time; and Sarah, descrying in the manifestations then given the sure presage of future rivalry and strife, urged Abraham to cast forth the bondmaid and her son, since the one could not be a co-heir with the other. Abraham, it would seem, hesitated for a time about the matter, feeling pained at the thought of having Ishmael separated from the household, and only complied when he received an explicit warrant and direction from above. And, at the same time, he got the promise, as the ground of the divine procedure, "For in Isaac shall thy seed be called," that is, in Isaac (as contra-distinguished from Ishmael, or any other son) shall the seed of blessing that is to hold of thee as a father have its commencement. It is probable that Abraham needed to have this truth brought sharply out to him, for correction on the one side, as well as for consolation and hope on the other, as his paternal feelings may have kept him from apprehending the full scope of former revelations concerning the son of Hagar. The high purposes of God were involved in the matter, and the yearnings of natural affection must give way, that these might be established. In the transactions themselves the apostle Paul perceived a revelation of the truth for all times—especially in regard to the natural enmity of the heart to the things of God, and the certainty with which, even when wearing the badge of a religious profession, it may be expected to vent its malice and opposition towards the true children of God. The seed of blessing, those who are supernaturally born of God, like Isaac, and have a special interest in the riches of his goodness, are sure to be eyed with jealousy, and, in one form or another, persecuted by those who, with a name to live, still walk after the flesh, Ga. iv. 21-31. (*See* ISHMAEL.)

The next recorded event in the life of Isaac is the memorable one connected with the command of God to offer him up as a sacrifice on a mountain in the land of Moriah, Ge. xxii. The circumstance has been noticed, and its moral import in connection with the leading aim of the covenant pointed out, in the life of Abraham, who was the chief agent in the transaction. That Isaac knew nothing of the relation in which he personally stood to the divine command, came affectingly out in the question he put to his father while they journeyed together, "Behold the fire and the wood, but where is the lamb for a burnt-offering?" Even then the secret was not disclosed to him; and only, it would appear, when the act itself was in process of being consummated, did the fearful truth burst upon his soul that he was himself to be the victim on the altar. Yet the sacred narrative tells of no remonstrant struggle on the part of this child of promise, no strivings for escape, no cries of agony or pleadings for deliverance: he seems to have surrendered himself as a willing sacrifice to the call of Heaven, and to have therein showed how thoroughly in him, as in his believing parent, the mind of the flesh had become subordinate to the mind of the spirit. To act thus was to prove himself the fitting type of Him, who had the law of God in his heart, and came to do, not his own will, but the will of him that sent him. But the death itself, which was to prove the life of the world, it belonged to the antitype, not to the type, to accomplish. The ram provided by God in the thicket must meanwhile take the place of the seed of blessing.

A long gap again ensues in the narrative of Isaac's life; and from the day of his sacrificial dedication of himself in spirit on the altar in Moriah, we hear nothing of him till the period of his nuptials with Rebekah. This was not long after the death of Sarah, who survived the birth of her son thirty-seven years, Ge. xxiii. 1; and when the nuptials were solemnized, it is said that Isaac was forty years old, Ge. xx. 20—meaning probably that he was somewhere in his fortieth year. We may therefore reasonably infer, that a period of twenty years or more had elapsed since the last event recorded concerning him. In this fresh scene he appears the same dutiful and obedient son as before, yielding to the earnest desire and purpose of his father, that a wife might be obtained for him from his father's kindred in Padan-aram, where the worship and manners of the people—if not strictly pure—were at least greatly less corrupt than among the inhabitants of Canaan. He hailed Rebekah when she arrived, "took her into his mother's tent, and she became his wife; and he loved her, and was comforted after his mother's death," Ge. xxiv. 67. So far, nothing discovers itself awry in the bent of Isaac's mind, or blameworthy in his procedure. All seems to have gone well with him, while the dew of his youth was upon him. Twenty years more again pass away, without any note of blame attached to his behaviour, and indeed without any records whatever of his life and experience—so smooth and equable, apparently, was the tenor of his course, that it was without noticeable break or interruption of any kind. At the end of these additional twenty years, when he was himself sixty years of age, his placid life was varied by the birth of the twin brothers—Esau and Jacob. Still, nothing is said of Isaac's feelings on the occasion—either before or immediately subsequent to the birth, further than that he had entreated the Lord to give him offspring by his wife. And not till, perhaps, other twenty years or more had run their course, do we get an insight into his state of mind relatively to the two sons. When we do get it, it is one which somewhat disappoints us, as it appears to indicate in the declining years of Isaac a tendency much the reverse of what shone forth in the hopeful spring-time of his life—a tendency to weak indulgence on the fleshly side. "Isaac," it is said, "loved Esau, because he did eat of his venison, but Rebekah loved Jacob," Ge. xxv. 28. It looks as if some strange enchantment had come over him, causing things in a manner to change places in his account—as if the child that was born after the spirit had somehow degenerated into the character of one born after the flesh! To love the one

son rather than the other, merely because that one ministered to his appetite in savoury meat, and to do this, notwithstanding the intimation given before the birth of the sons as to their relative place and destination in the divine counsels—that "the elder should serve the younger"—indicated a manifest defect of spiritual feeling and discernment—the fruit probably in some degree of that perpetual fulness and ease he had enjoyed. The tried faith of the father grew under its trials, till it reached the noblest heights, and achieved what at one period might have seemed impossibilities. But faith in the more favoured son seemed to lose its vigour for want of robust and manly exercise; so that after exhibiting a fresh and blooming youth, it fell into a premature and sickly age: the type in this of his posterity, who too often in their fulness waxed fat and kicked, forgat the Rock of their salvation, and turned aside from their high calling, till they were cast into the furnace of affliction, and through experiences of sore trouble were made to fight their way back to a better position.

The life of Isaac, however, was not passed wholly without trials coming in from without. One entire chapter is occupied with these, Ge. xxvi.; but there is nothing very remarkable in them, nor is the precise period of the occurrence of any of them given. They commenced with a visitation of famine, which is expressly said to have taken place after the one that had happened in the days of Abraham; from which it may seem to be implied, that Abraham had already deceased at the time of this fresh visitation. And as Isaac was seventy-five years old at the death of his father, Ge. xxi. 5; xxv. 7, the famine in question would fall subsequently, not to the birth merely of Isaac's sons, but to their growth to early manhood; for they were fifteen years old when Abraham died. At the occurrence of this new famine Isaac was expressly admonished by God not to go down into Egypt, but to abide within the boundaries of the Promised Land; and occasion was taken to renew the promise to him and his seed, and to confirm in his behalf the oath which had been made to his father. The Lord pledged his word to be with him and to bless him in the land—which he certainly did, though Isaac did not feel so secure of the promised guardianship and support as to be able to avoid falling into the snare which had also caught his father Abraham. When sojourning in the neighbourhood of Gerar, during the prevalence of the famine, and no doubt observing the wickedness of the place, he had the weakness to call Rebekah his sister, in case the people might kill him on her account, if they had known her to be his wife. It does not appear that any violence was offered to Rebekah; and the Philistine king, on discovering, as he did, from the familiar bearing of Isaac toward Rebekah, that she must be his wife, simply rebuked him for having, by his prevarication, given occasion to a misapprehension which might have led to serious consequences, Ge. xxvi. 10. To receive such a rebuke from a Canaanite prince, should have been felt to be a humiliation, and, happening as the circumstance did, at so advanced a period of the patriarch's life, it cannot but be regarded as another proof of the defective clearness and energy of his faith. In other respects, his connection with the Philistine territory was every way creditable to himself, and marked with tokens of the divine favour. He cultivated a portion of ground, and in the same year reaped an hundred-fold—a remarkable increase, to encourage him to abide under God's protection in Canaan. His flocks and herds multiplied exceedingly, so that he rose to the possession of very great wealth; he even became, on account of it, an object of envy to the Philistines, who could not rest till they drove him from their territory. He re-opened the wells which his father had digged, and which the Philistines had meanwhile filled up, and himself dug several new ones, but they disputed with him the right of possession, and obliged him to withdraw from them, one after another. At last, at a greater distance, he dug a well, which he was allowed to keep unmolested; and in token of his satisfaction at the peace he enjoyed, he called it Rehoboth (*room*), Ge. xxv. 22. Thence, he returned to Beersheba, where the Lord again appeared to him, and gave him a fresh assurance of the covenant-blessing; and Abimelech, partly ashamed of the unkind treatment Isaac had received, and partly desirous of standing well with one who was so evidently prospering in his course, sent some of his leading men to enter formally into a covenant of peace with him. Isaac showed his meek and kindly disposition, in giving courteous entertainment to the messengers, and cordially agreed to their proposal.

It was probably a period considerably later still than even the latest of these transactions, to which the next notice in the life of Isaac must be referred. This is the marriage of Esau to two of the daughters of Canaan (Judith and Bashemath); which is assigned to the fortieth year of Esau's life, coeval with Isaac's hundredth. These alliances were far from giving satisfaction to the aged patriarch; on the contrary, they were a grief of mind to him and his wife Rebekah, Ge. xxvi. 36; and, if duly considered, they might have aided him in obtaining a clearer insight into the relative position of the two sons, and the purposes of God respecting them. He failed, however, to obtain the proper insight; and the next recorded transaction—that, namely, which concerned the bestowal of the blessing—presents him to our view in the melancholy attitude of one pressing blindfold along a course of his own, while purposing to take the path marked out by Heaven—playing wrongfully with God's counsel, and himself played upon by human intrigue. From notices occurring in the life of Jacob (which see), the period when this sad exhibition took place could not be under thirty, possibly not much less than forty, years after Esau's marriage to Canaanitish women, and hence, when Isaac himself was well-nigh 140 years of age. The sacred narrative merely states, that he was at the time "old, and his eyes were dim, so that he could not see," Ge. xxvii. 1. The indications of spiritual decay, which have already appeared in his later career, now reach their climax; and had they passed unnoticed in the sacred record, the memorable circumstances attending this transaction would have warranted us to infer that there had been such in the previous life. For, whatever allowance may justly be made for infirmity of nature, it is impossible to disguise from our view the fundamental element of a simply natural, or predominating carnal tendency in Isaac's procedure on the occasion, such as no child of faith could have fallen into of a sudden. Not only does he hold, in opposition to all signs and intimations to the contrary, that Esau is by reason of his slight priority of birth to be the heir of covenant-blessing; but the moment he selects for pouring out his soul in the formal bestowal of this

blessing, is one of fleshly gratification—when refreshed with the enjoyment of his son's savoury meat—as if it were flesh rather than spirit that was to bear sway in the transaction, and a genial reciprocation of human sympathies that was intended, rather than the solemn utterance of an oracle of God. Scripture records no such other scene in connection with the announcement of Heaven's more peculiar purposes—none in which the spirit of the man of God sought as the condition of its speaking the stimulus of fleshly appetite. The dying utterances of Jacob over his offspring were otherwise pronounced; otherwise too, at a later period, the last words of David; and, generally, the soul of spiritually gifted men strove to work itself free from the disturbing influence of earthly passion, and from the very consciousness of fleshly environments, when addressing itself to the work of learning or communicating the mind of God. It was therefore an ill-omened preparation for what was to come, when this venerable, but too partial and erring patriarch, charged his son Esau to go a hunting for venison, and provide for him a savoury dish, such as he loved, that he might eat thereof and bless his son. But another will interposed. The God of the covenant could not allow his chief representative on earth thus to betray the higher interests of the covenant, or suffer through his imperfection the carnal to lord it over the spiritual. The design formed to serve Esau heir to the special blessing of Abraham must somehow be defeated: and though the guile actually employed for this end by Rebekah and Jacob were worthy of the strongest reprobation, it is impossible not to see in them the overruling providence of God correcting the backsliding of his servant, and meting back to him somewhat of his own measure. The infirm patriarch himself saw it; and with fear and trembling confirmed, in behalf of Jacob, the word he had unwittingly pronounced over him, as embodying the real truth and purpose of Heaven. The word, as *he* meant it, had been spoken unadvisedly with his lips, but (pitying his weakness, and still using his instrumentality) the Spirit of the Lord had spoken by him.

We can scarcely doubt, that the painful but instructive experience of this occasion left salutary impressions on the mind of Isaac, and that his concluding days were again gladdened and refreshed with something like the dew of his youth. Certainly, the parting charge and blessing he gave to Jacob, when sending him away to Padan-aram for a wife, Ge. xxviii. 1-4, is altogether such as we should wish it to have been; it breathes the very spirit of Abraham, and recognizes the proper aim and objects of the covenant. We hear, however, no more of his sayings or doings. In a feeble old age, for the most part probably bed-ridden, he lingered on for upwards of forty years more—lived till Jacob returned from his long sojourn in Padan-aram; for Jacob is reported to have visited him at Mamre, and the two brothers joined hands to commit his remains to the family burying-ground. He died at the advanced age of 180 years, Ge. xxxv. 27-29. On the whole, it may be said, that the laughing joy, which greeted Isaac at his birth, had its reflection afterwards in the prolonged, honourable, singularly peaceful, and prosperous career he was enabled to lead. And if, for a time, the bright sunshine of his life was clouded, and the laughter turned into sadness, it was chiefly because the cup of outward blessing had proved too full, and the gifts of grace had in his case kept too long and close dalliance with the bounties of nature, whereby, in a spiritual respect, he became weakened in the way, and suffered the adversary to gain an advantage over him. Still he lived and died in the faith of his father Abraham; and a soft and tender interest must ever hang around his memory, more especially on account of the marvellous and affecting things connected with the earlier part of his history.

ISA'IAH. I. *Position of the Book in the Canon.*—The two books of Kings are followed by the so-called greater prophets (*prophetæ majores*), with Isaiah at their head, alike in the Hebrew and Alexandrian canon. Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel—so they follow one another in our editions according to the periods of their agency. In German and French MSS. another arrangement is found here and there—Kings, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Isaiah. This is the arrangement handed down in the Talmud. The motive for it is the similarity of the contents. Jeremiah follows the book of Kings, because his prophecies group themselves almost entirely around the Chaldean catastrophe, with which the book of Kings closes; and Isaiah follows Ezekiel, because the book of Ezekiel closes with consolation, and the book of Isaiah, as the Talmud says, is consolation throughout. The opponents of the authenticity of Is. xl.–lxvi. have made their own use of this Talmudic arrangement. But the motive for it is not a chronological one. The chronological arrangement is that of the Masora, and of the MSS. of the Spanish class, which has passed over into our editions.

In this way Isaiah commences the books of prophetic discourse, and the book of Kings closes the books of prophetic history. For, according to the arrangement of the canon, the historical books from Joshua onwards, and the prophetic books from Isaiah onwards, pass for a bipartite whole of prophetic literature. These books are all called *nebîim* (prophets), for the history of the past in the one is just as prophetic as the history of the future in the other. The literature of the prophetic books has separated itself only by degrees from the literature of the prophetic historiography, and become independent, without ever being entirely detached from its historical basis. The oldest prophets of the series, which begins with Samuel, published their prophetic treatises and discourses in the form of contemporary history. The independent position of a prophetic literature, in the narrower sense, begins with the pamphlet of Obadiah respecting Edom. Obadiah is probably the same person with the learned prince in the reign of Jehoshaphat, 2 Ch. xvii. 7; the occasion of his prophecy is the revolt of Edom under Joram, which is related in 2 Ch. xxi. 10. In point of time Obadiah is followed by Joel, who appeared in the first half of the reign of Joash. His book even shows that the separation of prophecy from historiography is only a relative one. For the two halves of the book of Joel are connected by ch. ii. 18, 19[a] ("then showed the Lord zeal for his land," &c.), as by a historical clasp. With the book of Isaiah also are interwoven many pieces of prophetic history. That these pieces are from Isaiah's own hand is already probable on this account, because prophecy and historiography were from the beginning onwards sisters, and were never absolutely separated. This probability is increased by the circumstance, that the chronicler, 2 Ch. xxxii. 32, refers to a portion of these historical pieces as incorporated with the book of Isaiah, and that at 2 Ch. xxvi. 22 he informs us that Isaiah

was the author of a historical monograph, which embraced the whole reign of king Uzziah.

II. Next to the position of the book in the canon, *the name of the prophet* first of all claims our attention. In the usual inscription the name runs יְשַׁעְיָה (*Isaiah*). In the book itself, and everywhere in the holy scriptures of the Old Testament, the prophet is called יְשַׁעְיָהוּ (*Isaiahu*), while the shorter form occurs in the latest sacred books as the name of other persons. The shorter form of such names was already in use in ancient times by the side of the longer; but in later times it came to be exclusively employed, and on this account it is made use of in the ordinary title, סִפְרֵי יְשַׁעְיָה (*the book of Isaiah*). The name is a compound one; it means *the salvation of Jehovah;* the prophet was conscious to himself that he did not bear it accidentally; יֵשַׁע (*Jesha*), and יְשׁוּעָה (*Jeshuah*), *i.e.* salvation, are among his favourite words; yea, one may say, he lives and moves altogether in the future JESUS, who is the personal salvation of Jehovah, and the incarnate Jehovah himself. The mysterious name of God—Jehovah—signifies *the Existent,* not however *the ever-Existent,* that is, *the Eternal,* in the metaphysical sense, but *the continually Existent, i.e. the Eternal,* in the historic sense; Jehovah means the God who, within the sphere of history, reveals his glory in grace and truth. The goal of this historical process, into which God the absolutely free, Ex. iii. 14, has entered, is just the incarnation, for which reason the divine name Jehovah disappears in the New Testament before the name Jesus (Ἰησοῦς). The יָהּ (*Jahu*), in the name of the prophet, is shortened from יְהוָה (*Jehovah*), by the rejection of the second ה. One sees from this abbreviation that the quadriliteral was pronounced with *a* in the first syllable, and thus either *Jahaveh* or *Jahavâh.* That the original pronunciation was *Jahavâh* is evident from this, that all proper names without exception, which are formed from the conjugation Kal of verbs לה, end in *âh,* and that the final vowel in the oldest Greek renderings is ω (*e.g.* Je. xxiii. 6, Ἰωσεδέκ =יְהוֹצָדָק); the closing sound was thus the barytone *kamets.* The pronunciation *Jehovah* has arisen from the blending of the *keri* and *chethîb,* and has come into use since the time of the Reformation. The name of the prophet thus means *the salvation of Jahavâh.* The LXX. always render it Ἡσαΐας, with strongly aspirated H, the Vulgate *Isaias,* for which *Esaias* also is found.

III. We turn now to the inner title of the book, and in connection with this we take into consideration *the lineage of the prophet and circumstances in his life.* Isaiah is called in the title, which the collection of his prophecies gives to itself, בֶּן־אָמוֹץ (*son of Amos*). A Jewish rule, already known to the fathers, asserts, that where the father of a prophet is named, he also was always a prophet. But this rule is an arbitrary invention. An old Jewish view also, that Amos was the brother of Amaziah, the father and predecessor of Uzziah, is without support; but, although not true, is yet sensible. Isaiah's demeanour and appearance make an altogether kingly impression. He speaks with kings like a king. With majesty he steps forth to meet the magnates of his people and of the imperial power. In his mode of representation he is among the prophets what Solomon is among the kings. In all positions and states of mind he is lord of the situation, master of the word, simple and yet grand, sublime without affectation, splendid without finery. A Talmudic parable says, that Ezekiel, with respect to what is given him to see, conducts himself like one of the country people in the procession of a king, but Isaiah like an inhabitant of the city. But this polished, noble, kingly character has its root elsewhere than in blood. Thus much only may be affirmed with certainty, that Isaiah was a native of Jerusalem. For, with the great variety of his prophetic missions, we yet never meet with him outside of Jerusalem; here, and in fact in the lower city, as may be inferred from ch. xxii. 1, and from the manner of his intercourse with king Hezekiah, he dwelt with his wife and children; here he flourished under the four kings who in ver. 1 are mentioned ἀσυνδέτως (unconnectedly), just as in the titles of the books of Hosea and Micah. Everything peculiar that is related to us in the *Vitæ Prophetarum,* which pass current under the names of Dorotheus and Epiphanius, is worthless. But the tradition is credible which the Talmud communicates from an old genealogical roll, found in Jerusalem, and from the Palestinian Targum at 2 Ki. xxi. 16, that king Manasseh put the prophet to death, and that in fact he was sawn asunder, (to which allusion is made in He. xi. 37 by the word ἐπρίσθησαν). There is no ground for denying the historic credibility of this traditional determination of the close of Isaiah's ministry. That king Manasseh is not named in ch. i. 1, does not contradict that tradition, especially if this ver. 1, as we may understand it, is the collective title which Isaiah himself has given to the collection of his prophecies, when he collected and published them in the reign of Hezekiah. We must then assume that this publication fell into one of the last years of Hezekiah, and that the prophet in the very beginning of the reign of Manasseh became a sacrifice to that heathenism which had again arrived at supremacy. But as respects the *terminus a quo* of his ministry, the question is to be put to the collection itself.

IV. *The Starting-point of the Ministry of the Prophet.* —It has been asserted that ch. vi. does not record the first call of Isaiah, but his call to a special mission, or, as Sebastian Schmid, the teacher of Spener, says, *ad unum specialem actum officii.* There are only two arguments which seem to call for this: first, that ch. vi. is not the commencement of the collection; and, second, that the general title, ch. i. 1, presupposes a ministry of Isaiah under Uzziah; while ch. vi. is dated from the year of this king's death. On the ground of these arguments, Drechsler and Caspari hold the decree of hardening, which is proclaimed in ch. vi., as the result of the fruitlessness of the prophetic preaching contained in ch. i.–v.; the decision wavers here still, but the call to repentance is in vain, Israel hardens himself, and now, after God's goodness has endeavoured in vain to lead him to repentance, and God's long-suffering has exhausted itself, he is hardened by Jehovah himself. According to this view, ch. vi. stands in its right historical place. But why should not this judicial character, his becoming an instrument of Israel's hardening, have been stamped on the prophetic call of Isaiah just at the commencement? And does not the vision with which the prophet is favoured, and which is without its equal in his lifetime, make on every unprejudiced man the impression of an inaugural vision? This impression is confirmed by this additional circumstance,

that the chapters i.–v. really contain all the elements which are furnished to the prophet in ch. vi. by means of revelation, and that the result of these discourses corresponded to that which is judicially determined in ch. vi. The first discourse, ch. i., lays open to the people the way of grace, inasmuch as God offers them forgiveness of their bloody sins, and expects new obedience in gratitude for this; but even this discourse, in consideration of the uselessness of this evangelic attempt at restoration, takes the turn indicated in ch. vi. 11–13. The theme of the second discourse, ch. ii.-iv., is this, that only after the downfall of Israel's false glory will the promised true glory be realized, and that only a small remnant after the destruction of the mass of the people will live to realize it. The parable, with which the third discourse, ch. v., begins, rests on the presupposition that the cup of iniquity of the people is full, and the threatening of judgment, which is introduced by this parable, agrees as to substance and in part verbally with the divine answer, which the prophet receives in ch. vi. to his *how long*. Thus the discourses which precede ch. vi. are not against but in favour of the view, that in ch. vi. Isaiah records his consecration as a prophet; this circumstance also is in favour of it, that already in ch. i.-v. he gives to Jehovah the favourite name of קְדוֹשׁ יִשְׂרָאֵל (*the Holy One of Israel*), which is the echo of the seraphic "Holy, holy, holy," and is among the peculiar physiognomic features of the predictions of this prophet. But why does not ch. vi stand at the head of the collection? This question will afterwards be solved for us. And why is Uzziah mentioned, ch. i. 1, as one of the kings under whom Isaiah flourished, although his ministry first began in the year of Uzziah's death? We answer: "the year that king Uzziah died," is the year in which Uzziah was still reigning, but his death was at hand; the ministry of Isaiah thus began, of course, not in the first year of Jotham, but rather in the fifty-second of Uzziah; and although this commencement under Uzziah was only very short, yet it comes to be reckoned as an epoch of the greatest importance. On this very account that the time of Uzziah was a decisively critical one for Israel, Isaiah wrote a special historical work regarding this time, which is quoted 2 Ch. xxvi. 22. The end of Uzziah's time, which coincides with Isaiah's call, forms a deep section in Israel's history. Uzziah reigned fifty-two years (809–758 B.C.) This long period was for the kingdom of Judah exactly what the shorter time of Solomon had been for the whole of Israel—a time of mighty and blessed peace, during which the people were loaded with the love-tokens of their God. But these riches of the divine goodness had as little influence over the people as their earlier calamities. Then began, in the relation of Jehovah to Israel, that momentous change, as the instrument of which Isaiah in special and above the other prophets was chosen. The year in which this happened was the year of Uzziah's death. In this year Israel was given up as a people to hardening; and as a body, as a kingdom and land, was given up to destruction and devastation by means of the imperial power. The year of Uzziah's death is, as Jerome remarks, the year of Romulus' birth; shortly after Uzziah's death, 754 B.C., according to Varro's chronology, Rome was founded. The instruments of the outward judgments, which the inward judgment of hardening was to bring forth, were thus already set apart and in readiness; not only Assyria, the earliest form of the imperial power, but also Rome, its final form. The beginning, which is marked out by the death of Uzziah, was big with the end. Hence, after Uzziah, the activity of the prophets reaches a height never before seen. The prophets appear numerous and active, like the storm-heralding birds in a thunder-charged atmosphere. The year of Uzziah's death divides the history of Israel into two halves. Amos, who appeared about the tenth year of Uzziah, the twenty-fifth of Jeroboam II.; Micah, who prophesied from the time of Jotham (probably from the joint-reign of Jotham onwards) up to the fall of Samaria in the sixth year of Hezekiah; but above all, Isaiah stands on the boundary of the two halves of Israel's history. No prophet marks out this middle-point of Old Testament history as Isaiah does. He is the prophet by way of eminence, the universal prophet, who is placed in the middle betwixt Moses and Christ, and rules over the periods of the world-empires with his prophetic glance. In the consciousness of this, his central all-important position, he begins the discourse, ch. i., which forms the introduction, and, as it were, the prelude to his prophecies, in the style of Deuteronomy. He begins it as Moses begins his song, De. xxxii. This great song is a compendious sketch of the history of Israel up to the end of days. This history falls into four great periods. The contents of the first period are Israel's creation and training; the contents of the second, Israel's ingratitude and apostasy; the contents of the third, Israel given over to the heathen; the contents of the fourth, the restoration of the sifted, but not annihilated people, and the union of all nations in the praise of Jehovah, who has manifested himself in judgment and grace. Isaiah stands on the threshold of the third of these four periods. What Jehovah says by means of him, and what he calls upon heaven and earth to hear, coincides in substance with the address of Jehovah, which is introduced by the וַיֹּאמֶר (*and he said*), De. xxxii. 20.

V. Now that we have fixed and characterized the *terminus a quo* of Isaiah's ministry, let us figure to ourselves in a sketchy way *the four Epochs of the Ministry of the Prophet*. The first epoch begins, as we have shown, with the last year of Uzziah (who had now retired from the government), and comprehends from that point onwards the sixteen years of Jotham. At that time the kingdom of Israel and the kingdom of Judah had simultaneously reached their highest prosperity. Since the time of David and Solomon the people had not stood upon so high a pinnacle of power and good fortune, as at that time under Jeroboam II. and Uzziah, the two rulers from the house of Jehu and from the house of David, who vied with each other in the duration and splendour of their dominion. It was not till after the death of these two kings, and only by degrees, that the glory of the two kingdoms withered away. During the sixteen years of Jotham the condition of Judah remained substantially the same as under Uzziah. The extended boundaries of the kingdom remained; capital and country were more and more strongly fortified; rearing of cattle, agriculture, commerce flourished; the Ammonites became tributary; the worship of Jehovah was practised. But prosperity degenerated into luxury, and the worship of Jehovah became stiffened into a dead form (*opus operatum*). It is during this flourishing period of Judah's history, the most flourishing since

the times of David and Solomon, the longest during the whole existence of the kingdom, the last before its downfall, that Isaiah proclaims the overthrow of the false worldly glory, and calls to repentance; but the call to repentance is in vain as respects the mass of the people; it moves them not, but only hardens them still more, and is therefore exchanged for the threatenings of bondage, desolation, and cursing. The second epoch of Isaiah's ministry extends from the commencement of the reign of Ahaz to that of Hezekiah. It is another sixteen years. Into this period there fall three events, by means of which the history of Judah receives the impulse to a new change. (*a.*) In place of the outward conformity to law and orderliness in the worship of Jehovah under Uzziah and Jotham, open idolatry in the most varied and horrible forms makes its appearance at the commencement of Ahaz's reign. (*b.*) In the next place, the hostilities already begun under Jotham were continued by Pekah king of Israel, and Rezîn king of Syria of Damascus; the so-called Syro-Ephraimitic war threatened Jerusalem, and in expressed intention the continuance of the kingdom of David. (*c.*) In this distress Ahaz summoned the help of Tiglath-pileser king of Assyria—he made flesh his arm, and thereby involved the people of Jehovah in a hitherto unexampled way with the imperial power, by which, from this time onwards, they lost their independence. The imperial power is the Nimrodian form of the heathen state. Its peculiarity is to step forth beyond its natural boundaries, not merely for the purpose of self-defence and revenge, but of conquest, and of throwing itself like an avalanche upon foreign nations, in order to roll itself together into an ever greater world-embracing Colossus. In this striving after the dominion of the world, Assyria had the superiority in Isaiah's time, but the future heirs also of the might of Assyria—the Chaldeans, Medes, Persians—were already, at that time, stepping upon the theatre of history; Greece itself (*Javan*) no longer lay outside the prophetic horizon, Ob. 20; Joel iv. 6; and in the far west Rome was being founded in Jotham's time. Assyria and Rome are the first and last members of the period of the world-kingdoms. Isaiah's time was the prelude to this period. In face of the troubles now beginning, which sweep the mass of Israel away without remedy, Isaiah plants the standard of Immanuel for the believers; he predicts the divine wrath, of which the imperial power is the instrument, but he also predicts the divine wrath, of which the imperial power is the object, after it has served for its instrument, and the divine love, which embraces Egypt and Assyria with Israel in a bond of holy fellowship, ch. xix. 24, 25, and the final world-dominion of Jehovah and of his Christ. The third epoch of the ministry of Isaiah extends from the beginning of Hezekiah's reign to the fifteenth year of this king. Under Hezekiah matters improved almost in the same degree as under Ahaz they degenerated. He forsook the way of his idolatrous father, and restored the worship of Jehovah. The mass of the people, it is true, remained inwardly unchanged, but nevertheless Judah had again an honest king, who listened to the word of the prophet standing by his side, two pillars of the state, mighty men of prayer, 2 Ch. xxxii. 20. When it came to breaking loose from the Assyrian dominion, this was indeed on the part of the nobles and the mass of the people an act of unbelief in dependence on the help of Egypt, trusting in which the northern kingdom came to ruin in the sixth year of Hezekiah, but on the part of Hezekiah an act of faith in dependence on Jehovah, 2 Ki. xviii. 7. That unbelief came to shame, and this faith was rewarded. Sennacherib, the successor of Shalmaneser, marched onwards against Jerusalem, plundering and devastating the land—thus the fleshly defiance of the nobles and of the mass of the people was punished. But Jehovah averted the worst; the flower of the Assyrian army was destroyed in one night, so that now also, as in the Syro-Ephraimitic war, it did not come properly to a siege of Jerusalem—thus the faith of the king and of the better portion of the people resting in the word of promise was rewarded. There was still a divine power in the state, which preserved it from destruction. The judgment inevitable, according to ch. vi., suffered another postponement at the point where one had to expect the last annihilating stroke. In this miraculous preservation, which Isaiah prophesied and brought about, the public ministry of this prophet reaches its highest point. Isaiah is the Amos of the kingdom of Judah, for with Amos he has the fearful calling in common, to see and to announce that the time of forgiveness for Israel as a people and as a kingdom is for ever past. But he is not at the same time the Hosea of the kingdom of Judah; for it is not the calling of Isaiah, but it became that of Jeremiah, to accompany the kingdom on the way to execution with the funeral-dirge of prophetic announcement. For it was permitted to Isaiah, as it was denied to his successor Jeremiah, once more to overcome with the word of power of his prophecy from the depths of a mighty spirit of faith that night, which threatened in the Assyrian time of judgment to swallow up his people. There is besides also a fourth epoch of Isaiah's prophetic ministry, which extends from beyond the fifteenth year of Hezekiah to the end of his life. We are not determined to accept such a fourth epoch by the tradition that he died as a martyr under Manasseh, and that in this way he still survived the whole superadded period of king Hezekiah's reign beyond the Assyrian catastrophe. The collection of his prophecies themselves renders it necessary for us to suppose, that he was still active as a prophet after the fifteenth year of Hezekiah, although he no longer took to do with public events. For during this more contemplative epoch the cycle of prophecy, ch. xl.-lxvi., must have arisen, where the prophet placed ἐν πνεύματι, in the midst of the exile, preaches to the exiles. But several pieces besides, which are inserted in the first half of the collection, ought to be assigned to this fourth period. The imperial power is there everywhere no longer Assyria, but Babylon, and when it is called Assyria, yet this name is only emblematic; the representation is more glorious, more ideal, and so to speak, ethereal, for prophecy has its footing here no longer upon the soil of the present, but soars in the distance of the last times, and paints its delineations on the ether of the future—these dying strains of the prophet are all apocalyptic. But can we really trace back these prophecies to that Isaiah who appeared in the year of Uzziah's death? Does not modern criticism raise its loud protest against it, inasmuch as it stigmatizes the belief that these prophecies are rightly handed down as Isaiah's, as the *ne plus ultra* of want of science?

VI. This leads us to speak of *the Authenticity of the Prophecies of Isaiah*. It passes current in modern criticism, at least in Germany, as a settled point, that the second part of the collection—ch. xl.-lxvi.—is the

work of a prophet belonging to the second half of the Babylonian exile; secondly, that the Babylonian series of prophecies, which runs through the first part of the collection, viz. ch. xiii. 1–xiv. 23, xxi. 1-10, xxiii., although not to be assigned to the author of the second part, yet certainly have not Isaiah for their author; thirdly, that the eschatologic, and, so to speak, apocalyptic groups of prophecy—ch. xxiv.–xxvii. and ch. xxxiv. xxxv.—must belong to a much later period than that of Isaiah. The beginnings of this criticism were somewhat as follows. It started from the second part. Koppe first expressed a doubt as to the genuineness of ch. l.; then Döderlein gave utterance to positive suspicion as to the genuineness of the whole; and Justi, at a later period Eichhorn, Paulus, Bertholdt, raised this suspicion to certainty of their being spurious. It was impossible that the result thus arrived at should remain without retrospective influence on the first part of the collection. Rosenmüller, everywhere very dependent upon his predecessors, was the first who denied to the oracle upon Babylon—ch. xiii.–xiv. 23—the Isaian origin to which the inscription bears witness; Justi and Paulus undertook the justification of the decision, strengthening him not a little in his opinion. Now the matter went farther: with the prophecy against Babylon—ch. xiii.–xiv. 23—the decision with respect to the other—ch. xxi. 1-10—was pronounced; and with reason was Rosenmüller greatly astonished, when Gesenius let the former fall, but illogically let the latter stand. The oracle respecting Tyre—ch. xxiii.—still remained, which, according as one found announced therein a destruction of Tyre by the Assyrians or by the Chaldeans, might remain Isaiah's, or must be assigned to a later anonymous author. Eichhorn, followed by Rosenmüller, decided for the spuriousness; Gesenius understood by the destroyers the Assyrians, and, as the prophecy consequently did not stretch beyond Isaiah's horizon, he defended its genuineness. Thus was the Babylonian series set aside, or certainly rendered thoroughly suspicious; but the prying look of the critics made still further discoveries. Eichhorn found in the cycle of prophecy, ch. xxiv.–xxvii., Isaiah's unworthy puns; Gesenius, a covert announcement of the fall of Babylon. Both therefore condemned these four chapters, and with success; for Ewald removes them to the time of Cambyses. With the prophetic cycle, ch. xxxiv. xxxv., short work was made, because of its affinity with the second part. Rosenmüller without more ado calls it *carmen ad finem vergentis exilii Babylonici compositum.* This is the origin of the criticism of Isaiah. Its first attempts were still very schoolboy-like. The names of its founders have almost entirely disappeared. Gesenius first, and especially Hitzig and Ewald, have raised it to the dignity of a science.

The beginnings of this criticism were not fitted to beget confidence. It grew up in the swaddling-clothes of rationalism—this German form of French encyclopedism and of English deism. And besides, its more recent Coryphæi are by no means free from naturalistic preconceptions. The position of Gesenius towards holy Scripture was, as is well known, no very respectful one. As regards Hitzig, he says expressly in his *Commentary on Isaiah*, that a proper foreknowledge is not to be ascribed to the prophets—that over the eye of the Old Testament prophets in general there lay the very same darkness as to the future, to which the human race even during the existence of the Delphic oracle was condemned. And Ewald remarks on Is. vi.: "In recalling his ministry of many years, it appears to Isaiah as if He, before whose eye all connection and all development is clear from the beginning, gave him from the very first moment the sad commission to be a prophet of evil." Thus ch. vi. is a prophecy after the event, clothed in the form of an inaugural vision. In this sense Ernst Meier compares ch. vi. with Goethe's consecration as a prophet, entitled "Dedication," which also is not a youthful piece; and remarks that this classical poem may well match Isaiah's consecration as a prophet. The position which unmasks itself in such an expression is a fettered one. It is shut up between the two preconceived opinions—"there is no proper prophecy;" and its correlate, "there is no proper miracle." It calls itself liberal, and thus free; but, rightly looked at, it is in bondage. In this bondage it has two charms wherewith it fortifies itself against every impression of historic testimonies. Either it makes prophecy a retrospect, and history a myth; or it explains the documents in question as products of another much later period. A biblical critic will be looked upon as so much the greater, the more acutely he understands how to apply these two artifices.

But although biblical criticism is stained with sin, yet sin is not its essence. It belongs to the many new branches of church science, to which the reformation of the church gave the impulse. Were we to wish that it had never appeared, this wish has the appearance of pitiful apprehension lest holy Scripture should not be strong enough to sustain its tests and assaults. Nay, it is a well-authorized and necessary member in the organism of church science; and since its unpleasant results can be overcome only by criticism, there is no escape from it. Far removed, however, from being a necessary evil, it is rather a source of more profound Scripture knowledge. Without criticism there is no insight at all into the historical origin of the sacred writings, and thus no history of sacred literature is possible. The historical books of the Old Testament—in particular the books of Kings and Chronicles, along with Ezra and Nehemiah—represent themselves as a tissue of original writings interwoven one with another. Critical analysis discovers here a whole world of literature, one part piled upon another in quite separable portions. In the place where superficial observation perceives only the work of one author, criticism shows us the united activity of many—a rich mosaic of precious stones and many fragments from lost works of highly distinguished men. Just as it stands with the historical books, so it stands, for example, with the book of Proverbs also, where, under the name of Solomon, the gnomic pearls of different times and of several authors are arranged beside one another; just as in the psalter the poets of many centuries are collected together under the banner of David, the father of sacred lyric poetry. It might thus be possible, certainly, that a book of prophecy also, which bears the name of one author, like the book of Isaiah, on narrower investigation should resolve itself into a plurality of prophetic discourses of different authors, comprehended under the one to whom they stand in more or less secondary relation. The prophetic discourses ch. xl.–lxvi. would not thereby necessarily lose anything of their predictive character and of their incomparable value. Their anonymous author

might pass henceforward, also, as the greatest evangelist of the Old Testament. We have no doctrinal reasons which would forbid us to distinguish in the book of Isaiah prophecies of Isaiah himself, and prophecies of anonymous prophets annexed to these. Such critics as Gesenius, Hitzig, and others, are compelled by dogmatic premises of a naturalistic kind to deprive the pre-exilian Isaiah of such prophecies as ch. xiii.–xiv. 1–23, and especially ch. xl.–lxvi. To us, however, no sort of pre-conceived opinion dictates the result beforehand. Only in one matter will nothing be able to confound us, that we have to do with real, and not with merely pretended prophecies.

If now we examine without prejudice the facts of the case, at the outset we are met by the following considerations against breaking up the unity of the book of Isaiah into an anthology of several authors. 1. No single one of the canonical books of prophecy is compounded in such a way of ingredients belonging to different authors and periods, as is alleged of the book of Isaiah. In no single case are prophecies found which did not belong to the prophets whose names the books bear. The later criticism grants this even of the books of Jeremiah and Ezekiel. "We have indeed up to this point discovered many an interpolated passage," says Hitzig at Jer. l., "but not one independent oracle which had been forged." The book of Ezekiel is not only in the recognized way free from all foreign additions, but has also been organized into the whole which lies before us by the prophet himself. Only with the book of Zechariah is it said that the case is similar; but the view that Zec. ix.–xiv. contains the prophecies of one or two prophets who lived before the captivity attached to the book, has never obtained so extensive acceptance, as the view that Is. xl.–lxvi. is an appendix to the book of Isaiah from the time of the exile. Even De Wette, who was so ready to receive all the results of the negative criticism, has never let go the authenticity of Zec. ix.–xiv. 2. It would certainly be a singular freak of chance, if a mixture of prophecies were to have remained of just such prophets as bear in themselves, not the type of Jeremiah or Ezekiel, but of Isaiah, and indeed to such an extent that they might be confounded with Isaiah himself—so much the more singular, since we cannot infer from what lies before us, that Isaiah's type of prophecy, which represents the golden age of prophetic literature, had propagated itself up to the exile. Habakkuk is such a prophet of Isaiah's type; but Zephaniah is found making the transition from the type of Isaiah to that of Jeremiah. 3. This also would be singular, that just the names of these prophets have had the common destiny to be forgotten, although in point of time they all stood nearer to the editors of the canon than the old model-prophet on whom they had formed themselves, and with whom they perfectly harmonized; yea, whom they (especially the author of ch. xl.–lxvi.), if possible, even surpassed.

These considerations make the authenticity of the disputed prophecies probable, but they do not yet prove it. There are, however, three positive arguments which are capable of convincing all those who do not, on extraneous doctrinal grounds, hold it impossible that Isaiah should have been the author of the disputed prophecies. 1. No one will deny, that the chapters xl.–lxvi., compared with all other prophetic writings which have come down to us, have most affinity with Isaiah. The name of God, which is the echo of the seraphic *sanctus* in the heart and mouth of Isaiah, that name peculiar to Isaiah—Holy One of Israel—is common to the disputed prophecies with those which are recognized as genuine. It is even found in the second part of the collection still oftener than in the first—there twelve times, here seventeen times; and a more recent Jewish expositor, Samuel David Luzzato in Padua, says beautifully and strikingly: "As if Isaiah had foreseen that later scepticism will decide against the half of his prophecies, he has impressed his seal on all (חתם חותמו בכולן), and has interwoven the name of God, "Holy One of Israel," with the second part just as with the first, and even still oftener." But to this pre-eminent common peculiarity, there correspond also many less manifest common characteristic features of technical form. It is peculiar to Isaiah to repeat a catch-word used in the middle of the verse at the end of the verse. It is the figure of repetition (*epanaphora*) or recurrence (see Naegelsbach's Remarks on the Iliad, p. 43, 225), which outside the book of Isaiah occurs proportionally seldom comp. Ge. xxxv. 12; Le. xxv. 41; but which in the book of Isaiah occurs as frequently in the disputed passages, ch. xiii. 10; xxxiv. 9; xl. 19; xlii. 15, 19; li. 13; liii. 6, 7; liv. 4, 13; lv. 4; lviii. 2; lix. 8; lxiv. 5, as in the undisputed, ch. i. 7; xiv. 25; xv. 8; xxx. 20; in the former (so far as our observation extends) even still oftener. The observation of such Isaian idioms, which run in equal numbers through the whole collection, richly counterbalances the isolated words and phrases fished out of the prophecies in dispute—words and phrases which, because they do not occur in the acknowledged prophecies, are to be reckoned as proofs of the spuriousness of those others. This mode of proof, which Knobel especially has cultivated, is external and one-sided. The fair and just critic must have his eyes as open for what is conformable as for what is discrepant, and must not count but weigh both. We assert confidently, that what coincides with the acknowledged prophecies, in those which are disputed preponderates; while many a thing which is singular may be expected in them on this account, that they are the last productions of the prophet, and, so to speak, the children of his old age. Let one read for example ch. xiii.–xiv. 1–23. This oracle respecting Babylon begins immediately, ver. 2, with favourite figures of Isaiah—the lifting up of the banner and the shaking of the hand; and in ver. 3 there meets us the peculiarly Isaian designation עליזי גאותי (*my proudly exulting ones*), which Zephaniah, ch. iii. 11, has borrowed. Or let one test the beginning of the (as is alleged) spurious cycle, ch. xxiv.–xxvii. It begins with הנה (*behold*). This הנה is a favourite of Isaiah: it always introduces with him something future, e.g. ch. iii. 1; xvii. 1; xix. 1; xxx. 27; and prophecies which begin thus immediately with הנה, are found only with Isaiah, and with no other prophet; for at Je. xlvii. 2, xlix. 35, comp. ch. li. 1; Eze. xxix. 3, introductory formulas precede the הנה (*behold*). To the "behold" at the beginning of the introduction (here occupied with the theme) ch. xxiv. 1–3, there corresponds at the end the confirmatory *for the* LORD *hath spoken;* which occurs, not indeed exclusively with Isaiah, but yet especially with this prophet, ch. i. 20; xxi. 17; xxii. 25; and passim. And does not one recognize Isaiah also in the detailed enumeration, ch. xxiv. 2? which may be compared with the enumeration of what is high and exalted, ch. ii. 12–16; of the

props of the state, ch. iii. 2, ff.; of the articles of a lady's toilette, ch. iii. 18–23? Or let one, *vice versa*, take his stand-point in an acknowledged cycle of prophecy like ch. xxviii.–xxxiii., what striking parallels to ch. xl.–lxvi. meet us there! Let one compare ch. xxviii. 5, with lxii. 3; ch. xxix. 23, with lx. 21; ch. xxix. 18, with xlii. 8; ch. xxx. 26, with lx. 19, ff.; the finishing sentence (*epiphonem*) ch. xxxiii. 24, with xlv. 25, lx. 22; also, יבלי־מים (*streams of waters*), ch. xxx. 25, which occurs besides only at ch. xliv. 4, comp. ch. xli. 18. Indeed, if Isaiah is not the author of ch. xl.–lxvi. then must it have been a follower of Isaiah—one who has so thoroughly imbibed Isaiah's spirit and manner, that he has become, as it were, his counterpart. And this great prophet, who even outshines the Solomon-like glory of the old Isaiah, and whose language stands in relation to that of the old Isaiah as a *spiritual body* to a *natural body*, was an anonymous person! He had lived during the exile, and in fact towards the end of the exile, between 560 and 538, the year in which Cyrus appeared as victor over Astyages, and the year in which he plundered Babylon; and the returned people had forgotten the name of the greatest of all the Old Testament prophets, of this evangelist of the Old Testament, whose language is like heavenly music! There needs, so it appears to us, rank superstition in order to reckon this possible and true. 2. Besides this first argument for the authenticity of the disputed prophecies of the first part, and for the authenticity of the second part, there is the following additional one. The second part—ch. xl.–lxvi. —with its theme, its stand-point, its style, its ideas, is throughout ch. i.–xxxix. in continual progress towards making its appearance. Let one read, for example, ch. xxii. 11; xxv. 1; xxxvii. 26. The thought here expressed, that everything which comes to pass in history has an ideal pre-existence with God—*i. e.* that it is from eternity present in God as an idea or spiritual image—this thought, which is only hinted at there, pervades ch. xl.–lxvi. in manifold echoes. Another example: what ch. xi. 6, ff.; xxx. 26, and other passages, say respecting the future glorification of the heavenly and earthly creation, this the second part repeats, in nobly finished pictures; and partly, as at ch. lxv. 25, in precisely the same words. But as regards the doubtful prophecies of the first part, viz. ch. xiii. 1–xiv. 23; xxi. 1–10; xxiii.; xxiv.–xxvii.; xxxiv.–xxxv.—they are in every respect a series introductory to the second part, and, as it were, paving the way and serving as a prelude to it. Here also the prophet has his stand-point beyond the Assyrian period in the Babylonian. The stand-point is equally ideal, the language equally soaring and musical, the contents equally apocalyptic. These prophecies, whose authors the later criticism falsely alleges to be prophets unknown and distinct from the great anonymous writer, are, as may be shown, and in part has been already shown by Caspari, up to the minutest fibres, Isaian. With respect to chapters xl.–lxvi., they stand in the collection as life-guards running on before. They are the steps on which Isaiah has mounted to the height on which he soars in ch. xl.–lxvi. 3. Another incontrovertible argument for the genuineness of ch. xl.–lxvi. and the other prophecies which stand and fall with the second part, is the relation of dependence in which later prophets from Nahum onwards, especially Zephaniah and Jeremiah, stand to these prophecies. Zephaniah and Jeremiah are the most reproductive of all the prophets. Everything that was not yet fulfilled in the Assyrian time of judgment, and whose fulfilment impended in presence of the Chaldean time of judgment, is by Zephaniah gathered together with lively compendious brevity into a mosaic picture, with retrospective reference to the earlier prophets from Isaiah to Joel. And Jeremiah, placed in the very midst of the Chaldean time of judgment, brings together in his book all the prophecies of the Assyrian and pre-Assyrian period still unfulfilled. Everywhere here is the echo of older prophecies, ideas, and expressions perceptible; and there appear in the elegiac flow of Jeremiah's discourse, carried forward by it, and dissolved into it, parts borrowed sometimes from Hosea and Amos, sometimes from Nahum and Habakkuk. Among these ingredients there are also found reminiscences from the disputed prophecies of the book of Isaiah, and especially from ch. xl.–lxvi. There are connections which exclude the possibility of chance. And this only is matter of question, whether in this case Isaiah is the original for Zephaniah and Jeremiah, or whether a later pseudo-Isaiah has copied these two prophets. The latter view is not probable, when we think of the widely extended relation of dependence in which Zephaniah and Jeremiah stand to the older prophets. The chief passages which come to be considered here are the following: 1. From *Nahum*, ch. iii. 4, ff.; comp. Is. xlvii.; ch. ii. 1, comp. Is. lii. 7^a, 1^b. That Nahum elsewhere also repeats what belongs to Isaiah is clear from ch. ii. 11, comp. Is. xxiv. 1; ch. iii. 13, comp. Is. xix. 16. 2. From *Zephaniah*, ch. ii. 15, comp. Is. xlvii. 8, 10; ch. iii. 10, comp. Is. lxvi. 20; from which the passage of Zephaniah is abbreviated, with the addition of Is. xviii. 1, 7. Passages borrowed from Isaiah—especially ch. xiii. and xxxiv. —are found elsewhere also in Zephaniah. 3. From *Jeremiah:* (*a*), The prophecy against Babylon, ch. l. li., in which one hears throughout echoes of Is. xl.–lxvi., so loud that Movers, Hitzig, and De Wette look upon the prophecy as interpolated by a pseudo-Isaiah. But that one prophet should have looked over and retouched the prophecy of another, just as a teacher the copy of his scholar, is in itself even a low view, which is as much inconsistent with the moral as with the supernatural character of prophecy. Further, there are found in that prophecy of Jeremiah against Babylon, echoes also of Is. xiii. xiv.; of ch. xxi. 1–10; and of ch. xxxiv.—just such pieces as the more recent criticism does not assign to one and the same author with ch. xl.–lxvi.; one would therefore be under the necessity of assuming several interpolators, which is absurd. Thirdly, that interpolation-hypothesis is completely dashed in pieces by this fact, that the prophecy of Jeremiah against Babylon is in general a mosaic of older prophecies, one might almost say, an anthology; for here they are all, as it were, planted together in a garden, in which they again come into bloom. If, then, Isaian elements meet us here, we shall not reckon them as original, though also not as interpolated, but as again made use of; as the name Holy One of Israel, also, which is twice applied to God in this prophecy, has its origin in the mouth of Isaiah. (*b*), The passage respecting the nothingness of the gods of the heathen in comparison with Jehovah of Israel, ch. x. 1–16; compare especially Is. xliv. 12–15; xli. 7; xlvi. 7. Here also Movers and his followers explain the connection in this way, that the pseudo-Isaiah has introduced

something of his own into the discourse of Jeremiah. But this hypothesis refutes itself by this circumstance, that the verses alleged to be smuggled in bear evident traces of Jeremian peculiarity in themselves, as has been shown by Caspari, and in the concluding observations of Drechsler's *Isaiah.* (*c*), The comforting call, ch. xxx. 10, ff. (repeated ch. xlvi. 27, ff.) in which Israel is addressed as עַבְדִּי (*my servant*), which occurs nowhere else in Jeremiah, and in no Old Testament book except Isaiah. But, besides, this passage has also such a deutero-Isaian ring, that, because standing alone with this peculiarity in the book of Jeremiah, it is to be looked upon either as inserted or as imitated. The view that it is inserted, has against it in both passages where it occurs, ch. xxx. 10, ff.; and xlvi. 27, ff.; the close connection out of which it grows; we shall therefore reckon it as imitated. The passages adduced are by no means all; they are only the chief passages which prove that Nahum, Zephaniah, and Jeremiah, or at least the two last, had before them the prophecies of Isaiah—the doubtful not less than the undoubtedly genuine—and applied them to their own use. We need not be stumbled by this dependent relation. Every prophet has indeed his own individual peculiarity, which the Spirit of God makes serviceable to his own end; but all selfishly exclusive maintenance of it is lost in the consciousness of his being only a member in the organism of revelation, and of the instruments subservient to it. Hence a following prophet does not think it beneath him diligently to appropriate to himself expressions and views of his predecessors; or he reproduces those which have become his own spiritual property involuntarily.

There are thus three proofs by which the traditional testimony as to the authenticity of the disputed prophecies is immovably established: 1. The disputed prophecies are not so nearly related to any prophet as to the author of those which are recognized as genuine. 2. The genuine prophecies contain the *semina et stamina* (seeds and stems) of the disputed ones, and present to our observation the progressive origin of the peculiarity of these latter. 3. Zephaniah and Jeremiah were acquainted with the disputed prophecies no less than with the incontestably genuine; the former also thus date from before the exile, and are thus by the old Isaiah. In presence of these proofs we must bring into subjection every thought exalting itself against obedience to the fact. It is certainly singular that Isaiah, in a time when the Assyrian empire still stood, already predicts the fall of the Chaldean by means of the Medes and Persians; and still more singular, that everywhere in ch. xl.–lxvi. he speaks as if he lived in the midst of the exile among the exiles. It is elsewhere the peculiarity of prophecy —the book of Daniel and of the Apocalypse included— that it has its root in the soil of the present; out of this it grows, and from this it raises its summit in the distant future. Frequently, indeed, is it the case that a prophet is transported from his real present, and placed in the future; but yet in such a way that he goes forth from his real present and returns to it. On the other hand, one looks in vain in Is. xl.–lxvi. for the prophet anywhere in the course of these twenty-seven chapters making the distinction observable between his ideal and real present. One has thought to find this exchange of situation in some passages; but by that self-deception which frequently meets headlong apologetic zeal. No, the author of Is. xl.–lxvi. is throughout, not in Judea, but in Babylon. The exile is the stand-point from which he looks into the future; the people of the exile is the community to which he preaches; the outward and inward circumstances of the exiles are the motives according to which his sermon shapes itself. The exile has already lasted a very long time (עוֹלָם); but Cyrus has already appeared, in whom the spirit of prophecy recognizes the conqueror of Babylon and the deliverer of Israel. The redemption is at the door; and only in so far as this moves nearer and nearer, is the stand-point of the prophet in some measure movable. But over and above, the exile is and remains the home of all his thoughts; and Hitzig is right in this, that such an indigenousness in the future, maintained throughout twenty-seven chapters, is without example in prophetic literature. But arguments founded on fact compel us to hold what is otherwise unprecedented as true and real. Nor is it even absolutely incomprehensible. Rightly has Hengstenberg compared these discourses of Isaiah, of which the precursors are the contested prophecies of the first part, with the Deuteronomic last discourses of Moses in the plains of Moab, and with the last discourses of the Lord Jesus in the circle of his own. They are a last will and testament of Isaiah to the community of the exile and of the time of redemption. They have sprung from revelations which Isaiah received after the fifteenth year of Hezekiah. In the last years of his life, which according to tradition extended to the beginning of Manasseh's reign, Isaiah was no longer so publicly active as before. He had retired; we can understand why: 1. After the Assyrian catastrophe, by means of which Isaiah's public ministry had reached the crowning point of its verification, there followed a period of tranquil and orderly flow. In such times the order of prophets is accustomed to step into the background; the impulses are wanting which call forth their denunciations, threatenings, and consolations. 2. Up to the fourteenth year of Hezekiah Isaiah had seen, immediately behind the fall of Assyria, the rise of the time of Messianic glory. But the catastrophe took place without this time of glory bursting forth. The prophet saw that catastrophe and this glory together, according to the law of perspective foreshortening. Now, however, after that the nearer future had been realized, the glorious restoration of Israel, with the sufferings preceding it, moved back in the prophet's view into the more remote distance. His look was now directed away from Assyria to Babylon. Placed in the midst of the exile, which already, at ch. v. 13, vi. 12, xi. 11, ff., xxvii. 13, comp. xxii. 18, he recognizes as the unavoidable destiny of Judah as well as Israel, and which in ch. xxxix. he expressly predicts as a Babylonian one, he announces, for the comfort of believers, the fall of Babylon, and sees in this catastrophe the decisive step for the accomplishment of the salvation. The contested discourses of the first and second part have grown out of the same prophetic certainty as expresses itself in Mi. iv. 10, that Babylon will become the place of punishment and of redemption for the daughter of Zion. This knowledge lay also naturally not far off. Since 747 (the beginning of the *era of Nabonassar*) the Chaldeans were in possession of the viceroyship (satrapy) of Babylon, and in the time of Hezekiah the tributary kings of Babylon sought to free themselves from Assyria, and to drive her from the possession of

the imperial power; as is now attested, also, by the royal annals of the Assyrian monuments, although we do not yet venture to make use of these monumental remains as historical sources. This much however is certain, that the kings of Assyria were in perpetual conflict with the satraps of Babylon, and that they sought to secure for themselves the possession of Babylon by placing brothers and sons in the viceroyship. The Medes also, the future heirs of the Chaldean imperial power, stood already ominously enough on the theatre of history: they had broken loose from Assyria, and were forming an independent kingdom. This beginning of the Median monarchy with Dejoces falls, according to the testimonies of Herodotus and Diodorus, betwixt the end of the summer of 711 and the end of the summer of 710, thus about the time of the downfall of Sennacherib. There were contemporary foreshadowings of this circumstance, that the Chaldeans would be the next heirs of the Assyrian power, and the Medes the next heirs of the Chaldean. A prophet, however, is not directed to political combinations. We point to this, only because it is peculiar to prophecy to attach itself to the movements of the future in the womb of the present, and because it is called to point out the signs of the times. Besides, we dare not assign, *a priori*, impassable limits to the working of the spirit of prophecy. How far the glance of a prophet extends, is not to be measured according to the situation of the present, but is determined according to the will of the revealing Spirit. The horizon of a prophet is always narrower or wider according to his charisma.

VII. Now that we have convinced ourselves, by the method of unprejudiced investigation, that Isaiah is to be regarded as the author of the whole of the prophetic discourses which the collection contains, let us inquire, who arranged this collection of Isaiah's discourses? *i.e.* who is *the editor of the book of Isaiah?* That Isaiah himself has edited his book of prophecy is, at the outset, by no means unlikely. The most of the books of prophecy which the canon contains are edited by the prophets themselves whose names they bear. Thus, for example, it is not to be doubted that Micah has in his book gathered together compendiously, into a chronologically indivisible whole, the contents of his prophetic announcements under Jotham, Ahaz, and Hezekiah. And that Ezekiel arranged and published his prophecies, just as we have them, no one doubts, not even Hitzig. It may be asked, however, whether the case does not perhaps stand with the book of Isaiah precisely as with the book of Jeremiah. We know from himself, that Jeremiah dictated his prophecies in the fourth year of Jehoiakim to Baruch, but that Jehoiakim destroyed this roll, and that the prophet then reproduced it with additions, so that he twice edited his prophecies in a book. Nevertheless, the book of Jeremiah, as we have it, cannot be that second edition of the prophet in its original form. One of the leading arguments, which tell against it, is this, that the book has an appendix, viz. ch. lii., which is introduced from the second book of Kings, and that the hand of the collector (διασκευαστής), who betrays himself thereby, has also extended the text of Jeremiah, at ch. xxxviii. 28–xxxix. 14, from the second book of Kings. Does the matter then stand precisely so with the book of Isaiah? It also contains a historical section, ch. xxxvi.-xxxix., which we read a second time at 2 Ki. xviii. 13–xix. This section describes the ministry of Isaiah during the last years of the Assyrian epoch. If it has been introduced from the second book of Kings into the book of Isaiah, then it would follow necessarily therefrom, that Isaiah is not himself the editor of his prophecies. But that premiss shows itself to be untenable, and therefore also this conclusion. Although the text of this historical section in the book of Kings, critically considered, is in many respects better than the text in the book of Isaiah, yet the true state of matters is this, that the author of the book of Kings has taken the passage in question from the book of Isaiah. The quality of the text proves nothing either for or against, for the text also of the historical section, 2 Ki. xxiv. 18–xxv.; Jer. lii., has been preserved purer, and more faithful in the book of Jeremiah, namely, in the secondary passage, than in the source whence it has flowed into the book of Jeremiah. On the other hand, the originality of the section in the book of Isaiah results from the following arguments:—1. The arrangement of the four histories, which it contains, corresponds to the plan of the book of Isaiah; the two first of these narratives contain the closing act of the Assyrian drama, the two others form the transition to the second part of the book, ch. xl.-lxvi., which has the Babylonian exile for its stand-point and its sphere. 2. The psalm of king Hezekiah is wanting in the book of Kings, and it may be easily conceived why it was dropped there. 3. We have also an indirect express testimony for the view, that the section in question in the book of Isaiah is original. The chronicler says, at the close of the history of Hezekiah's reign, 2 Ch. xxxii. 32, "Now the rest of the acts of Hezekiah, and his goodness, behold, they are written *in the vision of Isaiah the prophet, the son of Amoz, in* (*into*) *the book of the kings of Judah and Israel.*" Into the great book of Kings, which is the chief source of the chronicler, there had thus passed over a historical report respecting Hezekiah from חִזְוֹן יְשַׁעְיָהוּ (*vision of Isaiah,* which is the title of this book), quite in the same way as into our canonical book of Kings, which likewise was in the hands of the chronicler. 4. That the author of the canonical book of Kings had our book of Isaiah before him among his original materials, we see from 2 Ki. xvi. 5, a passage which was written with an eye on Is. vii. 1. 5. Then we learn from Is. vii. 1, ff.; xx., especially viii. 1-4; comp. vi. 1, that Isaiah has incorporated historical communications with his prophecies, and that in these he related matters about himself sometimes in the first person, sometimes, as at ch. xxxvi.–xxxix., in the third. In addition to this, Isaiah, as 2 Chron. xxvi. 22 attests, was also the author of a historical monograph on king Uzziah. And why should not the section, ch. xxxvi.–xxxix., if we regard it without prejudice, be from Isaiah's own hand? Modern criticism certainly holds this to be impossible, because of the miracles there related. But Isaiah must certainly have reckoned himself as a wonder-worker, since he offers his services to king Ahaz for a heavenly or earthly miracle, according to his liking. And that Jehovah himself is a God that doeth wonders, is a fundamental supposition of prophecy. That in particular he will loose the Assyrian knot, which the unbelief of Ahaz has tied, by means of a miracle, Isaiah expressly predicts. This loosing chapters xxxvi. and xxxvii. record; the scene of the close, as of the beginning of the Assyrian drama, is *the conduit of the upper pool in the highway of the fuller's*

field, ch. vii. 3; xxxvi. 2. The style in which this whole historical section is written, is not the annalistic, but the prophetic style of history, for these two types of historical style are to be distinguished: one is able in the canonical book of Kings to separate with great certainty what belongs to the one and what to the other manner of writing history. And how worthy of Isaiah is this historical section written with prophetic pen! The representation is noble, elegant, pictorial, worthy of being compared with the most glorious productions of Hebrew historical writing. The historical section, ch. xxxvi.-xxxix., is thus not opposed to the view that Isaiah himself has arranged his prophecies just as we have them. That the collection does not contain pseudo-Isaian prophecies, which demand a post-Isaian editor, we have already seen. There just remains the question, whether perhaps the collection is so destitute of plan, that on this account its composition may not be traced back to Isaiah. Ewald and others are of opinion that the collection exhibits itself as a confused mass. But this reproach rests upon ignorance. It is of course not arranged chronologically so far as details are concerned. The succession of time forms only the lowest scaffolding. For all the dates which meet us, viz. ch. vi. 1; vii. 1; xiv. 28; xx. 1; xxxvi. 1, are points in a progressive line. In other respects also, on the whole, chronological progress is evident. The Uzziah-Jotham group, ch. i.-vi., is followed by an Ahaz one, ch. vii.-xii., and this by a Hezekiah one, ch. xiii.-xxxix., and this by the latest altogether esoteric one, ch. xl.-lxvi. But this chronological arrangement is in particulars interrupted in many ways, especially within the circle of the oracles against the heathen, ch. xiii.-xxiii. It may be asked then, whether this interruption also has motives of design. We may presume so, for the books of Jeremiah also (as we have it) and Ezekiel are so drawn up that the arrangement according to time is subordinated to a higher arrangement according to matter.

VIII. So is it also in the book of Isaiah: not only the contents of this book, but also the disposition of its separate parts, bears the stamp of the kingly spirit of the prophet, as will be shown, if we now consider *the Arrangement of the Collection*. The book of Isaiah falls into two halves, ch. i.-xxxix., xl.-lxvi. The first half is divided into seven parts, and the second into three. One may call the first half the Assyrian, for its goal is the fall of Assyria; the second the Babylonian, for its goal is the redemption from Babylon. But the first half is not purely Assyrian, for betwixt the Assyrian pieces Babylonian ones are inserted, and in general such as interrupt the chronologically restricted horizon of those Assyrian pieces. The seven parts of the first half are the following, viz. 1. Prophecies while the mass of the people are on the way to hardening, ch. ii.-vi. 2. The comfort of Immanuel during the Assyrian calamities, ch. vii.-xii. These two parts form a syzygy (pair). It ends in a psalm of the redeemed, ch. xii., the echo at the end of days of the song by the Red Sea. It is divided into two parts by the consecration of the prophet, ch. vi., which looks threatening and promising on the opposite sides. It is introduced by a summary preface, ch. i., in which Isaiah, the prophet placed midway betwixt Moses and Jesus the Christ, begins in the manner of the great testamentary song of Moses, De. xxxii. 3. This is followed, ch. xiii.-xxiii, by prophecies of judgment and salvation to the heathen, belonging for the most part to the Assyrian time of judgment, but inclosed and divided into two parts by Babylonian pieces. For a prophecy respecting Babylon, ch. xiii.-xiv. 23, the city of the imperial power, forms the commencement; an oracle respecting Tyre, ch. xxiii., the city of the world's commerce, which receives its death-blow from the Chaldeans, forms the conclusion, and a second prophecy respecting the wilderness by the sea, *i.e.* Babylon, ch. xxi. 1-10, forms the middle of this ingeniously laid out collection of oracles respecting the circle of nations outside Israel. 4. To this collection is attached a great apocalyptic prophecy respecting the judgment of the world and the last things, which gives it a background losing itself in eternity, and together with it forms a second syzygy, ch. xxiv.-xxvii. 5. From these farthest eschatologic distances the prophet then returns to the reality of the present and of the nearest future, when in ch. xxviii.–xxxiii. he discusses the downfall of Assyria and its consequences. The middle point of this group is the prophecy respecting the precious corner-stone laid in Zion, and this group also is matched by the prophet. 6. In ch. xxxiv. xxxv., with a farther reaching eschatologic prophecy of revenge and redemption to the church, a prophecy in which we already hear the key-notes of ch. xl.–lxvi. as in a prelude. 7. After these three syzygies, in ch. xxxvi.–xxxix. we are put back by means of the two first histories into the Assyrian time, the two others show us from afar the development with Babylon then preparing itself. These four histories are on purpose so arranged, giving the succession of time, that they appear as it were Janus-headed, half looking backward, half forward, and that in this way the two halves are by their means clasped together. The prophecy, ch. xxxix. 5-7, stands betwixt the two halves like a finger-post, which has the inscription בָּבֶל (*Babel*). In that direction proceeds the onward course of Israel's history; in that direction is Isaiah henceforth buried in spirit with his people; there he preaches in ch. xl.–lxvi. to the Babylonian exiles the redemption near at hand.

As the first half of the collective book is divided into seven parts, like the books of Hosea and Amos, and like Ezekiel's oracles respecting the heathen, ch. xxv.-xxxii., so the second half is tripartite. The tripartite arrangement of this cycle of prophecy is scarce doubted any more by any one, since Rückert in his translation and exposition of the Hebrew prophets (1831) gave utterance to this observation. Not less certain is it, that each part in itself consists of 3 × 3 discourses. The division into chapters bears involuntary testimony to this, without however everywhere hitting on the right beginnings. The first part of this great trilogy, ch. xl.–xlviii., falls into the following nine discourses: ch. xl., xli., xlii., xliii. 1–13, xliii. 14–xliv. 1–5, xliv. 6–23, xliv. 24–xlv., xlvi. xlvii., xlviii. The second part, ch. xlix.–lvii., falls into the following nine: ch. xlix., l., li., lii. 1–12, lii. 13–liii., liv., lv., lvi. 1–8, lvi. 9–lvii. The third part, ch. lviii.–lxvi., falls into the following nine: ch. lviii., lix., lx., lxi., lxii., lxiii. 1–6, lxiii. 7–lxiv., lxv., lxvi. Only in the middle of the first part is the drawing of the boundary line somewhat questionable. In the two others a mistake is quite impossible. This second half of the book of Isaiah is thus throughout a *ternarius sanctus* (a sacred ternary), just like the gospel of John (in the New Testament), which is throughout arranged as a trilogy. The theme of ch. xl.–lxvi. is the approaching redemption and the consolation, but at

the same time a call to repentance which it includes in itself. For the redemption is for that Israel which remains faithful in confessing Jehovah in calamity also, and while the salvation is delayed, not for the apostates, who deny Jehovah in word and deed and place themselves on a level with the heathen: "*there is no peace, saith the Lord, to the wicked.*" So ends ch. xlviii. 22, the first part of the seven-and-twenty discourses. The second part concludes ch. lvii. 21, more forcibly and with a fuller tone: "*there is no peace, saith my God, to the wicked.*" And at the end of the third part, ch. lxvi. 24, the prophet drops the form of that refrain, and gives utterance with the deepest pathos, and in awful features of description, to the miserable final destiny of the transgressors: "*their worm shall not die, neither shall their fire be quenched; and they shall be an abhorring unto all flesh*"—exactly as at the close of the fifth book of Psalms the short form of the blessing ("*blessed be*, &c.") is dropped, and a whole psalm, the hallelujah Ps. cl., takes its place. The three parts, marked off in such a way by the prophet himself, are only variations of one theme, but have each a peculiar element of it as their middle point, and a peculiar key-note, which is struck in the very first words. In each of the three parts a different antithesis stands in the foreground; in the first part, ch. xl.-xlviii., the antithesis of Jehovah and the idols, of Israel and the heathen; in the second part, ch. xlix.-lvii., the antithesis of the suffering of Jehovah's servant in the present, and his glory in the future; in the third part, ch. lviii.-lxvi., the antithesis within Israel itself, viz. the hypocrites, the immoral, the apostates on the one side, the faithful, the mourners, the persecuted on the other. For in the first part the redemption from Babylon is represented, in which the prophecy of Jehovah, the God of prophecy and the framer of the world's history, is fulfilled, to the shame and downfall of the idols and their worshippers; in the second part the exaltation of the humbled servant of Jehovah, which is at the same time the exaltation of Israel to the height of its world-calling; in the third part the conditions of sharing in the future redemption and glory. In this third part the glory of the church and the Jerusalem of the future are described more majestically than in the two others. The promise rises in the circle of the 3×9 discourses always higher, until in ch. lxv. and lxvi. it reaches its loftiest height, and interweaves time with eternity. "With great spirit," says the son of Sirach, ch. xlviii. 24, ff., with reference to these chapters, xl.-lxvi., "did Isaiah look on the last things and comforted the mourners in Zion. Onwards into eternity he depicted the future, and what was hidden before it made its appearance."

IX. *The Literary Style of Isaiah.*—It is only now, after we have convinced ourselves that the book of Isaiah, alike in respect of its rich contents, and in respect of its well-conceived arrangement, proceeds from Isaiah himself alone, that we can sketch a true and warrantable picture of his literary peculiarity. As he is, when we look at the contents of his book, the most universal of prophets, so he appears, when we look at the form of his book, as a master in all the forms of style and representation. In no prophet do we find so kinglike a mastery of mind over matter, so inexhaustible a versatility in all shades of discourse, so pictorial a music of speech. His mode of representation embraces all kinds and degrees of style, from the most tender and delicate historical prose up to a dithyrambic sublimity and an ecstatic speaking with tongues, where he does not at all speak as with the tongue of men but as with the tongue of angels. Whether his prophetic thoughts may clothe themselves in the garb of psalmody, or of elegy, or of gnomic poetry, his performance is always of the most excellent kind. The prophet shows himself as a psalm-writer in ch. xii., where he closes the book of Immanuel (as we may call ch. vii.–xii.) with a song of the redeemed, which is the counterpart of the song on the other side of the Red Sea, Ex. xv.; and in ch. xxv. 1–5, where, placed at the end of days, he begins to celebrate what he has seen in psalms and songs, for the cycle of prophecy, ch. xxiv.-xxvii. (which we may call the book of the world's judgment), is the finale to ch. xiii.–xxiii. (the book of the oracles respecting the heathen) in strictest musical sense. Everything here is full of song and music. The picture of the catastrophe, ch. xxiv., is followed by a fourfold hymnal echo: the downfall of the imperial city is sung, ch. xxv. 1-5, the self-manifestation of Jehovah in blissful presence is sung, ch. xxv. 9, the bringing back and the resurrection of Israel is sung, ch. xxvi. 1-19, the fruitful vineyard of the church under Jehovah's protection is sung, ch. xxvii. 2-5. And this music runs through all keys, from the most sublime heavenly hymn down to the most lovely popular little song—it is a great and varied concert, which is only introduced by the epic commencement, ch. xxiv., and the epic conclusion, ch. xxvii. 7, ff.; and in the interval the prophecy is continued recitatively. This whole finale, ch. xxiv.-xxvii., is a great hallelujah, hymnal in contents, musical in form, and that to such a degree, that, for example, ver. 6 of ch. xxv. sounds like joyous music at a happy meal; it is as if one heard stringed instruments played with rapid strokes of the bow. One has brought up the frequency of paranomasia in ch. xxiv.–xxvii. as an objection against the authenticity of this cycle, and certainly one finds here more music together in the sound of the words than anywhere else, but that Isaiah is fond of painting for the ear is shown by his undisputed prophecies also, e.g. ch. xxii. 5, xvii. 12, ff. Here in ch. xxiv.–xxvii. it occurs to a greater extent than anywhere else, because this cycle is to be a finale, by means of which all that has gone before is outdone. And (just to give prominence to one Isaian feature of this cycle) is not the tone of the popular song, which the prophet begins at ch. xxvii. 2–5, just the same as at ch. v. 1, where the same individual, who, ch. i. 2, began like another Moses, steps forth before his people like a minstrel, and as at ch. xxiii. 15, ff., where he interweaves with his oracle respecting Tyre the song of an Alme or Bajadere? And what a master is Isaiah also in the *kînah* or elegy! Approaches to it are found in ch. xxi. 3, ff.; xxii. 4; but in the oracle respecting Moab, ch. xv. xvi., from beginning to end all is elegiac, the prophet feels in sympathy with what he prophesies, as if he belonged to the poor people, whose messenger of misfortune he must be. He bewails the laying waste of the Moabite vine-trellises, mingling his tears with the tears of Jazer:

> "Therefore I bewail with the weeping of Jazer the vine of Sibmah:
> I water thee with my tears, O Heshbon and Elealeh;
> That upon thy harvest and upon thy vintage
> The war-cry is fallen."

This tetrastich, which forms one Masoretic verse, is in

measure and movement the Hebrew counterpart of a sapphic strophe. Prophecy, which is in general as much human as divine, becomes here soft and tearful to a degree we are more accustomed to in Jeremiah than in Isaiah. As the plectrum, by touching the chords of the harp, causes them to tremble violently, so the fearful things which he hears Jehovah say respecting Moab touch the chords of his inner man. "Wherefore my bowels sound like a harp for Moab, and mine inward parts for Kir-haresh." How altogether different a key-note is that with which the prophet begins ch. xxviii. 23! He has often already spoken the language of gnomic poetry, especially in ch. xxvi., but here he claims the attention of his hearers exactly like a teacher of wisdom. "Give ye ear, and hear my voice; hearken and hear my speech!" For the consolation of the promise here assumes the garb of a longer parabolic discourse, ch. xxviii. 24, ff., in which God's instructive and pedagogical wisdom is illustrated by means of figures drawn from husbandry. Thus Isaiah sparkles in all varieties of poetic speech. If we cast another glance on ch. xl.–lxvi., then we must say, there is in respect of style nothing more finished, nothing more glorious in the Old Testament, than this trilogy of discourses by Isaiah. In ch. i.–xxxix. the language of the prophet, although there also presenting every variety of colour, is in great measure compressed, massive, plastic; but here in ch. xl.–lxvi., where the prophet no longer has his footing on the soil of the present, but is carried away into a distant future as into his home, the language also acquires the character of the ideal, the supernatural, the ethereal, the infinite; it has become a broad, clear, bright stream, which transports us on majestic but soft and transparent waves, as it were, into the other world. Only in two passages does it become harsher, more troubled, clumsier, viz. ch. liii. and lvi. 9–lvii. 11a. In the former it is the passion of grief, in the latter the passion of anger, which stamps itself on the language. In every other direction to which it turns, the influence of the subject and of the passion is evident. In ch. lxiii. 7 the prophet begins the tone of liturgic praise; in ch. lxiii. 19b–lxiv. 4, it is sadness which restrains the flow of discourse; in ch. lxiv. 5, one perceives, as at Je. iii. 25, the tone of יְהוִי, or the liturgic prayer of confession.

X. In the second part of the collection the Messianic proclamation also reaches its zenith. In order rightly to estimate the ascending progression, which the prophecy of Isaiah in this respect also presents, let us consider *the Christological Character of the Prophecies of Isaiah*. If we compare Obadiah, Joel, Amos, Hosea, with Isaiah and Micah, then it strikes us at first sight, that the person of the Messiah steps into the foreground of prophecy with Isaiah and his later contemporary Micah in such a way as it had never before done with any prophet. In the book of hardening, ch. i.-vi., threatening and promise still stand in their first stadium: the proclamation of judgment reproduces with application to the present so ripe for judgment the curses of Deuteronomy and Leviticus, and the future glory of Israel appears here only as the restoration of the past. The prophecy ch. iv. 2, the fundamental prophecy respecting the צֶמַח יְהוָה (*zemach Jehovah*), *the Branch of the Lord*, which is continued in Je. xxiii. 5; xxxiii. 15; Zec. iii. 8; vi. 12, is still so much mixed with light and shade, held forth so enigmatically, that it is matter of question, whether *zemach* is meant as a person or as a thing; the former, however, is more probable: Jehovah will call forth a branch, the land will produce a fruit, *i.e.* heaven and earth will take hold of each other, in order to give Israel a king, who will bring true lasting glorification to the remnant of Israel, after that all false glory is overthrown. The book of hardening, ch. i.-vi., which (at least ch. ii.–vi.) belongs to the Uzziah-Jotham period, is then followed by the book of Immanuel, ch. vii.-xii. Here we find ourselves at the beginning of the war, which had been undertaken by Syria and Ephraim in common for the conquest of Judah and for the destruction of the dynasty of David. In the year of Uzziah's death the prophet by means of a heavenly vision has been appointed as an instrument of hardening and its consequences—rooting out and banishment for the mass of Israel, and now he stands with his son Shear-jashub, whose name (*the remnant shall return*) shadows forth the further progress of Israel's history, before king Ahaz, to whom he offers to pledge God's faithfulness to his promise by means of any miraculous sign he might choose, be it a heavenly or an earthly one. With respect to this offer Ahaz is free to choose, but he hardens himself by hypocritically declining it, because he is secretly intending to summon the help of Assyria against the two confederates. Hence the prophet announces to him an אוֹת (*sign*), which has a dark foreground and a light background, turning the former to the despisers of Jehovah, the latter to the believers. Before the seer-gaze of the prophet there stands an עַלְמָה (*almah*), *i.e.* an unmarried woman, but one who is young, capable of bearing children. She conceives and bears a son, and calls his name Immanuel. The prophet now mentions not the devastation which the Syrians and Ephraimites will produce in Judah, but he predicts forthwith the devastation of the lands of the two confederates (*i.e.* by means of Assyria), then however the concourse of the swarms of the Egyptian flies and the Assyrian bees in the land of David, and its devastation by means of that very Assyria, whose help Ahaz has summoned, and which Jehovah now summons as his instrument of punishment. In this time of deepest humiliation—this is just the dark foreground of the sign—when the imperial power has turned the holy land into wilderness and pasture, the son of the virgin will grow up. Mercy comes in this way on the path of judicial punishment, but it comes: the name and person of Immanuel are the pledge of salvation in the midst of that extreme danger of overthrow, which has come upon the house and people of David through their fleshly self-help. This is the light background of the sign, which the prophet from ch. viii. 23 onwards unfolds for the believers. The deepest darkness is broken through by the rise of a great light: the promised child is born, the heir and defender of the throne of David; joy, freedom, peace, glory are in his train. His names are פֶּלֶא, *Wonderful*, for his origin, appearance, and work are wonderful; יוֹעֵץ, *Counsellor*, for his wisdom leads to the happiness of his people; אֵל גִּבּוֹר, *the mighty God*, for Jehovah, the mighty God, see ch. x. 21, is present in him among his people; אֲבִי־עַד, *the everlasting Father*, for with a father's love and care he rules over his own unto eternity; שַׂר־שָׁלוֹם, *the Prince of Peace*, for universal

peace is the fruit of his rule. The son of the virgin, whom the prophet, ch. vii. 14, foresees when not yet conceived and born, lies here already in the cradle of the prophetic word, which joyfully greets him, and in ch. xi. the prophet sees him grown up and reigning, and describes the universal righteous rule of peace of this second David, who, after that the Lebanon of the imperial power is for ever thrown down, springs from the tree of the house of David, which had become a root-stump, but not without hope. Thus does Isaiah prophesy in presence of the Assyrian development, which the unbelief of Ahaz has entered into, and by whose consequences the holy land was still heavily oppressed, when Jesus was born, for the imperial power is essentially the same, whether it be called Rome or Assyria. At one and the same time with Isaiah Micah proclaimed the Prince of Peace of Bethlehem-Ephratah. This high flight of the Messianic prophecy in the time of Ahaz has its foundation in two laws of sacred history: in the first place, in the law of intensity of all beginnings, for the entanglement entered into with Assyria by Ahaz is the beginning of the period of the imperial powers; secondly, in the law of contrast, for the worse the existing rulers were of the house of David, the deeper became the longing after the second David, the clearer and the brighter he appears on the horizon of prophecy, as here in the case of Isaiah and Micah, where the bad character of Ahaz is the dark background of his picture. The following stadium of the Messianic proclamation is weaker and of a lower flight, for in the time of Hezekiah Judah had a king walking in the footsteps of David. In the cycle of prophecy, ch. xxviii.-xxxiii., Isaiah sets over against the false supports of a God-forgetting policy the strong and precious corner-stone, which Jehovah has laid in Zion as the only and infallible ground of confidence; this prophecy, ch. xxviii. 16, is Messianic, but yet not so concretely personal as before. We find in this cycle comprehensive and numerous portraitures of the glorious time following the judgment, ch. xxviii. 5, ff.; xxix. 17-24; xxx. 19-26; xxxii. 1-8, 15-20; xxxiii. 13-24, but nowhere do we see the august form of the Messiah standing forth prominently from that glorious time in the same characteristic distinctness as before. Where Isaiah speaks here of a king, who shall reign in righteousness, and whom the preserved faithful ones are reckoned worthy to see in his beauty, ch. xxxii. 1; xxxiii. 17, comp. 6; there it is only the king who, surrounded by like-minded princes and leaders of the people, ch. xxxii. 1b, 2; xxviii. 6, stands at the head of a well-ordered state, so that one may hesitate as to whether Hezekiah or the Messiah is meant. From what other cause does that spring than this, that the contrasts of the present with the Messianic future were less glaring, and therefore also the impulses to the Messianic prophecy were not so strong? On the other hand, we may apply to the author of ch. xl.–lxvi. what was said of the apostle John—*volat avis sine meta*. In this testamentary book of consolation for the exiles the idea of the Messiah appears to be lost in the idea of Israel, but in reality it is by means of this seeming disappearance as it were born anew. What is hitherto wanting to the prophetic picture of the Messiah is the *ecce homo*. The passion of Christ has indeed a noble type in David, who, pursued by Saul and betrayed by Ahithophel, prefigures that which will be done to the future Christ by the rulers of his own people and by one of his own disciples. This type is also not altogether silent, for the Spirit of prophecy mixes in the words of David's psalms, respecting his own typical suffering, prophetic words of the suffering of his antitype, the second David. But a direct prophecy of the sufferings which will precede the glories of Christ is up to this point not in existence. The second part of the book of Isaiah shows us the process of divine logic, by means of which the passion as prelude to the glory has been taken up into the prophetic picture of the Messiah. During the time of the exile, in which throughout ch. xl.–lxvi. Isaiah lives and moves, it was not the house of David, but an important phenomenon of quite a different kind, which attracted the prophet's gaze to itself, viz. the people of God, who, removed from the limits of their narrowly confined nationality, were now placed in the midst of the heathen world, in order to overcome it with spiritual weapons. In the sense of this high Messianic-apostolic calling, the whole Israel of the exile is called עַבְדִּי יְהוָה, *the servant of Jehovah*. But the mass is blind and deaf, and unable to accomplish this calling, therefore the idea of the Jehovah-servant is destroyed, a division is accomplished within it: this becomes, in its full sense, not the mass, which is so only by virtue of the divine will, the reverse, however, in respect of personal conduct, but the portion of the people true to its calling, which on this very account is persecuted by the mass of its own people not less than by the heathen, the church of Jehovah, which amid the deepest humiliation in the form of a servant and of wretchedness bears the salvation of its people and the salvation of the heathen on its heart, visible in its members, invisible in as far as it has not the outward unity of a commonalty, but only the inner unity of a similar disposition. This community, which suffered not because of its sins, but for Jehovah's honour and Israel's continued existence, and which in its innocent and willing suffering and dying was the holy seed of Israel's future, is a narrower circle within the wider one of collective Israel; and inasmuch as this narrower circle concentrates itself still more narrowly on the one person of a servant of Jehovah, the idea of the Messiah, after it has been exchanged for the idea of Israel as the servant of Jehovah, comes forth again from this absorption more significant, more spiritual, and more glorious. There is no Old Testament idea of so wonderful logical development, as this idea of the servant of Jehovah in Isaiah. It forms, as it were, a pyramid: its lowest base is Israel collectively, its middle base the true Israel, its summit Christ as the realization of the idea of Israel and of the decree of redemption. The idea is thus a threefold one, but inwardly coherent, and according to this its living threefold character, it ascends and descends, it expands and contracts, and by means of this self-movement produces from itself a fulness of new, spiritual, and especially Christological branches of knowledge. They are the following:—1. The knowledge of the *munus triplex* (threefold office). The servant of Jehovah is a prophet, for his most immediate calling is the proclamation of salvation, ch. xlii. 4. But he is also a priest, for he performs the priestly work of שְׂאֵת עָוֹן in the deepest, most universal sense, as ch. liii. predicts. And he is not prophet and priest alone, but also a king, to whom the kings of the earth do homage, ch. xlix. 7; lii. 15, thus King of kings. His three-

fold office is the effulgence of his one calling as Saviour and of his undivided glory. 2. The knowledge of the *status duplex* (the twofold state). The servant of Jehovah goes through ignominy to glory, and through death to life; he conquers by being overthrown; he rules after having acted as a servant; he lives after he has been put to death; he finishes his work after he appears to be rooted out. 3. The knowledge of the *satisfactio vicaria* (vicarious satisfaction). The type of the blood hitherto silent begins in ch. liii. to speak. For here Israel confesses himself to be a great sufferer as having to offer satisfaction (אָשָׁם) for the sins of his people, which he has taken upon himself, and his suffering is expressly designated a vicarious punishment (מוּסַר שְׁלוֹמֵנוּ), *i.e.* as a divine punishment endured not for his own sake, but instead of his people, and after he has offered himself, he is in his exaltation also still one, who, himself altogether righteous, makes many righteous and bears their sins, thus an everlasting priest on the ground of his offering of himself. 4. The knowledge of the *unio mystica capitis cum corpore* (mystical union between head and members). In the older picture of the Messiah the unity of the Messiah and Israel is rather an outward one: Israel is the people over which he rules, the army which he leads into the fight, the state which he regulates. But when the future Mediator of salvation is contemplated as the servant of Jehovah, the conception of his relationship to Israel also is deepened. He is Israel himself in person, he is the idea of Israel in complete realization, the essence of Israel in its purest manifestation, and therefore he is called Israel, ch. xlix. 3, as the New Testament church is called Christ, 1 Co. xii. 12. He is the theanthropic summit, in which Israel's development from a divine-human basis culminates. Israel is the stem, he is the top of the tree; the church is the body, he the head. Such a fulness of knowledge has burst forth in the second part of the book of Isaiah, this most sacred book of the Old Testament, which in its ethereal form unites the depth of idea of the Gospel of John with the figurative splendour of the Apocalypse of John. Prophecy has now expressly and carefully carried out not only the distinction of Israel according to his everlasting destination and his appearance in time, but also the distinction between suffering and glory, death and life, depth and height, in the person of the future Christ. And faith, which penetrated to the understanding of prophecy, now clung not merely to "the Lion of the tribe of Judah," but also to "the Lamb, who bears the sin of the world;" not merely to a new covenant, but also to a new "mediator between God and men;" not merely to a propitiation of Jehovah's, but also to a human propitiator. "O the depth of the riches both of the wisdom and knowledge of God!" Let us pray with Ailred, the abbot of Rieval (†1166): *Qui sancto Isaiæ inspirasti ut scriberet, inspira quæso mihi ut quod scripsit intelligam, quia jam inspirasti ut credam; nisi enim crediderimus, non intelligimus.* [F. D.]

IS'CAH [*one who looks forth*], a niece of Abraham, the daughter of Haran, and sister to Milcah and Lot, Ge. xi. 29. A tradition among the Jews has identified her with Sarah, but whether entitled to reliance or not, there are no proper grounds for affirming. Abraham called Sarah the daughter of his father, though not of his mother, Ge. xx. 12; but he might possibly have meant daughter in the larger sense, as including grandchildren along with children. The natural supposition is rather against this, however; and it is impossible to say more for the tradition than that it is of ancient date, and is mentioned both by Josephus and by Jerome.

ISCAR'IOT. *See* JUDAS.

ISH'BI-BE'NOB OR ISBO-BENOB [*dweller at Nob*], a Philistine giant, son of Rapha (so it should rather be, than "son of the giant"), who on one occasion made a deadly assault on David, and apparently might have attained his purpose, but for the timely interposition of Abishai, who rushed to the rescue, and slew the giant. That David's life must have been in great jeopardy at the time is evident from the resolution come to by his friends, that he was no more to hazard his life in actual conflict, 2 Sa. xxi. 16, 17.

ISHBO'SHETH [*man of shame*]. *Bosheth* or shame was an epithet applied by the Israelites to idols, or the false gods they represented; and so a man of *bosheth* might be much the same as a man of an idol—of Baal, for example. This seems to be the explanation of the circumstance, that Ishbosheth, the surviving son of Saul, according to 2 Sa. ii. 8, &c., is in 1 Ch. viii. 33 called *Esh-baal*, man of Baal (for *esh* is merely an abbreviation of *ish*). How either form of the name should have been imposed upon one of Saul's sons, it is difficult to conceive; since Saul is never charged, amid all his defections, with a formal attachment to idolatry. Possibly, it was bestowed at first as a nickname, in memory of the son's false position and miserable end, and gradually supplanted his proper name. On the death of Saul and his other sons, Ishbosheth, who appears to have been the youngest, was raised to the throne by Abner, who also drew over by much the larger portion of the tribes to his side, 2 Sa. ii. 8; iii. 17, in spite of a strong feeling existing among them for David. After various skirmishes between the forces of the rival kings, a pitched battle was fought, in which the army of David under Joab was completely victorious. After this the interest of David continually waxed stronger, while that of Ishbosheth declined, 2 Sa. iii. 1. It was on the military skill and influence of Abner that the latter chiefly depended; but a breach took place between them on account of criminal intercourse having arisen between Abner and one of Saul's concubines, which, according to eastern notions, amounted to a sort of treason. On being charged with this impropriety by Ishbosheth, Abner strongly resented it, and threatened to transfer the kingdom to David. He seems presently after to have entered into negotiations for that purpose; but in the midst of them himself fell a victim to the resentment of Joab for the death of Asahel. The fall of Abner was like a death-blow to the cause of Ishbosheth; on hearing it his hands became feeble, and all Israel was troubled, 2 Sa. iv. 1. Two men however, captains of Ishbosheth (Baanah and Rechab), sought to turn the matter to good account for themselves; they resolved to cut off the head of their master, and carry it in triumph to David at Hebron—which they succeeded in doing, but only to meet with the punishment which their treacherous conduct deserved. David ordered the immediate execution of both of them, 2 Sa. iv. 2-12. Ishbosheth is said to have been forty years old when he was raised to the throne, 2 Sa. ii. 10; but this appears not to include the earlier part of the struggle, when it seemed doubtful whether he should be recognized as king by any considerable portion of the people. The struggle for this recognition, and the sub-

sequent reign, probably together occupied the whole seven years that David was at Hebron; for he appears immediately on Ishbosheth's death to have removed the seat of government to Jerusalem.

ISHI. This name corresponds to two words in the original, differently spelled, though pronounced alike, and of quite different significations. Of these one (אִישִׁי, *my man*) occurs only once as a proper name. It is in Ho. ii. 16, where the Lord says to converted Israel, "In that day thou shalt call me ISHI," that is, my husband, returning to Jehovah with true conjugal affection. The other *ishi* (יִשַׁי, *salutary*) occurs as the name of individuals, but is applied to none of any note: one a descendant of Judah, 1 Ch. ii. 31; another of the same tribe, 1 Ch. iv. 20; four of the tribe of Simeon, connected with an expedition against the Amalekites, 1 Ch. iv. 42; one of the tribe of Manasseh, 1 Ch. v. 24.

ISH'MAEL [*whom God hears*]. 1. The son of Abraham by Hagar, the Egyptian bondmaid. The circumstances connected with the birth of this remarkable person have been already described in the articles ABRAHAM and HAGAR; and under the latter those also have been referred to which were connected with his early life, and his expulsion, along with his mother, from the tent of Abraham. The name was communicated by an angel on the occasion of her first expulsion, and before the child was born, as a memorial of the Lord's compassion toward her, in directing her to a well, when she was ready to perish for thirst in the wilderness of Beersheba, Ge. xvi. 15. It was doubtless also intended to serve as a perpetual monitor to her and her son, whence to look for protection and deliverance in the hour of need, and what resources they might still find in the favour and lovingkindness of the God of Abraham—although from special circumstances the peculiar place of honour in the divine covenant could not be granted to Ishmael. That the more essential blessings of the covenant, however, were open to him as well as to the other offspring of Abraham, was expressly signified by his circumcision, which took place when he was thirteen years old, Ge. xvii. 25. But he was not satisfied with this; and his carnal pride and envy were stirred amid the rejoicings that celebrated the weaning-day of Isaac, as if the exulting hopes entertained regarding this youthful child of promise were so much taken from himself, Ge. xxi. 9. It must have appeared to him ridiculous—fit subject for the laughter of scorn—that so much account should be made of the little, newly weaned Isaac, in comparison of himself, who had become a stripling on the verge of manhood. In so thinking and feeling, he showed that he had an eye only to what was outward in the flesh, what met the superficial and carnal view of nature, blind to the deeper mysteries of God's covenant of blessing; and in this he was a fitting type, as he is designated by the apostle, of those in after-times, who, like him, stood within the outer circle of the covenant, but who knew nothing of its higher gifts, had no sympathy with its spiritual aims, and breathed only envy and malice toward such as had, Ga. iv. 29. The same spirit substantially is ever evincing itself anew within the bosom of the Christian church; though in its forms of manifestation it perpetually varies according to the changeful conditions of society, and the moods of individual men. Wherever the carnal heart remains, even though it may clothe itself with the form of godliness, the spirit of enmity to God's cause and people will be found lurking: and it is the Ishmael, not the Isaac in Abraham's family, that must be looked to as the prototype of the real character and destiny. But Ishmael was also, in a sense, an heir of promise. Even before he was born an assurance was given to Hagar by the angel of the Lord, that he should be the head of a numerous offspring—a seed that could not be numbered for multitude, Ge. xvi. 10. The assurance was renewed, when he and his mother were finally separated from the household of Abraham, Ge. xxi. 18. On the first occasion too, the characteristics were briefly but most graphically given, which were to distinguish both the man himself, and the multitudinous offspring that were to proceed from him. He was to be "a wild man"—literally *a wild ass of man*, Ge. xvi. 12; that is, his relative position and habits should be like those of that untamed creature, the chartered libertine of the desert, "whose bands God hath loosed, whose house he hath made the wilderness, and the barren land his dwellings: he scorneth the multitude of the city, neither regardeth the crying of the driver; the range of the mountains is his pasture," Job xxxix. 5-7. There could not be a more exact image of the general character and habits of the races which occupy the vast deserts and pasture-lands of Arabia, and among which the descendants of Ishmael have ever been regarded as holding the chief rank. These Bedouins, as they are now commonly called, of the desert, are the hereditary assertors, and most remarkable types, of the unrestrained freedom of the family or clan, as opposed to the settled order and regulated liberty of civilized life. The hand of each, as was originally said of Ishmael, is against every one, and every one's hand against him; or, as they still say in Nubia, "In the desert every one is the enemy of another." The roving habits of nomades, and something like the license of freebooters, are the kind of understood conditions of such a state of society—no law recognized but that of immemorial usage, no authority beyond that of each petty chieftain; it is a state irreconcilably at war with the quiet labours of husbandry, and the fixed abodes as well as peaceful arts of civic life, for these are inconsistent with that airy freedom which it worships as the ideal good; and wherever it prevails, agriculture, as a matter of course, except on the most limited scale, disappears, cultivation of every kind languishes, the world becomes a virtual desert. The wonderful thing is—not that such a state of society exists now, and has existed so long in Arabia (where the nature of the country is in great measure adapted to it)—but that, according to the terms of the original prediction, it should have connected with it as its upholders so large, vigorous, and, in a political respect, powerful a population. The races represented and headed by Ishmael's descendants—scattered and disorganized as they are among themselves—are justly entitled to be reckoned "a great nation," Ge. xxi. 18, and have played an important part in the world's history. "While many conquerors," as remarked by Baumgarten, "have marched into the Arabian wilderness, they have never been able to catch this grand wild ass and to tame him." But he has done to others what they could not do to him. The victorious arms of the Arabians have spread the terror of their name far and wide; they have ascended more than a hundred thrones; and have established their colonies, their language, and their religion from

the Senegal to the Indus, from the Euphrates to the islands of the Indian Ocean.

So far, however, as Ishmael himself, and his lineal descendants, were personally concerned, the prophecy uttered concerning their future place and destiny, has more immediate respect to what should distinguish them in their proper home. They were to inhabit and spread themselves over the desert region stretching from the south of Palestine onwards through the vast Arabian peninsula. It is with reference to this habitat that we are to understand the somewhat peculiar expression, "He shall dwell in the presence of all his brethren," Ge. xvi. 12—an expression again used at Ishmael's death, "He died in the presence of all his brethren," Ge. xxv. 18. It is literally *upon the face of* (עַל פְּנֵי), *in sight of*, or *before* them; that is, Ishmael and his seed were not to vanish away into nothing, or disappear in some remote region, but should maintain their position in that high table-land which lies to the south of Judea, and toward which it might be said to look. Hence we are told of the family of Ishmael, in the passage last referred to, and with the view apparently of throwing light on the expression under consideration, that "they dwelt from Havilah unto Shur, that is before Egypt, as thou goest toward Assyria." It was a somewhat elevated and at that time comparatively frequented region, connecting, as it did, the two greatest and most ancient kingdoms in that part of the world; so that, while separated from the other offspring of Abraham, the son of Hagar and his seed had a position not far distant, and dwelt constantly in front of them. To be assured of this when sent forth to what seemed a forlorn and hopeless exile, was a most appropriate and seasonable consolation.

In regard to the domestic relations of Ishmael, we know only for certain, that his mother took him a wife out of her native country, Egypt, that he had twelve sons and one daughter, and that he died at the advanced age of 137 years. Whether all his children were the offspring of one mother may be doubted, both from what may be supposed to have been the habits of Ishmael, and in particular from his daughter Mahalath being expressly designated the sister of Nebaioth, the eldest son, Ge. xxviii. 9. This seems to point to a distinction in the family circle, and to imply the existence of brothers, of whom it could not be said that Mahalath was in the same sense their sister that she was of Nebaioth. The daughter referred to was married to Esau, as is stated in the last reference, and would become, with her offspring, if she had any, merged in the vigorous stock of the Edomites. The fact of such a marriage, too, incidentally shows, that the separation of Ishmael from Abraham's household was by no means absolute—that he did not, ultimately at least, stand to the next generation of the chosen family in the relation properly of an alien—nay, that in marrying into his family Esau imagined his parents would regard him as cultivating a suitable connexion, and taking a step that might partly compensate for the impropriety of his earlier alliances. Ishmael's attendance at the burial of his father Abraham is a further, and not less decisive, proof of the same thing, Ge. xxv. 9. It is clear, therefore, that there must have been a formal reconciliation; and we can scarcely doubt, that as Abraham's later offspring by Keturah received each a portion of their father's goods, Ishmael also, who was probably more than any of them the object of paternal affection, was not denied his share. The sons of Ishmael were Nebaioth, Kedar, Adbeel, Mibsam, Mishma, Dumah, Massa, Hadar, Tema, Jetur, Naphish, Kedemah, Ge. xxv. 13-15. These, it is said, were the names "of the sons of Ishmael by their towns, and by their castles, twelve princes according to their nations." In other words, the twelve sons of Ishmael, somewhat like the twelve sons of Jacob, became so many heads of tribes; which implies, that in the next generation they spread themselves pretty widely abroad. It appears, from the passage already cited, Ge. xxv. 18, that the headquarters of the race lay in the northern parts of the Arabian peninsula; but in process of time they would naturally stretch more inland, eastward and southward. That they also extended their journeying northwards is evident from the notice which occurs in the history of Joseph, where it is said that the brethren of Joseph espied "a company of Ishmeelites coming from Gilead with their camels bearing spicery, and balm, and myrrh, to carry it down to Egypt," Ge. xxxvii. 25. The company has afterwards the name of Midianites applied to it, ver. 28, probably on account of its consisting of more than one class of people, Midianites also in part; but being first called Ishmeelites, we can have no reasonable doubt that these formed a considerable portion of the caravan-party. The trade of inland carriers between the countries in the north of Africa, on the one side, and those in southern and western Asia (India, Persia, Babylonia, &c.) on the other, is one in which sections of the Ishmeelite race have been known from the remotest times to take a part. It suited their migratory and unsettled habits; and they became so noted for it, that others, who did not belong to the same race, were not unfrequently called Ishmeelites, merely because they followed the Ishmeelitic traffic and manners. It is impossible to say how far the descendants of Ishmael penetrated into Arabia, or acquired settlements in its southern and more productive regions. As it is certain the Ishmeelite mode of life has been always less practised there, and a modified civilization is of old standing, the probability is that the population in those regions has little in it of Ishmeelite blood. But with all their regard to genealogies the Arabic races have for thousands of years been so transfused into each other, that all distinct landmarks are well nigh lost. And the circumstance of Mohammed having, for prudential reasons, claimed to be a descendant of the son of Abraham, has led to an extension of the Ishmeelite circle far beyond what the probable facts will bear out. Arabian traditions on this subject, therefore, are of no value, and it is but to waste time to make search for them—so far as the illustration of Scripture is concerned. We know nothing for certain respecting the real seed of Ishmael but what is recorded there.

2. Ishmael. A son of Nethaniah, who was "of the seed royal," Je. xl. 1; 2 Ki. xxv. 25; and a person of consummate arrogance, treachery, and deceit. His proud spirit would not allow of his submitting to the delegated authority of Gedaliah, whom the king of Babylon had made governor of Judah on the overthrow of Jerusalem and of the supremacy of the house of David. But he feigned submission for a time, in order that he might with the more certainty accomplish his diabolical purpose of effecting the destruction of Gedaliah and those who attached themselves to him. In

this work of deceit and violence, it appears, he was in concert with Baalis, king of the Ammonites, who is even said to have sent him for the purpose, Je. xl. 4—though what should have led him to do so we are not told. The actual design, however, was no secret to some about Gedaliah, who forewarned him of it, and counselled decisive measures to prevent its execution; but in vain. Gedaliah refused to entertain any suspicion of the foul intentions of Ishmael, and admitted him to free and familiar intercourse. This, however, only served to furnish Ishmael with the opportunity he wanted; and on the occasion of a feast, at which he was received in confidence, he and his men smote Gedaliah with the sword, and all who were with him. Next day he met a company of spiritual mourners, on their way to the prostrate temple of Jerusalem with incense and certain offerings, and taking them aside to the residence of Gedaliah he slew them, and cast their dead bodies into the pit which already contained the corpses of Gedaliah and his companions, with the exception of ten, who got their lives for a prey on account of certain treasures which they had hid in a field, and which Ishmael no doubt deemed of more value than their blood. After these deeds of treachery and slaughter Ishmael gathered about him as many as he could of the people that remained, including the daughters of king Zedekiah, with the intention of carrying them over to the Ammonites, but he was attacked near Gibeon by a company under Johanan the son of Kareah, and the people were rescued out of his hands. He escaped with eight men to the Ammonites, and is heard of no more.

3. ISHMAEL. Several other persons of this same name occur in the genealogies, but without any note of distinction—1 Ch. viii. 38; 2 Ch. xix. 11; xxiii. 1; Ezr. x. 22.

ISHTOB [*men of Tob*]. It seems somewhat doubtful whether *Ishtob* should be regarded as one word, the name of a petty kingdom connected with Syria; or should be separated into its two component elements, and rendered *men of Tob*. It occurs only at 2 Sa. x. 6, 8, where the several parties composing the great Syrian army that came against David are given. Nothing is known of Ishtob as a region of country, but Tob is mentioned in connection with the history of Jephthah, Ju. xi. 3; and the probability is, that what is to be understood by Ishtob in the passage of Second Samuel is simply the people of that place or district.

ISLE, most commonly in the plural ISLES (אִי or אִיִּים, understood to be from אָוָה, *to inhabit*), primarily *inhabited*, or *habitable land*, as opposed to the sea or rivers, then *shore-land, coasts of the sea*, or land in the sea, *island*. The word is used with considerable latitude in Scripture, and may be found in all the senses now indicated. It occurs in the most general sense in Is. xlii. 15, where it is fitly rendered *dry land*, the converse of the *rivers* spoken of immediately before. But in the great majority of cases it is applied to denote maritime regions of some sort, either upon the coast of a mainland, or appearing as distant and isolated spots in the sea. Hence, it came naturally to signify places lying remote from the covenant-people, which could only be reached by crossing the seas—as in Ps. lxxii. 10, "The kings of Tarshish and the isles;" Is. xli. 5, "The isles saw it and feared, the ends of the earth were afraid;" Zep. ii. 11, "All the isles of the heathen shall worship him." It is sometimes used of specific maritime regions, as Chittim, Caphtor (Crete), Je. ii. 10; xlvii. 4, &c.; but the more general sense is the prevailing application of the term.

ISRAEL [*fighter* or *soldier of God*]. 1. The name given by the angel of God to Jacob, in commemoration of the conflict of faith, which in deep humility and earnestness of soul he maintained with the heavenly messenger at Peniel, Ge. xxxii. 28; "Thy name," it was said to him, "shall be called no more Jacob, but Israel; for thou hast fought (so it should be rendered) with God and with men, and hast prevailed." (*See* JACOB.) 2. From Jacob, as the immediate head of the twelve tribes, or covenant-people, the name of Israel became the common and distinctive appellation of the whole community. They were at once called the seed of Jacob, and the tribes or people of Israel. 3. After the unhappy division into two separate kingdoms in the time of Rehoboam, it was chiefly appropriated to the kingdom comprising the ten tribes—partly, perhaps, because this division formed considerably the larger portion of those who were entitled to the name, and partly because it might have been invidious to select from among the several tribes any less comprehensive appellation—while, on the other side, Judah formed so preponderating a part of those who adhered to the house of David, that the kingdom of Judah became for that portion the fitting designation. 4. Notwithstanding this actual division, however, and the separation of Judah from Israel, the term Israel still remained the proper designation of the covenant-people, and is often so used in the prophets; the twelve tribes of Israel still formed the ideal representation of the whole stock, 1 Ki. xviii. 30, 31; Ezr. vi. 17; Je. xxxi. 1, &c. Hence also in New Testament scripture Israel is applied to the true people of God, whether of Gentile or of Jewish origin, Ro. ix. 6; Ga. vi. 16, &c.; it is comprehensive of the entire church of the redeemed.

ISRAEL, KINGDOM OF. The name Israel, which at first had been the national designation of the twelve tribes collectively, Ex. iii. 16, &c., was, on the division of the monarchy, applied to the northern kingdom (a usage, however, not strictly observed, as in 2 Ch. xii. 6), in contradistinction to the other portion, which was termed the kingdom of Judah. This limitation of the name Israel to certain tribes, at the head of which was that of Ephraim, which, accordingly, in some of the prophetical writings, as *e.g.* Is. xvii. 13; Ho. iv. 17, gives its own name to the northern kingdom, is discernible even at so early a period as the commencement of the reign of Saul, and affords evidence of the existence of some of the causes which eventually led to the schism of the nation. It indicated the existence of a rivalry, which needed only time and favourable circumstances to ripen into the revolt witnessed after the death of Solomon.

1. *Causes of the Division.*—The prophet Abijah, who had been commissioned to announce to Jeroboam, the Ephraimite, the transference to him of the greater part of the kingdom of Solomon, declared it to be the punishment of disobedience to the divine law, and particularly of the idolatry so largely promoted by Solomon, 1 Ki. xi. 31-35. But while this revolt from the house of David is to be thus viewed in its directly penal character, or as a divine retribution, this does not preclude an inquiry into those second causes, political and otherwise, to which this very important revolution in Israelitish history is clearly referable. Such an inquiry

indeed will make it evident how human passions and jealousies were made subservient to the divine purposes.

Prophecy had early assigned a pre-eminent place to two of the sons of Jacob—Judah and Joseph—as the founders of tribes. In the blessing pronounced upon his sons by the dying patriarch, Joseph had the birthright conferred upon him, and was promised in his son Ephraim a numerous progeny; while to Judah promise was made, among other blessings, of rule or dominion over his brethren—"thy father's children shall bow down before thee," Ge. xlviii. 19, 22; xlix. 8, 26; comp. 1 Ch. v. 1, 2. These blessings were repeated and enlarged in the blessing of Moses, De. xxxiii. 7, 17. The pre-eminence thus prophetically assigned to these two tribes received a partial verification in the fact, that at the exodus their numbers were nearly equal, and far in excess of those of the other tribes; and further, as became their position, they were the first who obtained their territories, which were also assigned them in the very centre of the land. It is unnecessary to advert to the various other circumstances which contributed to the growth and the aggrandizement of these two tribes, and which, from the position they served to acquire for them above the rest, naturally led to their becoming heads of parties, and as such the objects of mutual rivalry and contention. The Ephraimites indeed from the very first gave unmistakable tokens of an exceedingly haughty temper, and preferred most arrogant claims over the other tribes as regards questions of peace and war. This may be seen in their representation to Gideon of the tribe of Manasseh, Ju. viii. 1, and in their conduct towards Jephthah, Ju. xii. 1. Now if this overbearing people resented in the case of tribes so inconsiderable as that of Manasseh what they regarded as a slight, it is easy to conceive how they must have eyed the proceedings of the tribe of Judah, which was more especially their rival. Hence it was, that while on the first establishment of the monarchy in the person of Saul, of the tribe of Benjamin, the Ephraimites, with the other northern tribes with whom they were associated, silently acquiesced, they refused for seven years to submit to his successor of the tribe of Judah, 2 Sa. ii. 9-11, and even after their submission they showed a disposition on any favourable opportunity to raise the cry of revolt: "To your tents, O Israel," 2 Sa. xx. 1. It was this early, long-continued, and deep-rooted feeling, strengthened and embittered by the schism, though not concurring with it, that gave point to the language in which Isaiah predicted the blessed times of Messiah: "The envy also of Ephraim shall depart, and the adversaries of Judah shall be cut off; Ephraim shall not envy Judah, and Judah shall not vex Ephraim," Is. xi. 13. Indeed, for more than 400 years, from the time that Joshua was the leader of the Israelitish hosts, Ephraim, with the dependent tribes of Manasseh and Benjamin, may be said to have exercised undisputed pre-eminence to the accession of David. And accordingly it is not surprising that such a people would not readily submit to an arrangement which, though declared to be of divine appointment, should place them in a subordinate condition, as when God "refused the tabernacle of Joseph, and chose not the tribe of Ephraim, but chose the tribe of Judah, even the mount Zion which he loved," Ps. lxxviii. 67, 68.

There were thus indeed two powerful elements tending to break up the national unity. In addition to the long-continued and growing jealousy on the part of the Ephraimites to the tribe of Judah, another cause of dissatisfaction to the dynasty of David in particular, was the arrangement just referred to, which consisted in the removal of the civil, and more particularly ecclesiastical government, to Jerusalem. The Mosaic ordinances were in themselves exceedingly onerous, and this must have been more especially felt by such as were resident at a distance from the sanctuary, as it entailed upon them long journeys, not only when attending the stated festivals, but also on numerous other occasions prescribed in the law. This must have been felt as a special grievance by the Ephraimites, owing to the fact that the national sanctuary had been for a very long period at Shiloh, within their own territories; and therefore its transference elsewhere, it is easy to discern, would not be readily acquiesced in by a people who had proved themselves in other respects so jealous of their rights, and not easily persuaded that this was not rather a political expedient on the part of the rival tribe, than as a matter of divine choice, 1 Ki. xiv. 21. Nor is it to be overlooked, in connection with this subject, that other provisions of the theocratic economy relative to the annual festivals would be taken advantage of by those in whom there existed already a spirit of dissatisfaction. Even within so limited a locality as Palestine, there must have been inequalities of climate, which must have considerably affected the seasons, more particularly the vintage and harvest, with which the feasts may in some measure have interfered, and in so far may have been productive of discontent between the northern and southern residents. That there were inconveniences in both the respects now mentioned, would indeed appear from the appeal made by Jeroboam to his new subjects, when, for reasons of state policy, and in order to perpetuate the schism by making it religious as well as political, he would dissuade them from attendance on the feasts in Judah: "It is too much for you to go up to Jerusalem," 1 Ki. xii. 28; and from the fact that he postponed for a whole month the celebration of the feast of tabernacles, ver. 32—a change to which it is believed he was induced, or in the adoption of which he was at least greatly aided, by the circumstance of the harvest being considerably later in the northern than in the southern districts (Pict. Bible, note on 1 Ki. xii. 32).

Again, the burdensome exactions in the form of service and tribute imposed on his subjects by Solomon for his extensive buildings and the maintenance of his splendid and luxurious court, must have still further deepened this disaffection, which originated in one or other of the causes already referred to. It may indeed be assumed that this grievance was of a character which appealed to the malcontents more directly than any other; and that these burdens, required especially for the beautifying of the capital, must have been exceedingly disagreeable to the inhabitants of the provinces, who did not in any way participate in the glories, in support of which such onerous charges were required. The burdens thus imposed were indeed expressly stated to be the chief ground of complaint by the representatives of Israel headed by Jeroboam, who, on the occasion of his coronation at Shechem, waited on the son of Solomon with a view to obtain redress, 1 Ki. xii. 4. The long smouldering dissatisfaction could no longer be repressed; and a mitigation of their burdens was imperiously demanded by the people. For this end Jeroboam had been summoned, at the death of Solomon, from Egypt; whose presence must have had a marked

influence on the issue; although it may be a question whether Jeroboam should not be regarded rather as an instrument called forth by the occasion, than as himself the instigator of the revolt. With this agrees the intimation made to him from the Lord many years before by Ahijah the Shilonite. The very choice of Shechem, within the territories of Ephraim, as the coronation place of Rehoboam, may have had for its object the repression of the rebellious spirit in the northern tribes by means of so grand and imposing a ceremony.

However this may have been, or in whatever degree the causes specified may have severally operated in producing the revolt, the breach now made was never healed; God himself expressly forbidding all attempts on the part of Rehoboam and his counsellors to subjugate the revolted provinces, with the intimation—"This thing is from me," 1 Ki. xii. 24. The subsequent history of the two kingdoms was productive almost only of further estrangement.

2. *Extent and Resources of the Kingdom of Israel.*—The area of Palestine, even at its utmost extent under Solomon, was very circumscribed. In its geographical relations it certainly bore no comparison whatever to the other great empires of antiquity, nor indeed was there any proportion between its size and the mighty influences which have emanated from its soil. Making allowance for the territories on the shore of the Mediterranean in the possession of the Philistines, the area of Palestine did not much exceed 13,000 square miles, or, according to a familiar comparison, less than one-half the extent of Ireland, or about equal to that of the six northern counties of England. This limited extent, it might be shown, however, did the present subject call for it, rendered that land more suitable for the purposes of the theocracy than if it were of a far larger area. What precise extent of territories was embraced in the kingdom of Israel cannot be very easily determined; but it may be safely estimated as more than double that of the southern kingdom, or, according to a more exact ratio, as 9 to 4. Nor is it easy to specify with exactness the several tribes which composed the respective kingdoms. In the announcement made by Ahijah to Jeroboam, he is assured of ten tribes, while only one is reserved for the house of David; but this must be taken only in a general sense, and is to be interpreted by 1 Ki. xii. 23, comp. ver. 21; for it would appear that Simeon, part of Dan, and the greater part of Benjamin, owing doubtless to the fact that Jerusalem itself was situated within that tribe, formed portion of the kingdom of Judah (Ewald, Geschichte, iii. 409). It is to be noticed, however, that Judah was the only independent tribe, and therefore it might be spoken of as the *one* which constituted the kingdom of the house of David.

With regard to population, again, the data are even more defective than with respect to territorial extent. According to the uncompleted census taken in the reign of David, about forty years previous to the schism of the kingdom, the fighting men in Israel numbered 800,000, and in Judah 500,000, 2 Sa. xxiv. 9; but in 1 Ch. xxi. 5, 6, the numbers are differently stated at 1,100,000 and 470,000 respectively, with the intimation that Levi and Benjamin were not included, comp. ch. xxvii. 24. And as bearing more directly on this point, Rehoboam raised an army of 180,000 men out of Judah and Benjamin to fight against Jeroboam, 1 Ki. xii. 21; and again, Abijah, the son of Rehoboam, with 400,000 men, made war on Jeroboam at the head of an army of 800,000, 2 Ch. xiii. 3. According to the general laws observable in such cases, these numbers may be said to represent an aggregate population of from *five and a half to six millions*, of which about *one-third*, or two millions, may be fairly assigned to the kingdom of Judah at the time of the separation.

3. *Its Political and Religious Relations.*—But whilst in extent of territory and of population, and it might be shown also in various other respects, the resources of the northern kingdom were at the very least double those of its southern rival; the latter embraced elements of strength which were entirely lacking in the other. There was first the geographical position of the kingdom of Israel, which exposed its northern frontier to invasions on the part of Syria and the Assyrian hosts. But more than this or any exposure to attack from without, were the dangers to be apprehended from the polity on which the kingdom was founded. Jeroboam's public sanction of idolatry, and his other interferences with fundamental principles of the Mosaic law, more especially in the matter of the priesthood, at once alienated from his government all who were well affected to that economy, and who were not ready to subordinate their religion to any political considerations. Of such there were not a few within the territories of the new kingdom. The Levites in particular fled the kingdom, abandoning their property and possessions; and so did many others besides; "such as set their hearts to seek the Lord God of Israel, came to Jerusalem, to sacrifice unto the Lord God of their fathers. So they strengthened the kingdom of Judah," 2 Ch. xi. 13-17. Not only was one great source of strength thus at once dried up, but the strongly conservating principles of the law were violently shocked, and the kingdom more than ever exposed to the encroachments of the heathenism which extended along its frontier.

One element of weakness in the kingdom of Israel was the number of tribes of which it was composed, more especially after they had renounced those principles of the Mosaic law, which, while preserving the individuality of the tribes, served to bind them together as one people. Among other circumstances unfavourable to unity was the want of a capital in which all had a common interest, and with which they were connected by some common tie. This want was by no means compensated by the religious establishments at Bethel and Dan. But it is in respect to theocratic and religious relations that the weakness of the kingdom of Israel specially appears. Any sanction which the usurpation of Jeroboam may have derived at first from the announcement made to him by the prophet Ahijah, and afterwards from the charge given to Rehoboam and the men of Judah not to fight against Israel, because the thing was from the Lord, 1 Ki. xii. 23, must have been completely taken away by the denunciations of the prophet out of Judah against the altar at Bethel, 1 Ki. xiii. 1-10, and the subsequent announcements of Ahijah himself to Jeroboam, who failed to fulfil the conditions on which the kingdom was given him, 1 Ki. xiv. 7-16. The setting up of the worship of the calves, in which may be traced the influence of Jeroboam's residence in Egypt, and the consecrating of priests who could have no moral weight with their fellow-subjects, and were chosen only for their subservience to the royal will, were measures by no means calculated to consolidate a power from which the divine sanction had been

expressly withdrawn. On the contrary, they led, and very speedily, to the alienation of many who might at the outset have silently acquiesced in the revolution, even if they had not fully approved of it. The large migration which ensued into Judah of all who were favourable to the former institutions must still further have aggravated the evil, as all vigorous opposition would thenceforth cease to the downward and destructive tendency of the anti-theocratic policy. The natural result of the course appears in the fact that the step taken by Jeroboam was never retraced by any of his successors, one after another following the example thus set to them, so that Jeroboam is emphatically and frequently characterized in Scripture, as the man "who made Israel to sin," while his successors are described as following in "the sin of Jeroboam."

Further, as the calves of Jeroboam are referable to Egypt, so the worship of Baal which was introduced by Ahab, the seventh of the Israelitish kings, had its origin in the Tyrian alliance formed by that monarch through his marriage with Jezebel, daughter of Ethbaal king of Sidon. Hitherto the national religion was ostensibly the worship of Jehovah under the representation of the calves; but under this new reign every attempt was made to extirpate this worship entirely by the destruction of God's prophets and the subversion of his altars. It was to meet this new phase of things that the strenuous agency of Elijah, Elisha, and their associates, was directed, and assumed a quite peculiar form of prophetic ministration, though still the success was but partial and temporary. (See, however, under ELIJAH and ELISHA.)

4. *Decay and Dissolution of the Kingdom of Israel.*—The history of the kingdom of Israel is the history of its decay and dissolution. In no true sense did it manifest a principle of progress, save only in swerving more and more completely from the course marked out by providence and revelation for the seed of Abraham; and yet the history is interesting in showing how, notwithstanding the ever widening breach between the two great branches of the one community, the divine purposes concerning them were accomplished. That a polity constituted as was that of the northern kingdom contained in it potent elements of decay must be self-evident, even were the fact less clearly marked on every page of its history. Although its founder Jeroboam himself reigned twenty-two years, yet his son and successor was violently cut off after a brief reign of only two years, and with him the whole house of Jeroboam. Thus speedily closed the first dynasty; and it was but a type of those which followed. Eight houses, each ushered in by a revolution, occupied the throne in rapid succession, the army being frequently the prime movers in these transactions. Thus Baasha, in the midst of the army at Gibbethon, slew Nadab the son of Jeroboam; and again Zimri, a captain of chariots, slew Elah, the son and successor of Baasha, and reigned only *seven days*, during which time however he smote all the posterity and kindred of his predecessor, and ended his own days by suicide, 1 Ki. xvi. 18. Omri, the captain of the host, was chosen to punish the usurper Zimri, and after a civil war of four years, he prevailed over his other rival Tibni, the choice of half the people. Omri, the sixth in order of the Israelitish kings, founded a more lasting dynasty, for it endured for forty-five years, he having been succeeded by his son Ahab, of whom it is recorded that he "did more to provoke the Lord God of Israel to anger than all the kings of Israel that were before him," 1 Ki. xvi. 33; and he again by his son Ahaziah, who after a reign of two years, died from the effects of a fall, and leaving no son was succeeded by his brother Jehoram, who reigned twelve years, until slain by Jehu the captain of the army at Ramoth-Gilead, who also executed the total destruction of the family of Ahab, which perished like those of Jeroboam and of Baasha, 2 Ki. ix. 9.

Meanwhile the relations between the rival kingdoms were, as might be expected, of a very unfriendly character. "There was war between Rehoboam and Jeroboam all their days," 1 Ki. xiv. 30; so also between Asa and Baasha, 1 Ki. xv. 14, 32. The first mention of peace was that made by Jehoshaphat with Ahab, 1 Ki. xxii. 44, and which was continued between their two successors. The kingdom of Israel suffered also from foreign enemies. In the reign of Omri the Syrians had made themselves masters of a portion of the land of Israel, 1 Ki. xx. 33, and had proceeded so far as to erect streets for themselves in Samaria, which had just been made the capital. Further incursions were checked by Ahab, who concluded a peace with the Syrians which lasted three years, 1 Ki. xxii. 1, until that king, in league with Jehoshaphat king of Judah, attempted to wrest Ramoth-Gilead out of their hands, an act which cost him his life. The death of Ahab was followed by the revolt of the Moabites, 2 Ki. i. 4, who were again however subjugated by Jehoram in league with Jehoshaphat. Again the Syrians renewed their inroads on the kingdom of Israel, and even besieged Samaria, but fled through panic. In the reign of Jehu "the Lord began to cut Israel short: and Hazael smote them in all the coasts of Israel," 2 Ki. x. 32. Their troubles from that quarter increased still further during the following reign, when the Syrians reduced them to the utmost extremities, 2 Ki. xiii. 7. To this more prosperous days succeeded, with a reverse to Judah, whose king presumptuously declared war against Israel.

Under Jeroboam II., who reigned forty-two years, the affairs of the northern kingdom revived. "He restored the coast of Israel, from the entering of Hamath unto the sea of the plain; . . . . he recovered Damascus, and Hamath, which belonged to Judah, for Israel," 2 Ki. xiv. 25, 28. Damascus was by this time probably weakened by the advance of the power of Assyria. This period of prosperity was followed by another of a totally different character. Jeroboam's son and successor Zachariah, the last of the dynasty of Jehu, perished violently, after a reign of six months, by Shallum, who, after a reign of only one month, was slain by Menahem, whose own son and successor Pekahiah was in turn murdered by Pekah one of his captains, who was himself smitten by Hoshea. In the days of Menahem, and afterwards of Pekah, the Assyrians are seen extending their power over Israel; first under Pul, to whom Menahem paid a tribute of threescore talents of silver, that his hand might be with him to confirm the kingdom in his hand, 2 Ki. xv. 19. And now the Assyrians are found pushing their conquests in every direction; at one time, in the reign of Pekah, leading away into captivity a part of the inhabitants of Israel, 2 Ki. xv. 29, and again coming to the assistance of Ahaz king of Judah, then besieged in Jerusalem by the Israelites, in conjunction with the Syrians, who had somehow recovered their former ascendency. This interposition led to the destruction of Damascus, and in the succeed-

ing weak reign of Hoshea, who had formed some secret alliance with Egypt which was offensive to the Assyrian monarch, to the destruction of Samaria, after a three years' siege, by Shalmaneser, and the removal of its inhabitants to Assyria; and thus terminated the kingdom of Israel, after an existence of 241, or according to another reckoning 260 years.

From the preceding brief sketch of the troubled history of the northern kingdom, there is at once apparent the strong contrast which in various respects it presented to the kingdom of Judah. First, its ever changing and short-lived dynasties stand in strong opposition to the regular and almost continuously direct succession in the line of David. Ushered in without any associations which could command popular respect, those dynasties generally perished by the hand of violence, which their own incompetent authority failed to keep in check. To this too is to be added the character of the kings themselves, of which it is invariably stated they "did evil in the sight of the Lord." There were no doubt wicked sovereigns in the kingdom of Judah, but the majority were of a different description, and so there were seasons of national revival both civil and religious; but in the rival kingdom there was nothing of this character, so that its whole history may be regarded as little else than a decline and fall.

5. *Comparative Chronology of the Two Kingdoms.*—The following table contains all the data bearing on this subject, with the conclusions of the most eminent chronologers:—

TABLE OF THE CHRONOLOGY OF THE KINGS OF ISRAEL AND JUDAH,

Showing, 1. The year of the contemporary monarch in which each of them respectively began to reign. 2. The duration of their reigns. 3. The year B.C. in which they ascended the throne, according to the calculations of Usher (E. V); Winer (*Biblisches Realwörterbuch*, i. 619, 620, Leip. 1822); and Clinton (*Epitome of Chronology*, p. 128, 135, Oxf. 1851).

Years of preceding king of Judah.	Duration of reign.	Kings of Israel.	Commencement of Reign. Usher.	Winer.	Clinton.	Kings of Judah.	Duration of reign.	Years of preceding king of Israel.
	22	[1] Jeroboam . .	975		976	Rehoboam . .	17	
			958	957	959	Abijah . . .	3	18th
			955	...	956	Asa	41	20th
2nd	2	Nadab . . .	954	...	958			
3rd	24	[2] Baasha . . .	953	...	954			
25th	2	Elah	930	...	...			
27th	7 days	3 Zimri	929	928	930			
31st	12	[4] Omri	929	928	930			
38th	22	Ahab	918	...	919			
			914	...	915	Jehoshaphat .	25	4th
17th	2	Ahaziah . . .	898	897	896			
18th	12	Jehoram . . .	896	...	895			
			892	889	891	Jehoram . . .	8	5th
			885	...	884	Ahaziah . . .	1	12th
	28	[5] Jehu	884	...	883	[Athaliah] . .	6	
			878	...	877	Jehoash . . .	40	7th
23rd	17	Jehoahaz . .	856	..	855			
37th	16	Jehoash . . .	841	840	839			
			839	838	837	Amaziah . .	29	2nd
15th	41	Jeroboam II. .	825	...	829			
			810	809	808	Azariah . . .	52	27th
38th	½	Zachariah . .	773	772	770			
	½	6 Shallum . . .	772	771	770			
39th	10	[7] Menahem . .	772	771	770			
5th	2	Pekahiah . .	761	760	759			
52nd	20	8 Pekah . . .	759	758	757			
			758	...	756	Jotham . . .	16	2nd
			742	741	...	Ahaz	16	17th
12th	9	9 Hoshea . . .	730	729	...			
			726	725	...	Hezekiah . .	29	3rd
		Samaria taken .	721	...	...			
Sum of the preceding	241 years, 7 months, and 7 days.		698	696	697	Manasseh . .	55	
			643	641	642	Amon . . .	2	
			641	639	640	Josiah . . .	31	
			610	609	...	Jehoahaz . .		
			610	609	...	Jehoiacim . .	11	
			599	598	...	Jehoiacin . .	¼	
			599	598	...	Zedekiah . .	11	
			588	586	587	Jerusalem taken		

Duration of the kingdom of Judah from its first foundation, ... 487 years.
,, ,, from the disruption, ... 387¼ ,,
Survived the fall of the kingdom of Israel, ... 133½ ,,

OBS. 1. The brackets in the column headed "Kings of Israel," inclose the several individuals of the successive dynasties, which thus appear to be altogether more in number.

,, 2. The dotted spaces in the second and third of the columns headed "Commencement of Reign," indicate that in these instances the dates coincide respectively with those in the column immediately on the left.

The chronological data of this period furnished in the Bible are exceedingly numerous and minute, with respect as well to the duration of the respective reigns as to the year of the contemporary sovereign of the other kingdom in which in either case any succeeded to the throne. The great difficulty, however, is that when the mutual checks thus furnished are applied, there is a striking discrepancy in the sums of the years resulting in the two cases. Thus, reckoning the years assigned to the kings of Israel, the sum is found to be 241 years, seven months, and seven days; while according to the years of the kings of Judah down to the same date, the fall of Samaria, in the sixth year of Hezekiah, 2 Ki. xviii. 2, 10, it amounts to 260 years. Various attempted explanations have been given of this discrepancy, none of which however is entirely satisfactory; as on the supposition of mistakes by transcribers, or the use by the historian of round numbers, regardless of the fraction of a year, leading in some cases to excess, and in others to the contrary, or on the assumption of interregnums or co-regencies. Of such interregnums chronologers assume one of eleven years between Jeroboam II. and Zachariah, and another of nine years between Pekah and Hoshea, for neither of which however is there any evidence in Scripture, while the probabilities are entirely in the contrary direction.

The question will be greatly simplified by dividing the period into two parts, as indicated by the transverse line in the table, the last date in the upper division of which marks a point of contact in the two histories, inasmuch as the kings of Israel and Judah perished simultaneously. Now up to that date the years assigned to the kingdom of Israel amount to 98 and 7 days, while in the case of Judah they reach only 95, thus showing in the former an excess of 3 years and 7 days over the latter. Subsequently, however, the relation is altered, for the numbers are, for the kingdom of Israel 143 years 7 months, and for Judah 165, an excess of 21 years 5 months in favour of the latter. In explanation, in the first place, of the excess of 3 years in favour of Israel in the earlier portion of the history, let it be observed, (1.) that Jeroboam is said to have reigned 17 years; yet Abijah succeeded him in the eighteenth year of Jeroboam; so that 17 here denotes 17 and a fraction, say $17 + x$; (2.) Ahab again reigned 22 years, for Jehoshaphat succeeded to the throne of Judah in his fourth year, and Ahaziah in Jehoshaphat's seventeenth year; (3.) Jehoshaphat's reign also requires a similar correction. Jehoram of Israel came to the throne in Jehoshaphat's nineteenth year, and in Jehoram's fifth year, Jehoram of Judah succeeded; so that Jehoshaphat reigned $(18 - x) + (5 - y) = 23\ z$. The excess of 3 years can be thus nearly, if not altogether accounted for from the fact of the historian's use of round numbers. Such an explanation will not however suffice for the more serious difficulties which are presented in some of the subsequent cases in the lower division of the table. The nature of these will be sufficiently indicated by one or two instances. Thus, according to 2 Ki. xv. 1, Azariah, or as he is otherwise called Uzziah, succeeded in the twenty-seventh year of Jeroboam II., which would thus make his father's reign to have lasted more than 14 + 26 years. It is the general opinion that the number 27 cannot be correct, and is variously corrected to 14, 16, and 17. Thus also there must be some error with respect to the 41 years assigned as the reign of Jeroboam; but into these and other details it is impossible to enter. There can be no doubt that the numbers are in many instances corrupt, and that that is one of the chief sources of the difficulties with which chronologers are here called upon to contend. [D. M.]

ISRAELITES, JOURNEYINGS OF THE. *See* WILDERNESS.

IS'SACHAR. 1. So the name of one of Jacob's sons is uniformly written in the English Bible, according to an abbreviated form adopted by the rabbinical authorities, as if it were יִשָּׂכָר, *the hired* or *bought* (son); but as it exists in the Hebrew text, in the Samaritan copies, and in the Targums of Onkelos and Jonathan, it reads ISASCHAR, יִשָּׂשכָר — compounded thus יֵשׁ שָׂכָר, *there is*, or *he is hire;* namely, a compensation or return for the good rendered. The difference in meaning is not material between the two forms; and either might have been adopted on the occasion which gave rise to the name. The occasion was the conception of Leah's fifth son to Jacob, which took place in connection with the presentation to Rachel of certain mandrakes that had been gathered by Leah's eldest son Reuben; in lieu of these (which were supposed to have some power in promoting fecundity) Leah obtained fresh access to Jacob, and the result of the intercourse was the birth of a son, whom she called Issachar; for "she said, God hath given me my hire (*sachar*); and she called his name Issachar," Ge. xxx. 18. An additional reason, however, was thrown in at the actual imposition of the name —"because she had given her maid to her husband:" probably, because the two gifts (viz. of the mandrakes to Rachel, and of Zilpah to Jacob) appeared to Leah but two phases of the same thing—successive acts of praiseworthy self-denial in respect to the multiplication of offspring. There is not a shadow of inconsistence in the two reasons for the name in question, but a perfectly natural ground for their association, considering the feelings which appear at the time to have wrought in the bosom of Leah and her sister Rachel.

Nothing whatever is recorded of Issachar as an individual, excepting that he shared in the common procedure and fortunes of the sons of Jacob, and became the father of four sons, Tola, Shuvah, Job, and Shimron. By the time of the exodus the number of grown males belonging to the tribe of Issachar had grown to 54,400, Nu. i. 29; while at the close of the sojourn in the wilderness they reached as high as 64,300, inferior only to Judah and Dan, Nu. xxvi. 25. In the journeyings through the wilderness, the position of this tribe was on the east of the tabernacle, in company with Judah and Zebulun; on Gerizim also he stood beside Judah at the ceremony of pronouncing the blessing and the cursing, Zebulun being on Mount Ebal; but in the land of Canaan the inheritance of the tribe lay alongside that of Zebulun on the south. With reference to that inheritance, and the effect it was destined to produce on the general character of the tribe, it was said prophetically by Jacob, that Issachar should be like "a strong ass couching down between two burdens (or between panniers); seeing that rest was good, and that the land was pleasant, and bowing his shoulder to bear, and becoming a servant unto tribute," Ge. xlix. 14, 15. In plain terms, this tribe was to have a very pleasant and fertile territory, to the cultivation and enjoyment of which he should yield himself with such hearty good-

will, as to care for little besides: to labour, and do service, and make the most of his naturally rich heritage, should be his chief concern—leaving higher concerns, and the more general interests of the community, mainly to the solicitude of others. The event, so far as we have the means of ascertaining it, strikingly corresponded with this anticipation. The portion of Issachar, as described in Jos. xix. 17–23, appears to have comprised nearly the whole of the fine plain of Esdraelon: the border lay toward Jezreel, reaching to Tabor, and with its outgoings at Jordan—or, as Josephus has it, "from Carmel to the Jordan in length, and in breadth to Mount Tabor" (Ant. v. 1, 22). Zebulun skirted along its borders, but there can be no doubt that it was the special portion of Issachar. The richness of this plain, even in its present state of comparative desolation, has been celebrated by all travellers. Robinson calls it "the cream of Palestine," and says, "There is not a richer plain upon earth" (Later Res. p. 117). "The very weeds," says Stanley (p. 348), "are a sign of what in better hands the vast plain might become. The thoroughfare which it forms for every passage, from east to west, from north to south, made it in peaceful times the most available and eligible possession in Palestine." Its name alone—Jezreel, the seed or sowing-place of God—bespoke its surpassing fruitfulness; and the choice by the luxurious Ahab of a seat within its bounds for his royal residence, was equally significant of its rare beauty and manifold attractions. No wonder, then, that Issachar, on being set down in such a choice region, should have said within himself, that the rest was good and the land pleasant; and also but too natural, however it might be matter of regret, that in the fulness of his sufficiency he should have given himself more to the pleasures and pursuits connected with the region, than to things of greater moment and public concern. The tribe, however, were not altogether engrossed with what immediately concerned themselves; they had some place, though a comparatively small one, in the struggles made by the community for the general good. In the early conflict waged by Deborah and Barak against the host of Sisera special mention is made of the service rendered by the princes or heads of Issachar, Ju. v. 15. One of the judges of Israel also arose out of this tribe—Tola, who judged Israel twenty-three years, though no special account is given of his exploits, Ju. x. 1, 2. Several generations later, they took a creditable part in the effort to bring about a united action in favour of David, and to have him crowned at Hebron. Two hundred of them who went thither are expressly said to have been men "who had understanding of the times, to know what Israel ought to do," and who had all their brethren at their commandment, 1 Ch. xii. 32. This indicates among the leading men of the tribe superior shrewdness and sagacity, such as is wont to distinguish persons who give themselves to practical business, and look well after their own affairs. And there must have been at the period in question a great deal of active energy in the tribe; for, beside the two hundred wise heads just referred to, the descendants of Tola, Issachar's eldest son, could muster in the days of David no fewer than 22,600 valiant men of might, while many thousands besides of such like men were to be found in the other families of the tribe, 1 Ch. vii. 1-5.

In a strictly religious respect, however, sacred history has recorded nothing to the credit of the tribe of Issachar; and it can scarcely be doubted, that after the time of David idolatry and corruption made way among the members of that tribe, with at least equal rapidity to its progress in the others. They went along with Jeroboam in his rebellion and his sin; and it was a man of Issachar, who in the second generation, wrested the sceptre from the house of Jeroboam, and set up a new dynasty in its stead. This was "Baasha, the son of Ahijah, of the house of Issachar," who smote Nadab, Jeroboam's son, at Gibbethon, which the armies of Israel besieged, and himself took possession of the throne, 1 Ki. xv. 27. He executed fearful judgment upon the house of Jeroboam, leaving to him, it is said, "nothing that breathed;" but the work of vengeance was done, on his part, in the prosecution merely of his personal ambition and worldly interest, not from any zeal he had for the honour of God; and in the course of twenty-six years the like retribution was executed, and in no better spirit, upon his house by Zimri, who conspired against the son of Baasha and smote him and all the house of Baasha. That still a remnant of faithful persons existed in the tribe of Issachar may be inferred from the fact, that it appears to have furnished not a few to the passover of Hezekiah, who were allowed to celebrate the feast, though they had not cleansed themselves according to the purification of the sanctuary, 2 Ch. xxx. 18, 19. No further notice, of a specific kind, occurs of them; the tribe, as a whole, shared in the troubles and desolations which ere long befell the kingdom of Israel generally; so that the strong ass had, for his sins, to couch under other burdens than those which originally lay upon him, and for the good rest and pleasant land which God gave him had to bow his neck to the yoke of a foreign oppression and a miserable exile.

2. ISSACHAR. Only another person of the name of Issachar is noticed in Old Testament scripture, and he is simply designated as the seventh son of Obed-edom, a Korhite, 1 Ch. xxvi. 5.

ISSUE. Under this general head two sources of defilement are mentioned in the legislation of Moses—one connected with males the other with females. The law respecting the former is given in Le. xv. 1–15. It is there designated "a running issue (or flux) out of his flesh;" and by flesh is undoubtedly meant flesh in the stronger sense, the instrument of propagation of seed; so that the flux in question is plainly an issue of seminal matter, and of that as the result of undue indulgence in fleshly lust, enervating the organs, and inducing a certain degree of diseased action. There is no need for supposing, with Michaelis (Laws of Moses, art. 212), any reference to what is technically called *gonorrhœa virulenta*, one of the fruits of the venereal disease—both of which were altogether unknown in ancient times, and indeed till the intercourse of Europeans with America. But the other, which was a sort of disease, though of a milder form, was stamped in the law with condemnation, and required specific purification, because it bore, in a very peculiar manner, not only upon generation of offspring (which is throughout marked in the law as tainted with evil) but upon a vicious and offensive excess in that line. It bespoke a specially corrupt state of the generative organs of human life, itself corrupt; and on this account the person subject to it was pronounced himself unclean, and a source of uncleanness to whatever he might come in contact with. In the case of females, the issue occa-

sioning uncleanness was that of ordinary menstruation, or of discharges connected therewith but unduly prolonged, Le. xv. 19-31. Menstruation lasting, at an average, for four or five days, the legal time set for getting cleansed of its impurity was seven days—the cleansing being performed simply by washing the person and the garments; but if the issue continued beyond the usual time, then it was treated as a diseased state of body—symbolical of an intensified spiritual corruption—and, as in the case of males above described, was regarded as calling for special acts of purification. In both cases alike, there was not only to be a washing of the clothes and person, but the presentation of two doves or pigeons, the one for a sin-offering, the other for a burnt-offering; in order to restore the individual, as one brought into a certain consciousness of sin, to the rights and privileges of God's house, Le. xv. 15-29. To bring sin to remembrance—the sin of one's nature and origin—might be said to be the design of all such ordinances respecting defilement and purification, even in their commoner and perfectly natural form. And when there came to be anything abnormal, such as in a more obvious and palpable manner bore the impress of irregularity or excess, then the rite of purification received a corresponding increase, in order to connect what appeared more distinctly with the corruption of nature as its cause.

The bloody issue of the woman in the gospel, who was healed by the touch of Christ's garment, Mar. v. 25-29, there is every reason to believe was an extreme case of prolonged menstruation, and came under the legal prescription given in Le. xv. 25. She would therefore be the more anxious for a remedy, and might the more readily receive it at the hands of Christ, as, in addition to the bodily pain and trouble connected with it, she was rendered ceremonially unclean during its continuance, and necessarily debarred from access to the temple of God. The merciful interposition of Jesus in her behalf, at once relieved her of a distressing malady, and set her free from legal uncleanness.

IT'ALY, as used in the New Testament, denotes the same extent of country that it does in modern times; it comprehends the whole peninsula which reaches from the Alps to the Straits of Messina. The term was originally applied to only the more southerly portion of the region; but before the gospel era it was extended so as to embrace the whole. It but rarely occurs in New Testament scripture, and only as a general designation, Ac. xxvii. 1; He. xiii. 24.

ITH'AMAR [*isle of palm*], the youngest son of Aaron, and one of the two heads under whom the Aaronic families were ranged—those, however, of the line of the elder son Eleazar being the more numerous, 1 Ch. xxiv. 4-6. After the death of their brothers Nadab and Abihu for attempting to offer with strange fire, the duties of the priesthood fell to be discharged by Eleazar and Ithamar, along with their father Aaron; and on the death of the latter, Eleazar as the elder brother succeeded to the high-priesthood. In process of time, however, this office came into the hands of a descendant of Ithamar—though by what concurrence of circumstances is unknown. As Eli is the first person in this line who is said to have held the high-priesthood, the probability is, that he was actually the first, and that it was conferred on him in consideration of the same high moral qualities which raised him to the distinguished position of a judge in Israel. It continued, however, but a short time in this line, as in the days of Solomon it again reverted to the elder branch, in the person of Zadok. Eli, Ahitub, Ahimelech, Abiathar, are the only descendants of Ithamar known to have filled the high-priest's office; and it would seem as if Abiathar shared the dignity with Zadok even before the latter was formally installed in it, 1 Sa. i.-iii. xxi. xxii. 20, &c.

ITH'RA, otherwise called JETHER the Ishmaelite, 1 Ch. ii. 17, but under the name of Ithra designated an Israelite, and by Abigail, the sister of Zeruiah, the father of Amasa, who became the chief captain of Absalom's army, 2 Sa. xvii. 25. The peculiarities of this connection have been already noticed under ABIGAIL—*which see.*

IT'TAI. 1. THE GITTITE, as he is always called—that is the native of Gath. He appears to have been the ablest and most devoted of the friends whom David made to himself during his residence in Gath, and was looked up to by the others as their leader. That he was actually a native of Gath, and consequently a foreigner by birth, is expressly intimated by David, who reminded him on the occasion of Absalom's revolt, that he was "a stranger and an exile," and "had come but yesterday," 2 Sa. xv. 19. No one, however, stood more firmly by David in that time of shaking and confusion than this converted Philistine. He followed the king into his exile with "all his men, and all the little ones that were with him." Such was the confidence reposed in him by David, and the general esteem in which he was held, that a third part of the army was put under him, when preparation was made for the decisive conflict at Mahanaim, 2 Sa. xviii. 2. That he acquitted himself well on the occasion may be inferred from the general result of the struggle, in respect to which no exception is taken as to the part performed by the leader of the men of Gath. It would seem, however, that while his services were cheerfully rendered and accepted in this emergency, no permanent place was assigned him beside the leading officers of David's kingdom: this, it was probably felt, would be too strong a step to take in respect to a Philistine by birth, and might be fitted to created jealousy and distrust. The name of Ittai, therefore, never occurs but in connection with the rebellion of Absalom; but the part he played then was alike honourable to him, and to the master whose cause he espoused, and for whom he showed himself willing even to hazard his life.

2. ITTAI. This name occurs only once, as borne by a native Israelite. Among the thirty honourable and heroic men of David's court was an Ittai, son of Ribai of Gibeah in Benjamin; but how he distinguished himself is not specified, 2 Sa. xxiii. 29.

ITURE'A, a district on the north of Palestine, which along with Trachonitis formed the tetrarchy of Philip, one of the sons of Herod the Great, Lu. iii. 1. It is simply mentioned in this connection by the evangelist, without any indication of the region where it lay, or the limits it occupied; nor are these anywhere very exactly defined. But there can be no doubt it stretched from the base of Mount Hermon toward the north-east in the direction of Haûran, between Damascus and the northern part of the country anciently called Bashan, including perhaps a little of the latter. It is supposed to have derived its name from Jetur, one of the sons of Ishmael, 1 Ch. i. 31; and Jetur, along with the Hagarites and some others in the same region,

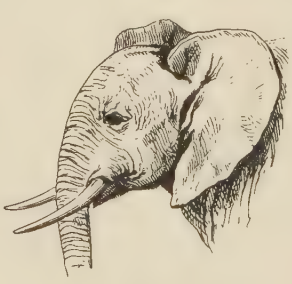
were among the tribes with whom the men of Reuben, Gad, and the half tribe of Manasseh, who received for their possession the territory of Gilead and Bashan, had to make war. The war was successfully waged by these parties, and the children of Manasseh dwelt in the land, and spread "from Bashan unto Baal-hermon and Seir, and unto Mount Hermon," 1 Ch. v. 23. Little comparatively is known of the region as it existed in ancient times, or of the changes through which it passed; but a portion of the Ishmaelite race appear to have still held their ground in it, for the Itureans were noted in subsequent times for the usual Arab propensities, and required to have strong measures taken with them. Before the Christian era the district had fallen into the hands of the Romans, and formed part of the extensive domains given to Herod. By him it was destined to his son Philip, and the arrangement was confirmed by the Roman emperor.

IVAH, once written **AVA**, 2 Ki. xvii. 24; xviii. 34; xix. 13, is mentioned along with Babylon, Cuthah, and Hamath, as places from which the king of Assyria brought people to inhabit Samaria, and also along with Sepharvaim and Hena as places whose gods and people Sennacherib had conquered. But no certain trace of it has been found either in ancient history or among existing ruins. It seems to have been a town or district in the region of Babylonia, and is supposed by some to have derived its name from a Babylonian deity of the same name.

IVORY [Heb. שֵׁן (*shen*), which is properly *tooth*, but is often used of *elephant's tooth*, or ivory, as the tooth by way of eminence; *shenhabbim*, a compound of *shen*, is employed in 1 Ki. x. 22; 2 Ch. ix. 21, but why is still uncertain]. The tusk of the walrus or sea-horse, as well as of the elephant, consists of ivory—of a kind also peculiarly hard and white—but this would seldom be resorted to in more ancient times. The projecting character of the elephant's tusks gives them somewhat of the appearance of *horns*, and on this account Ezekiel speaks of horns of ivory as among the articles of Tyre's merchandise, ch. xxvii. 15. There can be no doubt that a great traffic was carried on in ivory among the nations of antiquity; and that this was shared in by the Hebrews in the more flourishing periods of their commonwealth, is manifest from the allusions made to it in Scripture. "Palaces of ivory" are spoken of as among the known marks of royal majesty and splendour, Ps. xlv. 8; Solomon had a throne made of it, overlaid with gold, 1 Ki. x. 18, and it formed part of the precious things which his Tarshish fleet brought from the distant regions with which it traded, 1 Ki. x. 22; 2 Ch. ix. 21. As the taste for luxury and indulgence grew, the use of ivory for household display naturally increased also. Ahab is said to have made for himself an ivory house; and the prophet Amos denounces couches, and even houses of ivory, as among the signs of inordinate luxurious living which prevailed in the later days of the kingdom of Israel, and as such destined to be brought to desolation, 2 Ki. xxii. 39; Am. iii. 15; vi. 4. The ancient Egyptians and Assyrians are known to have indulged the taste for ivory from remote times, and specimens of ivory work have survived to the present day, some from the excavations of Nimroud, and some from Egypt, supposed to be of a date anterior to the Persian invasion. Herodotus speaks of Ethiopia as one of the ivory-producing countries (iii. 114); it paid twenty large tusks of ivory as an article of tribute to the king of Persia (iii. 97). And in the more flourishing periods of Greece and Rome the use of it for statues, the finer articles of household furniture, and ornaments of various kinds, was so general and is so well known, that it is needless to cite authorities on the subject. One is disposed at first to wonder, that elephants should have existed in such numbers as to furnish materials for so extensive a trade as appears to have been carried on in ivory. But when it is considered, that for the last few years the annual importation of ivory into Great Britain alone has been about one million pounds, requiring the slaughter of probably 8000 elephants to furnish it, while still there is no apparent diminution in the sources of supply, there can be no room to doubt, that means far more than sufficient must have existed for meeting the demands of ancient art and civilization, when these were relatively much smaller than they are now. Only two species of elephants are recognized—the African and the Indian—easily distinguished from each other by the size of the ear, which in the former is much larger than in the latter. The tusks of the African elephant attain sometimes a length of 8 or even 10 feet, and a weight of 100 to 120 pounds; but those of the Indian elephant are much shorter and lighter, while in the females they often scarcely project beyond the lips.

[359.] Tribute of Elephants' Tusks brought to Thothmes III. Thebes.

[357.] Indian Elephant—*Elephas Indicus.*



[358.] African Elephant—*Elephas Africanus.*

J.

J AND I. It should be understood, that while in English we distinguish betwixt the letters I and J, there is no such distinction in Hebrew. It is the same letter, only in the one case placed before a consonant, and in the other before a vowel. In the latter case, the proper pronunciation is that of the English Y, not J—although in ordinary speech and popular discourse it is necessary to yield to established usage.

JA'ARE-OR'EGIM, the name, according to 2 Sa. xxi. 19, of the father of Elhanan, who slew the brother of Goliath; but the text is understood to have suffered corruption. (See under JAIR, which appears to be the correct name.)

JAAZANI'AH [properly *Jaazan-jahu*, or according to the pronunciation, YAAZAN-YAHU, *whom Jehovah will hear*]. 1. A man of some note at the time of the Babylonish captivity, and who, as one of the captains of the forces, accompanied Ishmael the son of Nethaniah, when he went to pay his respects to Gedaliah, 2 Ki. xxv. 23. But he appears to have taken no part with Ishmael in his treacherous conduct subsequently toward Gedaliah; he may rather be presumed to have joined Johanan and the others in recovering the prey from Ishmael, and then going to Egypt, Je. xli. 11; xlii. 4, 5. 2. One of the elders of Judah, son of Shaphan, who in Ezekiel's vision are represented as conducting the idolatrous worship which was proceeding in Jerusalem, Eze. viii. 11. This person appears to have been singled out from the others on account of the symbolical import of his name, and to render the flagrant impropriety of the proceeding more manifest. The leader of the ideal party of worshippers bore a name which signified *Jehovah will hear*, while by their deeds they were virtually proclaiming "Jehovah seeth us not, Jehovah hath forsaken the earth," Eze. viii. 12. (See under CHAMBERS OF IMAGERY for the nature of the vision.) 3. Another representative man of this name is mentioned by Ezekiel, and with much the same design—Jaazaniah son of Azur, ch. xi. 1, *God hears, son of help*. It is in connection with a prophecy which utters God's judgment upon the sins of the land, and his determination to bring all to desolation; so that the names should be found to be like a bitter mockery of the reality. 4. A Rechabite, the son of Jeremiah, with whom the prophet Jeremiah had some dealings, and whom he pointed to as, along with his brethren, examples to the covenant people, Je. xxxv. 3.

JA'AZER, often also written JA'ZER, a town in Gilead, taken from the Amorites, and in the territory which was assigned to Gad, Nu. xx. 32; xxxii. 3, 35; 2 Sa. xxiv. 5. It became one of the cities of the Levites, Jos. xxi. 37. It is mentioned in connection with good pastures, and also with the cultivation of the vine, Nu. xxxii. 1; Is. xvi. 8, 9. Its renown for vines is also celebrated by Jeremiah, and a sea of Jazer spoken of, ch. xlviii. 32. What is meant by this sea is not known, as, according to what is regarded as the probable site of the place, there neither is now, nor ever was, any lake or expanse of water that might with propriety be designated a sea. In the ancient *Onomasticon* of Eusebius the site is placed at the distance of fifteen Roman miles from Heshbon, and ten from Philadelphia, to the west. Modern research has as yet thrown no certain light upon this subject.

JA'BAL [*flowing stream*], one of the descendants of Cain, and the son of Lamech and Adah, Ge. iv. 20. He is described as the father of such as dwell in tents and have cattle—the originator, as we may designate him in modern language, of the nomade or wandering shepherd life. Abel, though a tender of flocks, was not a follower of this mode of life; as, indeed, the number of flocks to be tended in his day was not likely to have been such as to require his going to any distance from home, or the cultivation of migratory habits. Things had reached a more advanced stage in Jabal's time, and he signalized himself by the invention of articles (formed probably to a great extent of skins), which enabled him to move about and tent it afield.

JAB'BOK [*pouring out* or *emptying*], a brook which traverses in a western course the land of Gilead, and empties itself into the Jordan about half way between the Sea of Galilee and the Dead Sea. The modern name is *Zurka* or *Serka*. [Such is the general opinion, but see for a different one under JOGBEHAH and PENUEL.] It bounded the kingdom of Sihon on the north, as Arnon did on the south; hence the children of Israel are said to have possessed his land "from Arnon unto Jabbok," Nu. xxi. 24. But it was also the border of the children of Ammon, whose possessions reached to the Jabbok, a rugged and precipitous region: whence in the passage referred to, the Israelites are said to have possessed Sihon's land up merely to the border of the children of Ammon, because that border was strong. Various streams run into the Jabbok on its course, but most of these are only mountain-torrents, flowing in winter, dry in summer; at its confluence with the Jordan the Jabbok itself never ceases to flow, and in the rainy season is often a considerable river. It was beside this brook, and near one of its fords, that the memorable scene lay of Jacob's wrestling with the angel of the Lord, in connection with which his name was changed into Israel, Ge. xxxv. 22-30.

JA'BESH, or more commonly JABESH-GILEAD, because it lay in the extensive transjordanic region which bore the name of Gilead. It was in that portion of the territory which belonged to the half tribe of Manasseh, and seems to have been by much the most considerable city in their Gileadite possessions. It stood at the distance of six Roman miles from Pella in the direction of Gerasa, according to the ancient accounts; but the memorial of it has so completely perished, that the site is only with some probability referred by Robinson to the ruin of ed-Deir on the southern brow of Wady Yâbis (Later Res. p. 319). The correctness of this identification, however, is liable to some doubt (Wilton's Negeb, p. 197). On two or three occasions it played an important part in the history of ancient Israel. The first proved to be an unhappy one for Jabesh. For some reason not explained, it had sent no contingent to the fierce war which the other tribes waged, during the time of the judges, against the tribe of Benjamin; and a strong band in

consequence was sent to revenge the criminal neglect. Nearly the whole of the male, and many also of the female inhabitants of Jabesh perished under this severe visitation; but four hundred unmarried women were spared and given as wives to the remnant of Benjamin's army, Ju. xxi. 8-14. The city appears before very long to have recovered from the disaster, and in the time of Saul it had again acquired much of its former importance. Near the beginning of his reign Nahash the Ammonite brought a formidable host against it, and was so determined to reduce the place to the most abject condition, that he refused even to accept their surrender, unless he was allowed to thrust out their right eyes, and lay the matter as a reproach on all Israel, 1 Sa. xi. 1. In this extremity they despatched messengers to the recently elected king, who took instant measures to arouse the spirit of his countrymen for the rescue of Jabesh, and the result was, not only the relief of the city, but the utter discomfiture of the host of the Ammonites. The people of Jabesh cherished a grateful spirit toward Saul for this timely interposition; and it is pleasant to notice, that when he and his sons fell by the hands of the Philistines, and their bodies were fastened in triumph to the wall of Beth-shan, the valiant men of Jabesh-Gilead made a nocturnal incursion, carried off the bodies, and buried the bones under a tree at Jabesh, 1 Sa. xxxi. 11-13. Such an act was honourable to their character as well as to their valour, and David did not fail to testify his appreciation of it, 2 Sa. ii. 5. The name of Jabesh never occurs again in Israelitish history, and its inhabitants doubtless shared the general fate of their brethren of the ten tribes.

JA'BEZ. The name of a person belonging to the families of the tribe of Judah, but mentioned in the genealogical list of 1 Ch. iv. so abruptly, that no indication is given, either of the family to which he belonged, or the period when he lived. There is even a kind of enigma connected with his name; for it is said, ver. 9, that his mother called his name Jabez, "saying, Because I bare him with sorrow"—בְּעֹצֶב, *b'ozeb*. One would have thought, in that case, that *Ozeb* or *Jazeb* (he will give sorrow), not *Jabez*, would have been the natural name. Possibly the one was but another form of the same word, and used interchangeably with it, although no instance of the *Jabez* form of the verb occurs in Scripture. But however that may be, the person who bore the name of Jabez, judging from the brief notice given of him, appears to have been peculiarly associated with experiences of trouble, and through these was led to seek more earnestly the protection and support of God. Not only did his mother bear him with sorrow, but afterwards he is said to have cried to God, as from the midst of distress, "Oh that thou wouldst bless me indeed, and enlarge my coast, and that thine hand might be with me, and that thou wouldst keep me from evil, that it may not grieve me." The burden of the request plainly was, that notwithstanding the ill omen of his name, it might not prove a prophecy of his condition; and God, it is said, granted his request. But no further or more special insight is given into the nature of his case. Some of the rabbins would identify him with Othniel, but without the slightest foundation.

JA'BEZ, a town in the tribe of Judah, said to be occupied by scribes, 1 Ch. ii. 55. As it is mentioned in connection with Salma, who is called the father of Bethlehem, ver. 51, and is also associated with the Kenites, the probability is, that it lay somewhere in the south of Judah, and at no great distance from Bethlehem. But nothing of a definite kind is known of it.

JA'BIN [*intelligent*]. 1. A king in the north of Canaan, whose capital was Hazor, and who headed one of the most formidable combinations against which Joshua had to contend. All the tribes around the Sea of Galilee, and northward towards Hermon and Damascus, assembled under this warlike chief, forming a multitude, as is said, like the sand upon the seashore, Jos. xi. 1-4, for the purpose of arresting the progress of Joshua's arms, by which already all the southern districts of the land had been subdued. But the effort proved altogether unsuccessful. Joshua fell upon them suddenly at their encampment beside the waters of Merom, and put the mighty force to the route. After pursuing the vanquished foes far north, Joshua on his return burned Hazor, and slew Jabin the king.

2. Another JABIN, however, called king of Canaan (plainly meaning thereby the northern and but partially subdued portion of the land), who also had the seat of his kingdom at Hazor, makes his appearance in the time of the judges. The chronology of the early period of the judges cannot be very exactly fixed, but the common reckoning places about 150 years between Joshua and Barak, in whose time this second Jabin arose. It has been thought improbable by some modern interpreters, that a king of the same name, occupying the same capital, and holding the same relative superiority, should have appeared to repeat virtually over again the story of the first, within so comparatively brief a period; and attempts have been made to throw the two accounts into one, by the supposition of only one Jabin, but of two victories over him, an earlier gained by Joshua, and a later by Barak. But this is quite arbitrary, and indeed irreconcilable with the accounts themselves, as well as with the respective times of the transactions. For the latter Jabin not only formed a warlike coalition against the Israelites, but for the period of twenty years lorded it over them —implying a season of preceding defection, as well as of prolonged bondage and oppression. The Israelitish dominion in the northern parts of Palestine was for generations after the conquest but very imperfectly established; and as the Amalekites, the Midianites, and the Philistines in the south, after having been vanquished at the time of the conquest, again and again rose to a temporary ascendency over Israel, it is even less to be wondered at that the Canaanites in the north should have done the same, as Israel's power and defences were there weaker. Nor is it in the least degree unlikely, that the person who proved himself equal to this task may have been a descendant of the Jabin of Joshua's time, assuming his name, and striving to reconstruct his empire. The attempt did not succeed; for the covenant-people under the command of Barak completely broke the bonds of the oppressor, and scattered for ever the Canaanitish hope of dominion. (*See* BARAK.)

JA'CHIN [*he will confirm*]. The name given to one of the pillars which were set up in the porch of Solomon's temple—the one on the right side, 1 Ki. vii. 21. It derived its name, doubtless, from the stability it appeared to give to the part of the building with which it was connected. (*See* TEMPLE.)

JA'CHIN. 1. The first person we meet with bearing this name, was the fourth son of Simeon, whose descendants were from him called Jachinites, Ge. xlvi. 10; Nu. xxvi. 12. 2. The head of the twenty-first course of priests in the time of David; of whom nothing further is known, 1 Ch. ix. 10; xxiv. 17.

JACINTH [Greek ὑάκινθος, *hyacinth*], the name first of a flower, then of a precious stone somewhat resembling it in colour. In our English Bible it occurs only once in the former sense, Re. ix. 17; and once in the latter, indicating one of the gems that are represented as forming the foundations of the New Jerusalem, Re. xxi. 20. The Septuagint has given this as its rendering of *leshem* (לֶשֶׁם, Ex. xxviii. 19), one of the stones in the high-priest's breast-plate, for which our translators, following the Vulgate, have preferred *ligure*. The hyacinth or jacinth stone was of various colours, from white or pale-green to purple-red. Pliny speaks of it as shining with a golden colour, and in much favour as an amulet or charm against the plague (H. N. xxxvii. 9). It is related to the *zircon* of mineralogists.

JA'COB [*supplanter*], one of the twin sons of Isaac and Rebekah, and born in the sixtieth year of his father's life, fifteen years before the death of Abraham, Ge. xxv. 7, 20, 26. The name of this son, as of his brother Esau, was imposed on account of appearances which presented themselves at the birth, and which were so peculiar as to be deemed typical of the future characters of each. Esau had his name from the remarkable profusion of red hair which covered his body; the indication, it was thought, of a wild, somewhat savage, rough and sensual temperament, such as certainly belonged to him in after-life. The peculiarity in the case of the other consisted in an act, the hand of the child being seen, even before birth, to project, and lay hold of his brother's heel. The possibility of such a thing has been called in question; but a medical authority, *Trusen*, quoted by Kurtz (Hist. of Old Cov. sect. 69), has vindicated it: "We account for the circumstance in this way, that generally twins are smaller than when there is only one child. In those cases the delivery is usually rapid, and certain parts of the child fall forward." The act itself of taking hold by the heel is the part of a wrestler, of the weaker of the two combatants, who when cast on the ground naturally tries, by seizing the heel of his more powerful adversary, to overturn him, and so to effect by stratagem what he failed to accomplish by force. Hence, to hold by the heel came to be much the same as to supplant—the Jacob, in the merely natural sense, would be one watching his opportunity to trip—striving by policy, or it may be by guile, to prevail over another. Of this, certainly, there was but too much seen in the earlier history of Jacob: he did not belie his name, although by the grace of God the old here became transformed into a new—what was at first sought by natural craft was at last won by a divine skill—by the artless simplicity and strength of faith.

The double presage thus given at the birth of these singular children was preceded by one still earlier—occasioned by the sense of a violent struggle in the womb of the mother. Her painful sensations led her to make inquiry at the Lord concerning the meaning of what she felt; and it was told Rebekah (though how she got the answer we know not) that there were two nations in her womb, and that two manner of people should be separated from her; that the one should be stronger than the other, and that the elder should serve the younger, Ge. xxv. 23. This plainly bespoke a coming rivalry and strife between the two children, which should also become hereditary in their offspring, while the superiority was to lie mainly on the side of the younger and his posterity. The whole history both of the men themselves, and of the nations that sprung from them, gave but too ample confirmation to this singular announcement.

As the youths were ripening to manhood, the different natures displayed themselves in the modes of life they respectively pursued; and in contrast to Esau, who began to be a cunning hunter, a man of the field, it is said of Jacob, that "he was a plain man, dwelling in tents," Ge. xxv. 27; that is, he was a youth of simple manners and quiet life, with nothing about him of heroic energy or resolute daring, leading him to court scenes of peril and adventure. Such a disposition and course of life would naturally keep him much beside his mother, and give him many opportunities of growing upon her affection. It should also have done so, one is apt to think, with the mild, peaceful, and retiring Isaac, whose image Jacob so markedly bore, and in whose steps he so closely walked. Yet it was Esau, rather than Jacob, whom Isaac loved, and this, it is said, "because he did eat of his venison"—an unworthy reason, certainly, for a strong predilection—but perhaps insensibly heightened by an undue appreciation of the qualities in Esau's mind (so different from Isaac's own), which made the hunting for venison a favourite employ. He might think Jacob's less active and energetic disposition, in comparison of Esau's, a symptom of weakness, rendering him prone to unmanly compliances, and consequently but poorly fitted to head the fortunes of a family, which had to maintain its ground, and hold on its way to the ascendency, in the face of numerous and formidable enemies. A more spiritual sense and a more realizing faith would have corrected such impressions; but it was here precisely where the character of Isaac was defective (*see* ISAAC), and Rebekah appears in some measure to have possessed what her husband comparatively wanted. She had, too, the advantage of having been brought into closer contact with God from the first respecting her two children; and though we cannot doubt, that the oracle going before their birth, and the remarkable circumstances by which the birth was accompanied, would be communicated also to Isaac, yet it is but natural to suppose that they would make a greatly deeper impression upon the mind of Rebekah, and dispose her to read with a more thoughtful and observant eye the proceedings of the youths as they grew to manhood.

But with such a temper as Jacob's, placed alongside that of Esau, one might say it was his misfortune, rather than his privilege, to know so much concerning the future, as that the superiority was somehow to become his. For, in order to make good what he more or less clearly apprehended to be in his destiny, it naturally led him to anticipate Providence, and to ply artificial resources which might hasten forward the result. It was clear he could never cope successfully with his brother by strength of arm, or by dint of those qualities which, in worldly affairs, usually secure for a man the advantage over his fellows; but he might possibly do it by a more cautious, foreseeing, calculating policy.

Here, the rough, impulsive, sensuous character of Esau, formed an element of weakness, which Jacob might readily hope to turn to account. And he found an opportunity of doing so on a certain occasion, when Esau came in from the field faint and weary, and besought Jacob with passionate earnestness to give him to partake of the dish of lentile pottage, which he was at the time making ready. An unselfish, generous spirit would have promptly complied with such a request, thinking of nothing, caring for nothing, beyond giving relief to a brother's necessities. But Jacob had lost the frankness and simplicity of love toward his brother, by fixing his eye too intently on the prospective elevation of his state, and contriving how he might reach it. So, taking his brother here by the weak side, he got him pledged to surrender his birthright, as the condition on which he was to receive of the desired pottage. A sin and folly on both sides; on Esau's, to part, for so small a gratification, with the honour and advantage connected, by common usage, if not by divine right, with primogeniture; and on Jacob's, to imagine that a boon so ungenerously and stealthily acquired, should be viewed either by God or man as validly obtained. Not thus could the oracle be made good, that the elder should serve the younger; while still, in the thoughtless indifference of the one, and the eager solicitude of the other, respecting the destined superiority, no doubtful indication was given of the result in which the struggle should issue.

A long interval, apparently, elapses between this and the next incident recorded in the life of Jacob. Meanwhile Esau has taken to himself wives, first one, then another, of the daughters of Canaan, giving thereby additional proof of his essentially profane, heathenish tendencies, and deepening the conviction in Rebekah's mind of his unfitness to represent the peculiar interests of the covenant. Yet Isaac retained still his predilection for this son, and at length formed, and announced the purpose of bestowing upon him the blessing—which, had the purpose been allowed to take effect, would have conferred on Esau, not only the double portion of goods, and the natural ascendency properly belonging to the first-born, but also the special favour of God and the heritage of Canaan. The circumstances connected with this unfortunate transaction, and the guilt in which the several parties concerned were respectively involved by it, have been related in the life of Isaac, and need not now be particularly referred to. Jacob's tendency to artful and cunning policy took, on this occasion, the form of deliberate and wilful deception—somewhat relieved as to his personal guilt by the urgent solicitation of his mother to adopt the course he did. But this cannot really go very far in the way of palliation. For Jacob was now, not only a person of mature years, but, on any computation, well advanced in life. The ordinary reckoning makes him near eighty years old when he set out for Padan-aram; and as the necessity for his going thither arose out of the part he acted in reference to the blessing, there could scarcely be more at the utmost than a few years between the one event and the other. At the time of Joseph's birth his period of fourteen years' service for his two wives appears to have just expired, as he then made his first demand for wages, Ge. xxx. 22-25; xxxi. 41; and about thirty-eight years after (viz. thirty for Joseph's age when he stood before Pharaoh, and seven of plenty, and about three of famine, Ge. xli. 46; xlv. 46), we find Jacob declaring to Pharaoh that he was 130 years old. The 38 added to 14 make 52 for the time of his entering into an arrangement with Laban; and allowing 1 year between that and his departure from his father's roof, it will leave 77 for the actual period of his departure from Canaan. Between this period, again, and the transactions regarding the blessing, if we assign seven years, we shall obviously make a large allowance; so that Jacob must apparently have been somewhere about seventy when he got the blessing.

It is, indeed, one of the circumstances connected with the life of this patriarch, which it is not quite easy to account for, that he should have passed such a prolonged time of inaction in his father's tent, and should only have entered on his proper career at a period when we might have expected to hear of his beginning to yield to the infirmities of age. There are considerations, however, which serve in a good degree to lighten, if not wholly to remove, the difficulty. It seems plain, both in regard to him and to Esau, and was probably intended as a sign of the preternatural power intermingling with the affairs of the covenant, that an extraordinary measure of vital force and energy belonged to them. We see this in the unusual appearances at their birth, already referred to, which were also manifestations of precocious strength; and again, in the longevity, coupled with continued vigour and elasticity of frame, to which they both attained. When Jacob returned from Mesopotamia, though they could scarcely have been under a hundred years old, they both acted like men in the prime of life; and even twenty years later, we find them coming from some distance and attending the funeral of their father Isaac, Ge. xxxv. 29. Such a sustained virility was in all probability connected with a comparatively slow development; and Jacob at seventy may not have been relatively more advanced—in reality he appears to have been even less advanced—than the generality of men at the age of fifty. Then, as regards his strange delay in seeking to have a wife and family of his own—strange, when one thinks of his impatient striving in other respects after a personal connection with the seed of blessing—the languor and inactivity of his father must be taken into account; and more than that, the misdirected bias of Isaac's mind in reference to the two sons. If he had rightly interpreted the indications of God's will concerning them, and had carefully watched their respective tendencies, he would have adopted timely measures for the marriage of Jacob with some relative of his own in northern Syria. But having failed to concern himself about this, and Jacob, on his part, justly deeming it improper to enter into alliance with the daughters of Canaan, year after year passed on without any decisive step being taken. Isaac too, it would appear, began comparatively early to fall into an infirm state of health; and, from that time, it would naturally seem to both Isaac and Rebekah the most expedient course to wait till the termination of Isaac's life, when, without raising the delicate question as to the comparative claims of the two brothers, the family relations of Jacob might be quietly adjusted. There was evidently in the course adopted too much of the craft and policy of human wisdom; and if the providence of God had not interfered to force on a crisis, worse evils might have happened than those which actually fell out.

The immediate results of the deceit practised by Jacob on his father in connection with the blessing,

were such as to show the utter folly of attempting after this manner to work out God's purposes. Instead of getting the first place of honour in the family, he was the object of deadly hatred, not secure even of life; and instead of a double portion of the patrimonial possessions, he had to go forth with his staff in his hand, a poor exile fleeing for safety to a distant land. His crooked policy would have supplanted himself as well as Esau, had not God, out of regard to his own covenant, and to the faith which still, amid all that was wrong in behaviour, held possession of the patriarch's heart, graciously interposed to give a new turn to affairs. It is only now, when God begins to work for him, that Jacob's career, as the heir of covenant-blessing, properly commences. Like his father Isaac as to birth, so Jacob, as to his position and fortune, was to be emphatically the product of grace; he was to have all given him anew, given direct from above, as if in him, who was to be in the stricter sense the head of the covenant-people, the covenant itself should find a fresh beginning. Therefore, the depths of his poverty and abasement were made the occasion for displaying the riches of the divine mercy and goodness. And before setting out from his father's tent, he gets from his father the full Abrahamic blessing, more explicitly and roundly uttered than before; he is charged also to go and take a wife, not of the daughters of Canaan, but of the house of Bethuel the Syrian, Ge. xxviii. 1-4. Not only so, but when, on the first evening after his departure from Beersheba, feeling, as he could not fail to do, desolate and forlorn, with nothing but the stones for his pillow, and the naked earth for his couch, the God of the covenant appeared to him by night, for the purpose of reassuring and comforting his heart—gave him, under the vision of a ladder reaching up to the highest heavens, with angels ascending and descending, to know, that however cut off from intercourse with men on earth, the way was still open for him into the presence-chamber above; while God himself, as the God of Abraham and Isaac, was seen standing at the top, and confirmed in his behalf the covenant made with his fathers, assuring him of the heritage of Canaan, and a multitudinous seed of blessing to occupy it. We can easily understand what another man Jacob rose from such a scene than when he lay down. The God whom he had offended by his sin, and who seemed to have been frowning on him in his providence, was unexpectedly found to be near, with thoughts of peace and assurances of blessing; and Jacob, at once awed and gladdened by what had passed, called the place Bethel (God's house), anointed the stony pillow on which his head had reposed, and vowed, that if he was brought back in peace, he would return to worship there, and would give God the tenth of all he might gain. (For the forms here assumed by Jacob to give expression to his pious gratitude, *see* ANOINTING and TITHES.)

It is needless to dwell on the things which befell Jacob when he reached Padan-aram, or the fortunes which awaited him there: his reception in the house of Laban—his attachment to Rachel, the younger daughter of Laban—his engagement to serve for her seven years—the trick played upon him by the substitution of Leah for Rachel on the wedding-night—his subsequent marriage to Rachel on agreeing to serve a second period of seven years—the family that gradually accrued to him through these wives, and the two concubines they presented to him—finally, the possessions in flocks and herds which he acquired during the six following years that he served for wages—all these are narrated with remarkable naturalness and simplicity by the sacred historian, and are familiar to every reader of the Bible. Jacob cannot be throughout justified in them, though he appears rather as one pliantly concurring in what they contained of evil, than himself desiring or seeking it. Such was the case particularly in respect to his polygamy and concubinage, which brought along with them many domestic troubles, the clear marks in providence of their impropriety; but which Jacob appears to have no way sought, which were pressed upon him indeed by others, and in respect to which he only erred in not putting the proposals from him. In the modes he adopted, however, to appropriate a larger share than might otherwise have fallen to him of Laban's flocks, Ge. xxx. 37-43, we cannot but observe something of the natural tendency in Jacob's mind to artful stratagem. But it is wrong to charge him in such a proceeding with a disposition to overreach and defraud; since he acted in conformity with the terms of an explicit agreement, and only took advantage of a known law of nature, which has after all but a limited range of operation, and would have yielded no appreciable result in his behalf, unless it had been approved and seconded by the agency of a higher power. Jacob himself knew perfectly that the success attending the measure was God's rather than his own, Ge. xxxi. 12. It *was* God's interposition to do him right; and it had been better if Jacob had simply left it to such interposition. But it must be remembered, that in Laban Jacob had a very selfish, cunning, and niggardly master to deal with; one who grudged even the equitable recompenses which he was entitled to for the eminent services he had rendered him. And that Laban was both faithfully served, and had been an immense gainer in a worldly respect by reason of Jacob's connection with him, was boldly asserted by Jacob, in the altercation that ensued on his departure from Mesopotamia, and not disavowed by Laban himself, Ge. xxxi. 37-42. A supernatural element plainly wrought in God's dealings at this time toward his servant, showing, in ways which the world itself could appreciate, that through Jacob, as the peculiar child and representative of the covenant, he was both singularly blessed and made a blessing. The prosperity accorded to him, however, proved more than Laban and his sons could bear; looking rather to Jacob's gains in their service, than to their own through him, they first changed his wages, as he says, ten times—meaning probably nothing more than with considerable frequency—and, when this failed, they began to frown on him with displeasure, and speak against him as a plunderer of their property. Jacob therefore wisely judged that it was time for him to leave. But could he safely return to the land of Canaan? Might he not meet there with even worse treatment from Esau than he was doing from Laban? So he naturally dreaded; but God mercifully appeared to relieve him of his apprehensions, and said, "Return unto the land of thy fathers, and to thy kindred, and I will be with thee," Ge. xxxi. 3. Accordingly, having gained the consent of his wives, he concerted measures for departing, and did so with such secrecy, that he was three days on his journey before Laban was even apprised of his intention. On hearing what had happened, Laban in hot rage pursued after them; but was admonished by God, before he overtook them in the land of Gilead, to beware of doing

anything to hurt them. The matter ended, after a sharp interchange of words, in a friendly greeting and reconciliation; and the two parties (in accordance with a custom of the times) raised together a heap of stones as a witness of their sincerity, and of the mutual good faith which they pledged beside it. Laban parted with his daughters and his son-in-law with a salutation and a blessing.

So far things have gone prosperously with Jacob; the word of God to him at Bethel promising protection and blessing has been wonderfully verified; and with a numerous family and large possessions, he has again reached in safety the borders of Canaan. But is there still no danger in front? Shortly after parting with Laban, he met, we are told, troops of angels, apparently a double band, and wearing somewhat of a warlike aspect, for he called the place in honour of them by the name of *Mahanaim*—two hosts, Ge. xxxii. 1, 2. Whether this sight was presented to him in vision, or took place as an occurrence in the sphere of ordinary life, may be questioned (though the latter supposition seems best to accord with the narrative); but it is not of material moment; for either way the appearance was a reality, and bore the character of a specific revelation to Jacob, adapted to the circumstances in which he was placed. It formed a fitting counterpart to what he formerly had seen at Bethel; angels then were employed to indicate the peaceful relation in which he stood to the heavenly world, when obliged to retire from Canaan; and now, on his return, they are again employed with a like friendly intent—to give warning, indeed, of a hostile encounter, but, at the same time, to assure him of the powerful guardianship and support of Heaven. The former part of the design was not long in finding confirmation. For, on sending messengers to his brother Esau with a friendly greeting, and apprising him of his safe return, after a long and prosperous sojourn in Mesopotamia, he learned that Esau was on his way to meet him with a host of 400 men. There could be no reasonable doubt (especially after the preliminary intimation given through the angelic bands) as to the intention of Esau in advancing toward his brother with such a force. The news of Jacob's reappearance in Canaan, and that no longer as a dependant upon others, but as possessed of ample means and a considerable retinue, awoke into fresh activity the slumbering revenge of Esau, and led him, on the spur of the moment, to resolve on bringing the controversy between them to a decisive issue. This appears from the whole narrative to be so plainly the true state of matters, that it seems needless to refer to other views that have been taken of it. But Jacob was not the man at any time to repel force with force; and he had now learned by a variety of experiences where the real secret of his safety and strength lay. His first impressions, however, on getting the intelligence were those of trembling anxiety and fear; but on recovering himself a little, he called to his aid the two great weapons of the believer—pains and prayer. He first divided his people, with the flocks and herds, into two companies, so that if the one were attacked, the other might escape. Then he threw himself in earnest prayer and supplication on the covenant-mercy and faithfulness of God, putting God in mind of his past loving-kindnesses, at once great and undeserved, reminding him also of the express charge he had given Jacob to return to Canaan, with the promise of his gracious presence, and imploring him now to establish the hopes he had inspired by granting deliverance from the hands of Esau. So ended the first night; but on the following day further measures were resorted to by Jacob, though still in the same direction. Aware of the melting power of kindness, and how "a gift in secret pacifieth anger," he resolved on giving from his substance a munificent present to Esau—placing each kind by itself, one after the other, in a succession of droves—so that on hearing as he passed drove after drove, the touching words, "A present sent to my lord Esau from thy servant Jacob," it might be like the pouring of live coals on the head of his wrathful enmity. How could he let his fury explode against a brother who showed himself so anxious to be on terms of peace with him? It could scarcely be, unless there were still in Jacob's condition the grounds of a quarrel between him and his God, not yet altogether settled, and imperilling the success even of the best efforts and the most skilful preparations.

That there really was something of the sort now supposed seems plain from what ensued. Jacob had made all his arrangements, and had got his family, as well as his substance, transported over the Jabbok—a brook that traverses the land of Gilead, and runs into the Jordan about half way between the Lake of Galilee and the Dead Sea—himself remaining behind for the night. It is not said for what purpose he so remained, but there can be little doubt it was for close and solitary dealing with God. While thus engaged, one suddenly appeared in the form of a man, and in the guise of an enemy wrestling with him and contending for the mastery. Esau was still at some distance, but here was an adversary already present, with whom Jacob had to maintain a severe and perilous conflict—and this plainly an adversary in appearance only human, but in reality the angel of the Lord's presence. It was as much as to say, "You have reason to be afraid of the enmity of one mightier than Esau, and if you can only prevail in getting deliverance from this, there is no fear that matters will go well with you otherwise: right with God, you may trust him to set you right with your brother." The ground and reason of the matter lay in Jacob's deceitful and wicked conduct before leaving the land of Canaan, which had fearfully compromised the character of God, and brought disturbance into Jacob's relation to the covenant. Leaving the land of Canaan covered with guilt, and liable to wrath, he must now re-enter it amid sharp contending, such as might lead to great searchings of heart, deep spiritual abasement, and the renunciation of all sinful and crooked devices, as utterly at variance with the childlike simplicity and confidence in God, which it became him to exercise. In the earnest conflict he maintained his ground, till the heavenly combatant touched the hollow of his thigh and put it out of joint—in token of the supernatural might which this mysterious antagonist had at his command, and showing how easy it had been for him (if he had so pleased) to gain the mastery. But even then Jacob would not quit his hold: nay, all the more he would retain it, since now he could do nothing more, and since also it was plain he had to do with one who had the power of life and death in his hand; he would therefore not let him go till he obtained a blessing. Faith thus wrought mightily out of human weakness—strong by reason of its clinging affection, and its beseeching importunity for the favour

of Heaven; as expressed in Hosea xii. 4, "By his strength he had power with God; yea, he had power over the angel, and prevailed; he wept and made supplication unto him." In attestation of the fact, and for a suitable commemoration of it, he had his name changed from Jacob to *Israel* (combatant or wrestler with God); "for as a prince," it was added by way of explanation, "hast thou power with God and with men, and hast prevailed." Jacob, in turn, asked after the name of the person who had wrestled with him—not as if any longer ignorant who it might be, but wishing to have the character or manifestation of Godhead, as this had now appeared to him, embodied in a significant and appropriate name. His request, however, was denied: the divine wrestler withdrew, after having blessed him. But Jacob himself gave a name to the place, near the Jabbok, where the memorable transaction had occurred; he called it *Peniel* (the face of God); "for," said he, "I have seen God face to face, and my life is preserved," Ge. xxxii. 25-31. The contest indicated that he had reason to fear the reverse; but his preservation was the sign of reconciliation and blessing.

After this night of anxious but triumphant wrestling, Jacob rose from Peniel with the sun shining upon him—an emblem of the bright and radiant hope which now illuminated his inner man; and went on his way halting—weakened corporeally by the conflict in which he had engaged, that he might have no confidence in the flesh, but strong in the divine favour and blessing. Accordingly, when Esau approached with his formidable host, all hostile feelings gave way; the victory had been already won in the higher sphere of things; and He, who turneth the hearts of kings like the rivers of water, made the heart of Esau melt like wax before the liberal gifts, the humble demeanour, and earnest entreaties of his brother. They embraced each other as brethren; and for the present, at least, and for anything that appears during the remainder of their personal lives, they maintained the most friendly relations. After residing for a little on the farther side of Jordan, at a place called Succoth, from Jacob's having erected there booths (Heb. *succoth*) for his cattle, he crossed the Jordan, and pitched his tent near Shechem—ultimately the centre of the Samaritans. [In the received text it is said, Ge. xxxiii. 18, "He came to Shalem, a city of Shechem;" but some prefer the reading *Shalom*, "he came in peace to city of Shechem."] There he bought a piece of ground from the family of Shechem, and obtained a footing among the people as a man of substance, whose friendship it was desirable to cultivate. But such unfortunate results ere long came out of this connection, that one may well doubt the wisdom and propriety of Jacob's course in taking it. No reason is assigned in the sacred narrative for Jacob's going thus to take up his abode in the heart of Canaan; but the step was so peculiar, that we can scarcely doubt some weighty considerations influenced him. The obviously natural course would have been for him to go somewhere toward the southern border of Canaan, where his aged father still lived at Beersheba, and whither, we may certainly conclude, Jacob soon repaired to pay, at least, a temporary visit. But he probably dreaded the effects which might be produced on the mind of Esau, if he should settle so near to his father's possessions, in which Esau would still be disposed to claim the largest interest; and it might seem fitted to arouse the jealousy of the people of Canaan, if the flocks and herds, the families and dependants, of Isaac and his two sons should all congregate together, and thereby spread themselves over a large tract of contiguous country. Better that this junior branch should separate himself from the others, and try to make good a settlement in the heart of the land: might it not also form a more advantageous position, from which to operate with effect upon the country at large? Such thoughts would quite naturally present themselves to Jacob, and might well have deserved consideration, had it not been for other things, which he seemed for the time to overlook—especially a vow of his own connected with Bethel, not far from Beersheba, and the risks to his family from near relationship and frequent intercourse with the inhabitants of Canaan. He had vowed at Bethel, that if God preserved and prospered him, he would return and worship there, giving the tenth of all to God, Ge. xxviii. 22. Fidelity to his engagements, and gratitude for the singular goodness he had received, should have led to the punctual discharge of such a vow—leaving all consequences to God—and yet he allowed it to fall into abeyance. Remissness in duty, if not presumption on the divine mercy, appears to have sprung up after his alarms had passed away. And then, as a natural sequel, came spiritual languor, relaxation of manners, an approximation in tone and behaviour to those from whom the only safety was to stand comparatively aloof. Who can wonder, after such declension, to hear of the defilement of Dinah, arising from too free intercourse with the daughters of the land? Ge. xxxiv. 1, 2. And this but paved the way for the dreadful atrocity committed by Levi and Simeon, in avenging themselves upon the family of Shechem for the dishonour done to their sister, and perpetrating a kind of general massacre. How much this conduct went to the heart of Jacob, appears from his feeling and indignant allusion to it on his deathbed, Ge. xlix. 5, 6; and from the narrative itself it is clear that he felt his position in Canaan greatly imperilled by what had happened, Ge. xxxiv. 30. The Lord, however, interposed again for his protection and safety; but did so in a way that implied a certain degree of censure, and called for a work of personal and domestic reformation. Jacob was ordered to repair to Bethel, where God had at first appeared to him, to build an altar and dwell there, so as to perform what he had formerly vowed. He understood it to be a call to closer fellowship with God, as well as withdrawal from the corrupt neighbourhood in which he had been living; and, as a fitting preparation for the work, he urged his household to put away from among them the idols and instruments of superstition (in particular, their ear-rings, used as amulets), and to sanctify themselves for the worship of God. This, it is said, they did; they buried their idolatrous objects under an oak at Shechem, and forsook their corrupt practices; so that the Lord again turned to them in his mercy, and put an awe upon the minds of the Canaanites around them, which admitted of their departing in peace and going to take up their residence at Bethel.

The return of Jacob to Bethel was taken as a fitting occasion for giving a fresh commencement to Jacob's formal relation to God and the covenant. His appearance there now answered to the earlier occasion somewhat as fulfilment to promise; the preliminary stage of his

career as the new covenant head had reached a certain completion; and accordingly there were suitable acknowledgments of it both on his part and God's. He builds an altar to God, and calls it El-bethel—thereby connecting the past with the present; for Bethel (house of God) had now come to be regarded substantially as a compound proper name; and by putting El (God) before it, he specially and formally destined the altar to God under that character and manifestation of himself, with which this particular place had previously been associated. On the other side, God again appears to his servant, renews to him the distinctive promises of the covenant (those, namely, of a special relationship to himself, of the heritage of the land of Canaan, and of a numerous offspring), and bestows on him the new name of Israel, as if what had taken place at Peniel was but a provisional announcement, which wanted further confirmation. Presently after this return to Bethel also, God granted to Jacob his last son (Benjamin), which completed the tribal number of the future patriarchal heads of the covenant. So that, as regards Jacob's personal condition, and the membership of his family, all had now attained a relative completeness. And in commemoration of those fresh displays of God's mercy and faithfulness, Jacob set up another pillar, and poured oil on it, as at first, and called it also by the name of Bethel—thus giving to his behaviour the form of an appropriate counterpart to God's, Ge. xxxv. 14. The blessing, however, did not stand alone; painful trials were intermingled with it. He lost his beloved wife Rachel in giving birth to Benjamin; and Deborah, the aged nurse of his mother Rebekah, and doubtless endeared to Jacob by many acts of kindness from his infancy, died about the same time, and was buried amid many tears under an oak at Bethel. That she had sometime previous become a member of Jacob's household, seems to imply the death of Rebekah during Jacob's sojourn in Mesopotamia. There was the still further calamity befalling Jacob about this time, that his eldest son Reuben committed fornication with Bilhah, his father's concubine. It is merely said in the narrative, that his father heard it, Ge. xxxv. 22; but the strong feeling to which he gave utterance concerning it in his last words, Ge. xlix. 4, shows plainly enough how painful an impression it must have made at the time.

Two notices are found immediately after the record of the transactions just referred to, but which are not to be regarded as standing in the order of time. The first has respect to the death of Isaac, which brought together Esau and Jacob for the purpose of burying him. As Isaac lived till he was 180 years old, and Jacob was 130 when he went down to Egypt, Isaac's death must have taken place only ten years before—for Jacob being just sixty years younger than Isaac, when Isaac was 180, Jacob must of course have been 120. But by the time that Jacob was 120, Joseph had already been eleven or twelve years in Egypt. The death of Isaac, therefore, must have happened long after the heavy stroke which befell Jacob by the sudden disappearance of Joseph; and is no doubt mentioned so early, Ge. xxxv. 28, in order merely not to interrupt the narrative of Joseph's life. The other circumstance (which is noticed in the following chapter, in connection with the generations of Esau, Ge. xxxvi. 6-8) has more immediate respect to Esau; it consists in this, that he left the land of Canaan with his wives and household, and all his possessions, from the face of his brother Jacob, because the land was not able to bear them together; and that he went and dwelt in Mount Seir. No specific time is indicated for this migration, except that it was subsequent to Jacob's return from Padan-aram, and, as may be presumed, after his settlement on the southern borders of Canaan. But how long previous to their father's death, and how far Esau's large possessions were considered as one with, or as separate from Isaac's, no indication whatever is given. The probability is, that the extreme feebleness, the mental and bodily decay, under which Isaac for a lengthened period laboured, and which must have rendered him altogether incapable of looking after his worldly interest, would force on the necessity of a distribution of, at least, the chief part of his flocks and herds between the two brothers, many years before the death of their revered parent. The friendly relations which had been re-established between the two brothers, we may naturally suppose, would make it quite possible to come to an amicable arrangement of the matter. And that Esau should ultimately have taken the direction of Mount Seir for his settlement, may in part have arisen from the better adaptation of that wild and mountainous region to his natural temper and habits. He appears, indeed, to have been no stranger to it long before this. It was from that district he came with a numerous host to meet his brother near the Jabbok, Ge. xxxii. 3; so that he must even at that period have obtained partial occupation there, and not improbably was at the time on a warlike expedition against some of the original inhabitants, whom he dispossessed. (*See* ESAU.)

What remains of the recorded history of Jacob is so closely interwoven with the life and destiny of Joseph, that many of the leading incidents will be more fitly noticed in connection with the latter. The incidents themselves were of the most remarkable and stirring kind, and in Jacob's experience were associated with some both of the deepest sorrows, and of the liveliest joys, of his eventful life. The same mysterious, but gracious providence, which had guided him by ways he knew not, and through circumstances which roused the inmost feelings of his heart, had brought him to the high place he occupied, spiritually and socially, as the representative of the covenant, required to take yet more peculiar measures with his family, in order to purge out the evil that was among them, and at once impress upon their hearts, and render manifest through their history, the great principles of truth and righteousness, to which their relation to the covenant must be made subservient. In such a process it was impossible but that the paternal heart of Jacob should have much to suffer, as well as those more immediately concerned. But the issue proved not less joyful to him, than salutary to them; and the proceedings were pregnant with many fresh and wonderful manifestations of the covenant love, faithfulness, and wisdom of God, which were to serve as instructive lessons to all future generations. After many alternations of sorrow and joy, of fear and hope, Jacob was at last brought down in safety to Egypt, where he had the unspeakable satisfaction of seeing his beloved Joseph, and of witnessing the singular honour and prosperity to which he had been raised. His descent thither was performed with the express sanction of God, and the promise that God would be with him, and would make of his family a great nation in Egypt, Ge. xlvi. 1-4. It

was shortly after he had set out on his journey, while he halted at Beersheba, the favourite abode of his father, and the scene of former communications from above, that this direction and assurance were given to him, in a vision of the night. They were probably so given to allay the fears and misgivings which, at such a time, would not unnaturally spring up in Jacob's bosom; the rather so, as he was now taking a course which Isaac had been expressly interdicted from following, Ge. xxvi. 2. Having sacrificed there to the God of his father Isaac, he received what was needed to reassure and comfort his soul in respect to the prospects that lay before him. "The first stage of the covenant history was drawing to an end, and Israel was preparing to enter on a second. They left Canaan as a family, to return to it a people. As a family they had done their work and accomplished their end; viz. to exhibit the foundations on which national life is based. Henceforth their task would be to show how the basis of the world's history, in its widest form, is to be found within the nation. . . . At the conclusion of its entire history Israel was to enter into association with heathenism, in order that its all-embracing destiny might (to a certain extent) be fulfilled by its receiving from the latter the goods of this world, human wisdom and culture; and, on the other hand, by its imparting to the heathen the abundance of its spiritual possessions, the result of all the revelations and instructions which it had received from God. And thus also at the period before us, when the first stage of its history was drawing to a close, Israel joined with Egypt, the best representative of heathenism, bringing to Egypt deliverance from its troubles, through the wisdom of God with which it was endowed, and enriching itself with the wealth, the wisdom, and the culture of that land. Thus was it prepared to enter upon a new stage of its history, a stage of far wider extent and greater importance" (Kurtz, Hist. of Old Cov. vol. ii. p. 3).

In the genealogical list that is furnished of Jacob's family, at the descent into Egypt, Ge. xlvi. 8-27, there are certain peculiarities which have been occasionally excepted against, which carry, indeed, a somewhat strange appearance to persons not conversant with this line of things, and which require some explanation. The list begins thus: "These are the names of the children of Israel which came into Egypt; Jacob and his sons, Reuben," &c.—thus manifestly including Jacob himself among the children of Israel. The sons and their families are respectively classed under the different wives of Jacob; and at the close of those connected with Leah, it is said that all the souls of the sons he had by her, and his daughters, were thirty-three. But, in adding them up, there are found only thirty-two (omitting Er and Onan, sons of Judah, who died in Canaan); so that Jacob himself must have been assigned to this part of the list. And, indeed, assigned most fitly to this part, since Leah was both his first and most fruitful wife; and no other place so appropriate could be found for him in a register which took one of its principles of arrangement from the mothers of the household. The entire number of souls reckoned to the house of Israel as going into Egypt were sixty-six, which, with Joseph, his wife, and their two sons, already in Egypt, made a total of seventy, ver. 27. But then to make out this number several names are obviously included, which had no existence till some years after the settlement in Egypt. For example, Benjamin, who was a comparative youth at the time, certainly not exceeding twenty-four years of age, if so much, is represented as having ten sons, ver. 21—most of whom must have been, and not improbably the whole were, born to him in Egypt. Pharez, too, the son of Judah by Tamar, has two sons assigned him, ver. 11; and with Asher are coupled, not only four sons, but two grandsons (by Beriah), therefore great-grandsons of Jacob—although Asher himself could not then be more than about forty years old. It is plain that in such cases the persons named could not have all actually existed at the time; and the question arises, why then were they reckoned? Is there not some historical inaccuracy in the matter? So it has often been alleged; and such, indeed, would have been the case, if the statements had belonged to a strictly historical document. But there is a marked difference in certain respects between genealogical and historical records, and particularly in the mode of clubbing together parent and offspring, or of giving sway to some regulating principle. In this respect the genealogical registers often took a latitude which was foreign to history. The principle followed, in the present case, was to name all the sons, grandsons, or great-grandsons of Jacob who became the heads of separate tribes and of subordinate families in Egypt. As a rule, the sons were the heads of tribes, the grandsons heads of families. But there were certain exceptions to the rule; Joseph's two sons became each heads of tribes, although not sons but grandsons of Jacob; and two of Jacob's great-grandsons by Asher became heads of families. Amid the vicissitudes and judgments which afterwards ensued, subsequent deviations occasionally took place; some of the grandsons, for example, failed to have permanent and outstanding families. But still the general rule held, as may be seen by a comparison of the later genealogical list in Nu. xxxvi. And so we can readily understand why, in the genealogy connected with Jacob's descent into Egypt, several names should be found of persons that were still only in the loins of their fathers: if not altogether, yet nearly, coeval with that time, was the existence of the heads of the future nation, in its smaller as well as its larger divisions (see Hengstenberg, Pent. vol. ii. p. 284, trans.)

Comparatively few notices have been preserved of Jacob's seventeen years' residence in Egypt; but some of them possess great importance in the history of the covenant-people, and none more than the prophetical utterances which signalized the close of his career. His joy in meeting his son Joseph, as might well be expected, was of the liveliest description; he even declared he should be content to die, now that his most intense desire had been gratified, Ge. xlvi. 30. On his part Joseph did everything he could to make the reception of his father honourable, and his future sojourn in Egypt pleasant. He had Jacob himself and some of his brethren presented to Pharaoh, who entreated them courteously, and in return received a blessing from the aged patriarch, as from one who occupied a higher spiritual position, ch. xlvii. 7-10. Such treatment was the more remarkable, that Jacob and his family came in the character of shepherds, while shepherds were already held in abomination by the Egyptians. But their shepherd character was on no account to be disguised; it was rather prominently exhibited, and made the formal ground of asking from Pharaoh a separate allotment of territory; for

in such separation from the families of Egypt, it was already foreseen that the safety of the children of Israel should in great measure stand. While fed and nourished in Egypt, all would be lost if they became mixed with its people—if they did not dwell as members of a distinct community, and feel as the denizens of another region. And it was accordingly ordered, with wise adaptation to the whole circumstances of their case, that they should have possessions assigned them in the land of Goshen (though we know not how room should have existed for them there)—a province which, beside the separate dwelling it afforded, had the threefold advantage of being singularly fertile, situated on the eastern border of Egypt (hence of ready access to the land of Canaan), and, from its immediate proximity to the tribes of the desert, less likely to be grudged by the native population. Indeed, politic considerations would naturally conspire in this case with higher reasons to cede to them such a territory, since they would thus constitute a certain defence against invasions from a quarter whence Egypt always apprehended danger. (*See* GOSHEN.)

The greatest pains were taken by Jacob to have the minds of his offspring impressed with the reality and the nature of their calling to occupy the land of Canaan; the concluding acts of his life all bore in this direction. It seemed as if his thoughts and feelings respecting the future could find no resting-place but in Canaan. As his latter end gave intimations of its approach, he took Joseph solemnly bound, even exacted of him an oath, that he would not bury him in Egypt, but would carry his bones to the sepulchre of his fathers in the cave of Mamre, Ge. xlvii. 29-31. At a still later stage, when his last sickness had begun to fall on him, and Joseph came with his sons to visit him, he not only reverted to the same subject, but showed the clear prophetic insight he had obtained into the respective destinies of his posterity in connection with it. "By faith he blessed both the sons of Joseph," He. xi. 21—faith, in the first instance, apprehending their common interest in God's covenant, as the great thing for them, to be preferred before all the treasures of Egypt—faith, also, realizing the certainty with which the promise of Canaan for an inheritance should be fulfilled—and faith, still further, penetrating with divine skill and foresight to a discrimination between son and son, so as to assign to Ephraim the younger, a higher place than Manasseh's the elder, in the future possessions and blessings of the covenant. So lively, indeed, and assuring was the aged patriarch's faith, that he, in a manner, overleaps the distance between the present and the future—sees the things that are not as if they were; for, after having blessed Joseph's sons, he turned to Joseph himself with the comforting word, that God would certainly bring them again to the land of their fathers; and added, "Moreover, I have given to thee one portion above thy brethren, which I took out of the hand of the Amorite with my sword and with my bow," ch. xlviii. 22—not referring, as some have supposed, to certain partial successes he may have gained over the native inhabitants of Canaan, far less (with others) to the atrocious severity practised by Simeon and Levi; but in the rapt mood of prophecy, realizing the future as present—contemplating the land as already occupied by his posterity—and speaking of it as *his* conquest, because in living faith he had grasped the divine promise concerning it, and so could identify himself with his offspring in the realization of the blessing. In spirit he conquered in them, and to them he divided the spoil. What was said, however, by Jacob when he was a-dying to Joseph and his two sons, was but a prelude to the grand and comprehensive prophecy, which he was enabled, by the Spirit, to pronounce on all his sons, as they gathered around his bed to listen to his final testimony, ch. xlix. 1-27. We refrain from going here into the particulars, as these will fall to be noticed in connection with the names of the several sons. But in respect to all of them, it is to be observed, the word is called a blessing—although, in the case of some, the things spoken, if taken by themselves, might seem more like a curse than a blessing. But it was only relatively such; for the whole were recognized as standing within the covenant—the proper sphere of blessing—and as together destined to occupy the land, which was to be peculiarly the Lord's, and, as such, replenished with the special tokens of his favour and beneficence. All, therefore, might justly be said to be blessed by Jacob, while yet there was plainly to be no uniform or indiscriminate appropriation of the good, but manifold diversities according to the moral condition and behaviour of each, and these to a large extent determined by the impulse given from the first by the tribal heads to their respective offspring. In what *was*, the prophetic spirit descried the germ of what (for the most part) was *to be*. And when it is said that the things announced beforehand were those which should befall the children of Israel "in the latter days," or in the end of days, the meaning here also must be understood in the relative sense—not absolutely the last, or those which became such to subsequent prophets—but the later or last in relation to that provisional state of things, from which the patriarch now spake. While Jacob had a clear and correct vision granted to him of things to come, as regarded his posterity, still that vision was bounded; and what to his view might appear the farthest limit, was but the seeming edge of a horizon, which should admit of successive expansions. This, however, belonged to other times than those of the patriarch Jacob; and his gifts were adapted to the age in which he lived and the work he had to do.

Thus in his last words spoke Jacob or Israel; one, assuredly, of the most distinguished characters of holy Writ, and one who has left his name and his impress on the people of God to all future times. As all genuine believers are the children of Abraham, so are they of the family of Jacob—the Israel of God. In them as in him nature and grace struggle for the ascendency; and in them, too, not less than in him, however long or varied the conflict, the victory ever is on the side of grace. God's purpose stands, and all that is contrary to it ultimately gives way. Jacob died at the age of 147; and after being embalmed, his body was carried by Joseph and his brethren up to the land of Canaan, and laid in the grave of Mamre—a witness of his faith in God's promise, and a pledge that the promise should in due time be verified to his posterity.

JACOB'S WELL is situated on a low spur of Mount Gerizim, at the mouth of the valley of Shechem, where it opens out into the wide plain of corn-fields leading down to the Jordan. It is thus described in Murray's *Handbook for Syria* (vol. ii. p. 340):—"Formerly there was a square hole opening into a carefully built vaulted chamber, about 10 feet square, in the floor of which was the true mouth of the well. Now a portion of the

vault has fallen in and completely covered up the mouth, so that nothing can be seen but a shallow pit, half filled with stones and rubbish." Dr. Wilson (Lands of the Bible, vol. ii. p. 57), carefully measured the well, and found it 9 feet in diameter, and 75 feet deep. It was probably much deeper in ancient times, as there are signs of considerable accumulation of stones and rubbish below its present bottom; and Maundrell (March 24), says that in his time it was 35 yards, or 105 feet deep. It sometimes contains a few feet of water, but at others it is quite dry. This is the only foundation for the story sometimes told to travellers, that it is dry all the year round, except on the anniversary of the day on which our blessed Saviour sat upon it, but that then it bubbles up with abundance of water.

Over the well there stood formerly a large church, built in the fourth century, but probably destroyed before the time of the crusades, as Sæwulf (p. 45) and Phocas do not mention it. Its remains are just above the well towards the south-west, merely a shapeless mass of ruins, among which are seen fragments of gray granite columns, still retaining their ancient polish (Robinson's Biblical Researches, iii. 132).

In examining the question whether the well now called by this name is identical with that of St. John, ch. iv., the following points have to be borne in mind:—

1. *Its position.*—We should naturally look for it near to Shechem, Ge. xxxiii. 18, 19; Jn. iv. 5; and Gerizim ("our fathers worshipped in this mountain"), ver. 20; to the east of the city, as Jacob, we know, approached it from the Jordan, Ge. xxxiii. 17; in the plain of corn-fields ("white already to harvest"), Jn. iv. 35. Some have objected that the distance (1½ mile) from Shechem renders it improbable that the woman would have come so far to draw water. But even if no accident had brought her into its neighbourhood, the sacred site and Jacob's name, or the excellence of the water drawn from so great a depth, would account for the preference. Mr. Porter, in Murray's *Handbook*, remarks on this: "There is a well called Ez-Zenabyeh, a mile or more outside St. Thomas' Gate, Damascus, to which numbers of the inhabitants send for their daily supply, though they have fountains and wells in their own houses, far more abundant than ever existed in the city of Shechem." It was evidently not the public well of the city, as there was no apparatus (ἄντλημα) to draw with.

2. *Tradition and History.*—The tradition is as old as the fourth century, and common to Christians and Mussulmans. It is first mentioned by Eusebius, who was born only 150 years after the death of St. John; and Dr. Robinson is of opinion that the tradition is not likely to have been lost in the interval. Jerome places it at the foot of Gerizim, and so identifies the supposed site of his time with the well as shown to travellers now.

3. *Appearance and Depth.*—There is no well in the whole plain which would so well accord with the words of the woman of Samaria—"The well is deep." It bears evident marks of antiquity, and the labour of sinking it through the solid rock must have been so great that it would not have been undertaken except by some one who had not access to the many streams and fountains of the neighbourhood. Of its origin Mr. Porter writes: "What need for a well here? Every proprietor wishes to have a fountain or well of his own. A stream may run past or through his field, yet he dare not touch a drop of it. Jacob bought a field here, doubtless a section of the rich plain at the mouth of the valley, but this gave him no title to the water of the neighbouring fountain. He therefore dug a well for himself in his own field, and indeed the field may have been bought chiefly with a view to the digging of a well. Every attentive reader of the Bible will observe, that the patriarchs, while wandering in Canaan, had no difficulty about pasture, but they had often serious difficulties and quarrels about water, Ge. xxi. 25-30; xxvi. 13-15; 18-22, &c. This is the case still in many parts of Syria."

Here, then, is Jacob's well, on which the Saviour, wearied with his journey, rested for a while, finding that his meat and drink was to do his Father's business. Few scenes of sacred history gain so much reality and interest by a reference to the place where they were enacted. The well was there, its water more precious and more refreshing than any other of the neighbourhood, fit emblem of the living water of everlasting life. The mountain rose above them, probably the scene of Isaac's intended sacrifice, and in those days the site of the Samaritan temple where their fathers worshipped. Around were the corn-fields which served to suggest to the Saviour "the glorious vision of the distant harvest of the Gentile world," of which he had himself just sown the first seeds (Stanley, Sinai & Pal. p. 239). [C. T. M.]

JAD'DUA [*a knowing one;* Ges. *sciolus hariolus*], the name of two persons, Ne. x. 21; xii. 22, the latter a high-priest, the immediate successor, probably son, of Jonathan, and remarkable on this account that he was the last priest whose name has found a certain record in Old Testament scripture. The priests, in the passage of Nehemiah referred to, are said to have been given "to the reign of Darius the Persian," *i.e.* the Darius who was overthrown by Alexander. Jaddua is very commonly understood to be the same who is mentioned by Josephus as going out in his priestly robes to meet Alexander, and to implore his good-will toward the people and city of Jerusalem (Ant. xi. 8, sect. 7). But of this there can be no certainty, and the story given by Josephus respecting Jaddua's interview with Alexander is probably to a large extent fabulous. It manifestly savours too much of Jewish vanity, like many other things in the same quarter, to be entitled to implicit credit.

JA'EL [the *ibex*, or, according to some, the *chamois*]. The only person certainly known under this name in Old Testament history is the wife of Heber the Kenite, and she comes into notice simply in connection with a memorable transaction—the murder of Sisera. Her husband was evidently a person of some importance, in modern phrase a sheikh, who belonged to the family of Hobab, the father-in-law of Moses; but who, for some unexplained reason, had separated himself from his brethren. They had an inheritance assigned them, at the period of the conquest, on the south of Canaan, while he transferred himself, with his flocks and herds, to the extreme north, not far from Kedesh (*see* KENITES). Here he occupied a sort of intermediate position between the settled possessions of Israel on the one hand, and those of Jabin, king of Hazor, on the other. But being of a peaceable disposition, as the Kenites appear generally to have been, he contrived to keep on friendly terms with both; and when the fierce war broke out, which ended in the total route of Sisera, the leader of Jabin's host, the vanquished general on his

flight homewards sought a refuge in the tent of Jael, Heber's wife, Ju. iv. 17. Why Jael's tent, rather than Heber's, should be mentioned as the asylum he sought in this perilous extremity, may possibly have arisen from Heber himself having been absent at the time; or, more probably, from the female tent being regarded among nomade tribes as the more peculiarly safe receptacle, which stood comparatively secure against violence and intrusion. So much indeed was this the case, that Sisera himself could scarcely have ventured, even in the most disastrous circumstances, to press for admission there, unless the privilege was readily conceded to him. But Jael, it would appear from the narrative, anticipated his wishes, and, descrying his approach, as she had doubtless already heard of the disaster that led to it, she went forth to meet him, and invited him to turn into her tent, and fear not. It was more almost than he could have looked for; and as if still further to throw him off his guard, she cast her mantle over him, and when he asked for a drink of water to quench his thirst, she opened a bottle of milk, and gave him what Deborah called butter, or curdled milk, in a lordly dish, Ju. v. 25. In a word, he was treated with the greatest apparent cordiality and kindness; the usual pledges of Arab hospitality and protection were given; but only to lull him into a fatal security. For, during the profound sleep which presently after stole over him, Jael drew a nail from the tent, and with a hammer drove it into his temples with such a deadly aim, as to pass entirely through the head and fasten it to the floor on which he lay. The pursuers of Sisera, with Barak at their head, were not long in coming up in quest of their prey; them also Jael went out to meet, and having asked them to go in, that they might see the man whom they sought after, they found Sisera lying dead with the nail in his temples.

A good deal perhaps might be said to palliate the conduct of Jael on this occasion, partly on the ground of the much more ancient and intimate alliance which the family of Heber had with Israel, than it could possibly have with Sisera or Jabin; and still more from the danger which she could scarcely fail to apprehend to her own life, if she either refused Sisera the protection he sought, or should afterwards have been discovered by Barak to have afforded an asylum to the so lately dreaded enemy of Israel. At such a moment the neutral position of her tribe brought with it a double peril; and if in the sudden and trying emergency which burst upon Jael, she chose the way of personal safety, rather than of high honour, regard should at least be had to the peculiar difficulties of her position before judgment is pronounced upon her conduct. This, certainly, has not always been done; on the contrary, everything that makes against her has often been prominently exhibited, while all that belongs to the other side has been industriously kept in the background. Her conduct has been denounced for its abominable treachery, as if every step had been taken with the most deliberate intent and freest choice. At the same time, while we cannot join in an unqualified condemnation, having regard to the peculiar circumstances in which she was placed, as little can we vindicate the part she acted; it was undoubtedly marked with such deceit and violence, as no external circumstances or apprehended results can justify. How, then, should she have been celebrated in the song of Deborah as blessed above women? Ju. v. 24. Not certainly as a pious and upright person is blessed when performing a deed which embodies the noblest principles, and which goes up as a memorial before God; but merely as one who acted a part that accomplished an important purpose of Heaven. In the same sense, though in the opposite direction, Job and Jeremiah cursed the day of their birth—not that they meant to make it the proper subject of blame, but that they wished to mark their deep sense of the evil into which it had ushered them—mark it as the commencement of a life-heritage of sorrow and gloom. In like manner, and with a closer resemblance to the case before us, the psalmist pronounces happy or blessed those who should dash the little ones of Babylon against the stones, Ps. cxxxvii. 9; which no one who understands the spirit of Hebrew poetry would ever dream of construing into a proper benediction upon the ruthless murderers of Babylon's children, as true heroes of righteousness. It merely announces, under a strong individualizing trait, the coming recompense on Babylon for the cruelties she had inflicted on Israel; her own measure should be meted back to her; and they who should be the instruments of effecting it, should execute a purpose of God, whether they might themselves intend it or not. Let the poetical exaltation of Jael be viewed in the light of these cognate passages, and it will be found to contain nothing at variance with the verdict which every impartial mind must be disposed to pronounce upon her conduct. It is in reality the work of God's judgment through her instrumentality that is celebrated, not her mode of carrying it into execution; and it might be as just to regard the heathen Medes and Persians as a truly pious people, because they are called God's "sanctified ones," to do his work of vengeance on Babylon, Is. xiii. 3, as from what is said in Deborah's song, to consider Jael an example of righteousness.

The JAEL mentioned by Deborah in Ju. v. 6 is supposed by Winer and by Gesenius to be another person than the wife of Heber; to be indeed one of the judges of Israel, though nowhere else mentioned. Certainly the prophetess appears to be speaking of those who acted as judges in Israel before her, when she speaks there of the ways being unoccupied "in the days of Shamgar, the son of Anath, in the days of Jael." In no proper sense could the time preceding Deborah's agency be represented as the days of Jael—if the Jael meant were the wife of an extra-Israelitish chief. But as no judge of that name has been noticed in the history, it is better to leave the passage as one respecting which no certain opinion can be formed, than give a positive deliverance as to the person indicated in it.

JAH, an abbreviated form of the peculiar name of God, JEHOVAH, used only in poetry, or in forming compound names, such as Eli-jah, Isa-jah, Jahaz-jah, Jeremiah. The genuine pronunciation of the original word is taken by some to be *Jâhveh* (יַהְוֶה); by others, *Jahaveh;* by others again, *Jahavah;* hence, either by abbreviation or accentuation (as Delitzsch prefers calling it) we obtain *Jah* (יָהּ). Both of these abbreviated forms occur in the proper names of Scripture, in the latter more frequently than in the former, though not quite so frequently in the original as in the English Bible. Jah is often also disguised to the English reader by the rendering LORD, which, in the great majority of cases, is put for Jehovah—for example, at Ps. civ. 35; cv. 45; cxi. 1, &c. It is thus obscured in its earliest occur-

rence, Ex. xv. 2, where the first clause should run, "My strength and song is Jah." (*See* JEHOVAH.)

JA'HAZ [probably, *trodden upon*]; also written JAHZA, JAHAZAH, and JAHAZA; the first, however, being the more common form. It was the name of a town belonging to the kingdom of Sihon, king of the Amorites, near to which the decisive battle was fought, which transferred the territories of Sihon to the children of Israel, Nu. xxi. 23. The place lay between the rivers Jabbok and Arnon, in what was called "the plain country," the modern Belka, Je. xlviii. 21; Is. xv. 4. The exact site is nowhere defined; though, from being the place toward which Sihon advanced to encounter Israel, we naturally infer it must have been somewhere on the southern border of the country, probably but a short way to the north of the Arnon. No certain traces have been found of it in modern times; and though it was assigned to the tribe of Reuben, and was made a priestly city in that tribe, 1 Ch. vi. 7, 8, yet, in later times, as appears from the passages referred to in Isaiah and Jeremiah, it must have fallen into the hands of the Moabites.

JA'IR [*he will shine, splendid*]. 1. A son of Manasseh, as he is several times called, but this only means that he was a member of the tribe of Manasseh; for his immediate father was Segub, 1 Ch. ii. 22, comp. with Nu. xxxii. 4; De. iii. 14. The notices found respecting the possessions of Jair in different parts of Scripture, have such apparent discrepancies in them, that they have formed a frequent subject of attack to the impugners of the Bible's historical accuracy. Yet, when carefully considered, as they have been by several late writers, and especially by Hengstenberg (Pent. ii. 185, trans.), they are capable of a quite satisfactory explanation. The matter stood shortly thus: the half tribe of Manasseh got its territory on the east of Jordan, and in the part that lay farther north than the possessions of Reuben and Gad—northern Gilead. In this Gileadite district there were belonging to the tribe two chief possessions, those of Jair and Machir—the former comprising the region of Argob, or the Bashan which had belonged previously to Og—and the latter forming what was more commonly called Gilead. This is quite distinctly stated in De. iii. 4, 14, 15. It is further stated respecting Jair, in the first of these verses, that there were altogether sixty towns, which he gained possession of in Argob; they are called, however, not towns or cities, but *Havoth*, livings (in English Bible small towns, Nu. xxxii. 41); from their conqueror they got the new name of Bashan-Havoth-Jair, or simply Havoth-Jair; and their number in Deuteronomy is said to have been sixty (as it is also in Jos. xiii. 31; 1 Ki. iv. 13). But in 1 Ch. ii. 22 Jair is said to have possessed only twenty-three cities in the land of Gilead; while yet in the very next verse we are told that Geshur and Aram took Havoth-Jair from them (viz. from the descendants of Jair), with Kenath and her daughters, or subordinate towns, threescore cities. There still was, it would seem, a sixty; but of the sixty twenty-three belonged in the stricter sense to Jair. And the difference is explained by what is said in Nu. xxxii. 42, that Nobah went and took Kenath and her villages (lit. daughters), and called it Nobah after his own name. These villages, which had been subject to Jair, were of the Havoth-Jair in the wider sense, but were still distinguished from the twenty-three, which more properly formed Jair's possession. So that the account of Chronicles merely gives more specific information respecting the subdivision which existed in the Jairite possessions, there being in the total 60—Havoth-Jair 23, and Kenath villages 37 (although this last number is left to be inferred, not distinctly specified).

2. JAIR, a Gileadite in the time of the Judges, of whom it is said, Ju. x. 3, 4, "After him [that is, Abimelech] arose Jair, a Gileadite, and judged Israel twenty-two years. And he had thirty sons that rode on thirty ass colts; and they had thirty cities, which are called Havoth-Jair unto this day, which are in the land of Gilead." Rationalist critics have raised on this passage another objection, alleging that as the name Havoth-Jair is connected with this person, it must have been by some mistake that another Jair in the time of Moses was supposed to have existed—in short, that out of one historical personage of the name of Jair, two had in the course of time sprung up among the traditions of the people. But this is mere assertion, and against all probability. The Jair who lived in the time of Moses is in a variety of passages so clearly defined, and so closely identified with some of the transactions of the period, that there can be no reasonable doubt of his historical existence. And that there should have arisen in the same region, after the lapse of a few generations, another person bearing the same name, and acquiring such distinction that the region became in popular feeling identified as much with the second as with the first Jair, is not surely so peculiar as to be deemed improbable. It is in the nature of things, as Hengstenberg justly remarks, "and hence occurs among all nations, that the names of distinguished ancestors, especially when (as in the case of Jair, the *shining* or *glorious*) they are titles of honour, are transferred to their descendants. A wish arises that they should live anew in their grandchildren, that by them the family may again attain the splendour which was shed on it by their illustrious progenitor. . . . We have a very notable instance in an ancestor of Jair's—Tola, the son of Puah, Ju. x. 1. Both names are found in Ge. xlvi. 13, 'And the sons of Issachar, Tola and Puah.' Now as Tola, the son of Puah [in the time of the judges], furnishes a confirmation of the existence of a Tola and a Puah in Genesis, so the Jair of the book of Judges corroborates the existence of a Mosaic Jair. No doubt many a time besides the name Jair was repeated in the family, but only on this occasion was the wish fulfilled which was expressed by the imposition of the name." It is also to be borne in mind, that often, among the covenant-people, when circumstances occurred to give fresh significance to a name, the name was imposed anew, as if only now a proper reason had been obtained for its imposition, Ge. xlix. 8; Jn. i. 42; xvi. 18. So, in respect to the towns and villages designated Havoth-Jair; many of them had come to acquire a kind of revived existence under the second Jair, and were named afresh. Of the particular acts, besides, which distinguished the judicial agency of this Jair, nothing is known. It was probably signalized by general vigour and probity, rather than by any splendid exploits. His period is supposed to have begun B.C. 1187.

3. JAIR, 1 Ch. xx. 5, a different word from the preceding, not יָאִיר but יָעִיר—*he will raise up*—the name, in probably its correct form, of the father of one of David's heroes, Elhanan. In 2 Sa. xxi. 19, it is Jaare-Oregim.

JA'IRITE. *See* IRA.

JAIRUS [Gr. Ἰάειρος], a ruler in one of the synagogues on the shore of the sea of Galilee, whose daughter was restored to life by our Lord, Mat. ix. 18; Lu. viii. 41. Nothing further is recorded of him; and his name appears to have been the Hebrew Jair with a Greek termination.

JA'KAN [properly JAAKAN, and once in auth. version AKAN, Ge. xxxvi. 27], a grandson of Seir the Horite, and son of Ezer. The children of Israel came in contact with the tribe descended from him when they were encamped at Mosera, near Mount Hor, where Aaron died, De. x. 6. Their fortunes were identified with those of the Edomites, of whom they formed a distinct family.

JAMBRES. *See* JANNES.

JAMES. 1. The first person of this name in Scripture, and the one respecting whom we have the most explicit information, was the son of Zebedee, and brother of John. Of the place of his birth, however, or of his life generally, except that he was a fisherman up to the time that he became a follower of Christ, nothing is recorded. Our Lord, it is said, found him at a certain place, with his father Zebedee and his brother John, mending their nets on the shore of the Sea of Galilee; and having with his brother received a call to follow Jesus, they both immediately obeyed the call, Mat. iv. 21, 22; Mar. i. 9. This prompt response seems to bespeak a previous acquaintance with Jesus, and an incipient conviction that he might be, or actually was, the promised Messiah; but of this no historical notice has been preserved, though it may be said to be implied in what his brother John records of himself, Jn. i. 35-40. An occasion which has been regarded by some as the same, but by others as different, presents James as, along with John, associated in a fishing expedition with Simon and Andrew, which was directed by our Lord in person, and signalized by an extraordinary draught of fishes; at the close of which he told them that they should become fishers of men, and gave them to understand that what had now happened in the lower sphere was to be taken as a presage of what they might expect in the higher. When matters were ripe for the election of an apostleship, we find James numbered with the twelve, and of these he formed one of the first four. In two of the lists his name stands second, Mar. and Lu.; and in the other two, third, Mat. and Ac. In all of them he is placed before his brother John; and may, therefore, be regarded as in reality the second in order, since precedence in two of the lists was given to Andrew merely on account of his near relationship to Peter. Whenever a selection was made from the twelve for any special purpose, James was always of the number. He was one of four present at the raising to life of Jairus' daughter, Mar. i. 29; one of three on the mount of transfiguration, Mat. xvii. 1; Lu. ix. 29; one of four at the delivering of the discourse concerning the latter days, Mar. xiii. 3; and one of three at the memorable scene in Gethsemane, Mat. xxvi. 37, &c. The only other incidents recorded of him in the gospels are—his uniting with John in the request that fire should be called down from heaven on a village of the Samaritans, for refusing to entertain Christ, Lu. ix. 54; and again presenting, along with him, through their mother, the request that they should sit nearest to Christ in his kingdom, Mat. xx. 20-23. Both requests were rejected, and not without marks of indignation. They seem to indicate a naturally ardent and ambitious temper, on account of which they received from our Lord the name of Boanerges—sons of thunder, Mar. iii. 17; but the old leaven, in this respect as in others, was purged out by the descent of the Spirit on the day of Pentecost; and the energy of character which underlay what was in it, took henceforth a higher and holier direction. It was probably owing to this native energy that James owed his high place in the apostleship; since this, when enlightened and sanctified by grace, would naturally inspire confidence, and fit him for taking a prominent position in guiding the affairs of the infant community amid the difficulties and dangers which beset it. That he actually did hold such a position, may be certainly inferred from the treatment he received from Herod, when the latter began to persecute the church, Ac. xii. 2, James being the first of the apostles that were called to seal their testimony with their blood, and the only apostle whose martyrdom or death has found a record in New Testament scripture. He is supposed to have suffered about ten years after our Lord's crucifixion. A tradition has been handed down by Eusebius from Clement of Alexandria, that the soldier who conducted him to the place of execution, was so struck with the holy boldness and serenity of the apostle when going to lay down his life, that he also avowed himself a Christian, and shared the same fate (Euseb. Hist. Eccl. ii. 9). What credit should be attached to the story, it is impossible to say. Things not very dissimilar did sometimes happen in the early persecutions; and whether true or not, the undaunted firmness which it ascribes to James in the final trial that awaited him, is in perfect accordance with what we otherwise know of his character. A man of resolute purpose and determined action, he would shrink from nothing that was required of him, as called to take a leading part in conducting the church through her earlier struggles, for which he was rather fitted than for ministering to her future growth and development. In this latter respect his younger brother must be ranked far above him.

2. JAMES THE SON OF ALPHÆUS was another of the apostles, and in all the lists of them given by the evangelists stands ninth—the first of the last quaternion. It is probable that Alphæus, the father of this James, was but another form of what is elsewhere read Cleophas, or, as it should be, Clopas (*see* ALPHÆUS), and whose wife was called Mary, Jn. xix. 25. This Mary appears to have been the same who in Mat. xxvii. 56, and Mar. xv. 40, is called the mother of James the Less (properly *the little*) and of Joses; so that James, the son of Mary, or James the Less, appears to have been all one with James the son of Alphæus. This, however, is the whole that can with any degree of certainty be affirmed regarding the James in question; and whether he is to be identified with, or distinguished from, the person to be next named, is a point on which commentators have differed in the past, and are likely to differ in the time to come.

3. JAMES, THE LORD'S BROTHER, Mat. xiii. 55; Mar. vi. 3; Ga. i. 19. By comparing the last passage referred to with Ga. ii. 9, 12, there can be no doubt that this James is the same with the person of that name who is frequently mentioned in the Acts of the Apostles, ch. xii. 17; xv. 13; xxi. 18, as having, in the later notices there of the church in Jerusalem, a place of chief consideration, if not of official presidency. But was such eminence accorded to him simply on account of his relation to our Lord, or

from this in conjunction with his possessing apostolical dignity? If the former, then the probability would be, that the relationship was of the stricter kind—a brother-german; if the latter, then, as James the son of Alphæus was the only apostle of that name, except the son of Zebedee, the James who was the Lord's brother must have been so called in the looser sense—a cousin perhaps of Jesus, but really the son of Alphæus or Clopas and Mary. Various circumstances are alleged in support of this latter view—in particular, that the expression of Paul, "other apostles saw I none, save James the Lord's brother;" and the designation of him, along with Peter and John, as a pillar in the church at Jerusalem, Ga. i. 19; ii. 9; seem to imply that he was an apostle in the proper sense, being put on a footing with those that were such, in a certain sense even above them; that the Mary who was his mother appears to be placed by St. John in apposition with the Virgin Mary—"his mother and his mother's sister, Mary the wife of Clopas," Jn. xix. 25; in which case he must have been the cousin-german of our Lord, and so in popular language his brother; and that both our Lord, and the James who was the son of Mary and Clopas, had a brother named Joses, Mar. vi. 3; xv. 40. But the considerations on the other side seem at least equally strong, and by many of the ablest commentators are thought to preponderate. It is no way certain, for instance, that the Mary spoken of in Jn. xix. 25, was meant to be represented as sister to the Virgin Mary; and it is indeed highly improbable that two in one family should have borne the same name. When John mentions beside the cross of Jesus "his mother, and his mother's sister, Mary the wife of Clopas, and Mary Magdalene," he appears rather to intend four persons composed of two pairs—first the virgin and her sister; then two other Marys, the wife of Clopas and the Magdalene. Again, whoever may be meant in gospel history by the brothers of Jesus—whether full brothers, half-brothers, or cousins, it is expressly said of them generally, long after the calling of the apostles, that they did not believe in him, Jn. vii. 5. Besides, if the James who rose to such high consideration in the church at Jerusalem was merely a cousin of Christ, and really the son of Alphæus or Clopas, it seems difficult to understand why either such peculiar weight should have been attached to a relationship of that sort; or why the James, who originally stood only in the third quaternion of apostles, should latterly have been elevated to so singular a place. The position of this James would certainly be more easily accounted for if he had been actually of the same family with our Lord—the son of Joseph and Mary, or of Joseph and another spouse; for, having this high claim to regard, if he otherwise approved himself to the church as possessed of the higher qualities for government, it was natural that they should concede to him a place of peculiar dignity and honour—should even lift him into the noble company of the apostles. In so honouring him, the church would feel as if it honoured the Lord; to whom, according to the flesh, he stood in such close proximity. This seems to us, upon the whole, the more probable view; but it is not a subject on which to pronounce with confidence. The greatest names in the church are divided upon it, and the more exact learning of modern times has failed to throw any fresh light on the inquiry. It has still to be decided by a balancing of probabilities—in which a certain bias will naturally incline to the one side or the other, according as it is deemed important, or otherwise, to maintain the belief of Mary's perpetual virginity. Some, however, incline to the other view, who have no doctrinal prepossessions to bias them. See that view advocated in article JUDE; see also under MARY.

It may be added that the James who is called our Lord's brother, and occupied so prominent a position in the church of Jerusalem, was known in later times by the surname of the Just, and is reported to have been killed in a tumult about the year 62. The traditions respecting him, which are evidently much mixed with fable, are given in Eusebius, *Hist. Eccl.* ii. 23; with which compare Stanley's *Apostolic Age*, p. 325, seq. The epistle which bears the name of James is unanimously ascribed to him by all who identify this James with the son of Alphæus; and by those who hold them to be different, some prefer the one and some the other. But on this point see under next article.

JAMES, EPISTLE OF. The first of the seven epistles called *Catholic* or General (καθολικαί), though for what reason it is difficult to determine—probably because they were addressed, not to any particular person or church, but to Christians at large; or, at all events, to Christians of many countries. The second and third epistles of John, however, must be held as exceptions, being both addressed to particular persons. Michaelis suggests that these last may possibly have been included among the seven for the sake of preserving epistles in themselves so brief, as well as keeping together those bearing the name of John. The term, it is true, cannot be strictly applied even to the epistle of James; seeing it is not addressed to Gentile Christians, nor indeed to the Jewish Christians of Palestine, but only to those of the dispersion. But if an epistle be addressed to a *very large body* of Christians, and not, as in the case of the thirteen epistles of Paul, to particular churches or individuals, it may certainly on that account be called *catholic*, without any unwarrantable extension of the strict meaning of the word. It may be, however, that the name indicates ultimate *universal* recognition of all the epistles in question. Two of them, viz. 1 Peter and 1 John, were from the beginning universally received. The remaining five, though for a time held in doubt by some, were in the end also universally received; and the whole seven, according to this view, were therefore classed together as catholic epistles. It does not seem probable that the appellation, as suggested by Hug, was given to these epistles because they comprise the writings of *all* the apostles with the exception of those of Paul. But however accounted for, the title was given to them as early as the days of Eusebius; and indeed in the time of Origen, a hundred years earlier.

Author.—Three persons bearing the name of James occur in the New Testament—James the son of Zebedee, and brother of John; James the son of Alphæus; and James the brother of the Lord, Ga. i. 19. The two last, indeed, have by many been considered one and the same person. The design of this article does not lead us into the discussion of a question which has been largely debated both in ancient and modern times, and which must still be held undetermined. Neander strongly inclines to the opinion that the two are distinct persons; and he has done much to increase the weight of the scale of evidence on that side (History of the Planting of the Christian Church, vol. i. p. 350, Bohn's ed.) On

the same side are Credner, De Wette, Winer, Stier, and a host of recent critics. A brief view of the question will be found in the preceding article. That the son of Zebedee can have no claim to the authorship of this epistle is all but universally admitted. The *Peshito*, or old Syriac version, indeed ascribes it to him. But it is incredible that the church in the days of this James, who was put to death by Herod A.D. 42, Ac. xii. 2, could have been so widely spread as the inscription to this epistle implies, ch. i. 1. As yet it must have been confined within the limits of Palestine. And if we suppose with many that the epistle makes special allusion to the doctrine of Paul on the subject of justification by faith alone, and condemns certain widespread and mischievous corruptions of that doctrine, besides manifesting an undoubted acquaintance with the writings of Paul generally, it will appear simply impossible that an apostle whose death antedates Paul's epistles by so many years could have been the author.

On the supposition that James the son of Alphæus or Cleopas and James the Lord's brother are distinct persons, there can be no doubt that the latter is the author of the epistle. None who maintain the distinction in question have imagined otherwise. Indeed, on this supposition, James of Alphæus entirely disappears from the history of the church after his name is mentioned in the list of apostles, Ac. i. 13. And after the martyrdom of James the brother of John, only one James figures in the history, and he most conspicuously; so that in point of fact the controversy about the identity of the Jameses is really of less importance to the question of authorship than might be imagined; because all allow that the author is *that James* who governed the church at Jerusalem so long, who occupies so prominent a place in the Acts, whose opinion guided the first council, and of whom so honourable mention is made by Paul in his epistles, Ac. xii. 17; xv. 13; xxi. 18; Ga. i. 19; ii. 9, 12; 1 Co. ix. 5; xv. 7. By that apostle James is mentioned as one of three pillars of the church at Jerusalem, and the *first* of the three, Ga. ii. 9. All that we learn of him, both in the New Testament and in early ecclesiastical history, goes to show that his position and character and views were precisely such as this epistle might be supposed to demand in its author. Occupying, as we have seen, the chief place in the parent church at Jerusalem; and being distinguished, moreover, by stronger attachment to the law of Moses than either Peter or Paul, Ac. xxi. 18; Ga. ii. 12; his influence with the dispersed tribes to whom he wrote must necessarily have been very great. Hegesippus tells us that his piety and integrity were so conspicuous, that he obtained the surname of the Just; and that he so set himself against every form of corruption and oppression, that he was further styled the bulwark of the people (Eusebius, Hist. Eccles. ii. 23). The same author reports that from his childhood he lived the life of a Nazarene, which would give him peculiar respect among the Jews; that he frequently prostrated himself on his knees in the temple, calling upon God to forgive the sins of the people, and lead them to repentance and faith; and that, after a life of stainless integrity and eminent usefulness, he was slain by the leaders of the Jews, A.D. 62 (Neander, History of the Planting, &c., vol. ii. p. 356, Bohn's ed.) It is needless to say how the character of the man accords with the contents of the epistle. We only add that both matter and style are just such as might have been expected from the Lord's brother—from one who, in consequence of close intimacy with Jesus, might be supposed to have drunk deep into his spirit. The epistle of James bears a striking resemblance to the sermon on the mount in the purity and loftiness of its morality, and in the simple and sententious grandeur of its expression.

Date.—The date of the epistle, according to the very general concurrence of authorities, is A.D. 61, shortly before the death of the writer; and the conjecture of Lardner is probable, that the pungent rebukes contained in it, and its fearless exposure of the sins of the rich and great, ch. v., occasioned or hastened his martyrdom. There are few marks of date in the epistle itself. There is, however, an intimation that the destruction of Jerusalem was drawing nigh, ch. v. 8.

Persons to whom the epistle is addressed.—On this point there is considerable diversity of opinion. They were the twelve tribes of the dispersion, ch. i. 1. They were, of course, Jews. Moreover, they were converted or Christian Jews, ch. i. 3; ii. 1; v. 7, 11, 14. Had the Jews at large been designed, or all Jews out of Judea, as many contend (Whitby, Lardner, M'Knight, &c.), it is justly supposed the epistle would have contained such proofs of the Messiahship of Jesus, and extended statements of the nature of Christianity, as the apostles were accustomed to address to their unbelieving countrymen. On the other hand, those passages which evidently imply an unbelieving character, ch. iv. 1-10; v. 1-5; are to be explained on the principle that the apostles address themselves in their epistles to *professing* Christians, or Christian bodies, among whom (as now) there might be many unworthy of the name. It is manifest that many corruptions, both in doctrine and practice, had crept into the Jewish Christian church by this time, which James found it necessary severely to reprehend.

Canonicity.—There can be no doubt on this head. The epistle was at once received. Eusebius indeed ranks it among his five ἀντιλεγόμενα, or writings regarding which doubt was entertained by some *few* persons in the beginning (they were received τοῖς πολλοῖς τοῖς πλείστοις); but it is found in the *Peshito*, or old Syriac version, which dates so early as the end of the first, or beginning of the second century. The epistle was therefore received in the place where its claims could be best canvassed, and by the people who of all others were the most competent to detect anything that might affect its genuineness. It is quoted, moreover, by Ephrem the Syrian, who mentions the name of the author, by Clement of Rome, by Hermas, who has seven allusions to it, by Origen, Jerome, Athanasius, &c. The eleven catalogues of the fathers and councils in the fourth century without exception recognize it, as well as the other ἀντιλεγόμενα of Eusebius; and from that time till the era of the Reformation there was no longer doubt or difference of opinion.

That an epistle should not have been admitted into the number of sacred books till its claims had been sifted and established, instead of creating doubt and uneasiness in our minds, strengthens our faith in the care and fidelity of the ancient churches, and therefore in the canon itself as transmitted to us by them. Very probably the doubts about the epistle of James may have originated in the uncertainty to which James the epistle ought to be ascribed (Kirchhofen). The afflicted condition of the Jewish church, too, almost

immediately after the date of the epistle, may also have exercised an unfavourable influence. James had scarcely written when the Jewish churches were involved in the troubles of war, flight, and persecution. The judaizing churches were broken up; and the Jewish converts were regarded with increasing dislike and prejudice by the Gentile Christians. It is not wonderful, therefore, that some few of these last should have been slow to receive an epistle that notwithstanding had so many claims to their respect. (Gaussen's Canon of the Holy Scriptures, Eng. trans. p. 342.)

At the time of the Reformation the epistle was again called in question by Luther and others, from its supposed hostility to the doctrine of justification by faith alone, ch. ii. 21. The eager reformer, instead of resolving the question of supposed difference between Paul and James, at once cut the knot, and styled our epistle an epistle of straw. On more mature consideration, however, he acknowledged his error, although this latter circumstance be sometimes forgotten by those who are fond of parading his original mistake. There is much truth in an excuse which has been made for Luther (Gaussen). It was not easy in his time to distinguish in every instance the real from the supposed monuments of antiquity, to recognize the true principles of sacred criticism, nor to consult the materials for it, many of which were yet to be discovered. For example, the epistle of Clement of Rome, furnishing, as we have seen, so important a testimony to James, was not discovered for more than a hundred years after (A.D. 1628). Doubtless there is nothing in the epistle of James that in any way contradicts the doctrine of Paul in Romans and Galatians. Attention has been called to this point under the article JUSTIFICATION, to which it properly belongs; and we shall only observe here, that the two inspired writers deal with justification from different points of view, and address persons occupying opposite extremes of opinion on the subject. Paul deals with the proud Legalist, who would be justified by his works; James with the licentious Antinomian, who maintained that justification by faith entitled him to dispense with works altogether, and to give them no place even in the believer's life. And a fair examination of the whole passage shows the meaning of James simply to be, that the faith which justifies is a faith productive of works whenever occasion shall demand, and containing them in itself from the very first, as the principle out of which they spring. It is the inoperative and dead faith only that in his view saves not.

Contents and Style.—The epistle contains expositions and exhortations connected with various topics within the field of Christian ethics. It is pre-eminently a practical epistle, designed to correct erroneous views and mischievous perversions of Christianity which had sprung up even in this early age. We advert only to the leading topics. Sore trials, as we have seen, were impending, and in view of them, the writer exhorts to patience and steadfastness, to believing prayer and holy obedience. He condemns respect of persons in the church; cautions against speculative or notional religion; and maintains the operative character of faith, in opposition to the Antinomian notions which seem already to have been entertained by many, ch. i. ii. Rebuking the ambitious desire of being chief masters and teachers in the church, which naturally belonged to men of a speculative tendency, James next discourses, with a view to check that ambition, on the evils of an unbridled tongue, in a strain of eloquence that has never been surpassed. At the same time, and with the same end in view, he presents a noble and beautiful contrast between the wisdom of the world and that which cometh from above, ch. iii. The epistle next passes to the evils which spring from the ambitious and worldly spirit in the church, viz. wars and fightings, sinful lusts, cold and formal prayers, worldly friendships and alliance, envy, pride, duplicity, evil-speaking, and finally a presumptuous dependence on the continuance of life, and the formation of plans for the morrow without taking God at all into account, ch. iv. Naturally following these manifestations of the worldly spirit, we have next an outpouring of eloquent and terrible indignation against the unjust and ungenerous rich; while, at the same time, Christians, however poor and oppressed, are comforted by the near prospect of their Lord's coming, and are therefore exhorted to patience. The epistle concludes with a solemn caution against swearing, with directions regarding prayer for the sick, and an exhortation to zeal in the conversion of sinners.

In this brief summary we have attempted in part to trace the connection of topics in our epistle. But the style of James is bold, rapid, abrupt, and figurative, so that the connection is not always easily found, and is to be sought more in the course of thought than in the language or form of expression. Two things, we think, distinguish the style of this epistle, which are not always or often found together. It is not only logical, precise, terse, but also imaginative and rhetorical by turns. The definitions, or descriptions rather, in ch. i. 27 and iii. 17, are at once most exact and beautiful, and exhibit a wondrous command of precise and appropriate language. The logical compactness and force of argument in ch. ii. 14 to the end of the chapter cannot be too much admired; while of beautiful and striking imagery we have examples in the rich passing away as the flower of the field, in the wavering soul tossed like the wave of the sea, in the hearer who is not a doer of the word likened to the man forgetting his natural face in a glass, and in human life melting like a vapour into air and vanishing away. The discourse on the tongue is characterized by extraordinary wealth and profusion of illustration. We have in succession the unruly horse and the bit, the great ship and small helm, the little spark and mighty fire, and the wild animals of earth, air, and ocean tamed of mankind—exhibiting the ungovernable character and terrible power for evil of the "little member."

On the whole, this epistle holds a place of its own in the New Testament, and gives unity and consistency to it, as a collection of inspired books, containing the whole will of God for the salvation of man. [R. F.]

JAN'NES AND JAM'BRES, the names of two Egyptian magicians, who are mentioned by St. Paul, 2 Ti. iii. 8, 9, as having headed the opposition that was made to Moses, when endeavouring to persuade Pharaoh to let Israel go. The statement only differs from the account contained in the books of Moses in so far as it gives the individual names of parties, who go there by the general designation of magicians; and all that we have to suppose is, that those names had somehow been handed down, in a manner so generally known and so well authenticated, as to warrant the familiar allusion of the apostle. We cannot justify the allusion by an appeal to the sources which were accessible to

him; but neither are we without such respectable fragments of evidence, as may be sufficient almost to satisfy the most sceptical on the subject. The Targum of Jonathan, at Ex. i. 15, and vii. 11, expressly mentions Jannes and Jambres as "chiefs of the magicians," who spake against Moses, and by their incantations sought to withstand him. The Jerusalem Talmud, *Tract. Menachoth*, does the same, only instead of Jannes and Jambres, it gives the variations Joachene and Mamre. In several other Jewish writings the names again occur with slight variations, as in *Tanchuma* (*f.* 115, 2), where they are called Jonos and Jombros (see the quotations at length in Wetstein on 2 Ti. iii. 8). Origen against Celsus, (l. iv.), states, that Numenius, a Pythagorean philosopher, takes notice of the wonders performed by Moses in Egypt, and how Jannes and Jambres, sacred scribes and magicians, were made to stand in the breach against him. Other stray references occur, especially to the name of Jannes, one even in Pliny (Nat. Hist. xxx. 1); but these are enough to show that the names of the two magicians in question had obtained a world-wide celebrity in ancient times as the representatives of Egyptian arts and lore, in the great conflict that was waged against them by Moses. And this can only be accounted for by two persons, with those names, having actually taken the part ascribed to them; for, in such a matter, there was no temptation to feign what did not exist, or to adopt names different from those of the real actors in the drama. Certainly, as Lightfoot has said (Sermon on 2 Ti. iii. 8), the apostle is not to be regarded as taking up the names as if he had them by revelation, but he falls in with the current use of them, there being no reason to doubt its correctness or validity. And from the example of sophistical evasion, growing into hardened unbelief, which was known to have been exhibited by those champions of a doomed heathenism in former times, he warns the church to expect like cases in the future; that when they occur, those who have charge of her affairs may be on their guard, and may be stimulated to put forth the resistance, which if faithfully exerted cannot fail to be crowned with success.

JAPH'ETH [*enlargement*, if, as Scripture itself seems to warrant, Ge. ix. 27, from the root פָּתָה, *to extend*, but if from יָפֶה, *to be fair*, as Gesenius (Thes.) would regard as the more natural derivation, then the meaning would be *fairness*, in the sense of lightness of complexion, or beauty], one of the sons of Noah. In the lists given of these sons Japheth always stands last; the order is—Shem, Ham, and Japheth, Ge. v. 32; vi. 10; vii. 13. But as Ham is on good grounds supposed to have been the youngest, Ge. ix. 24, so, if the common rendering of ch. x. 21—"unto Shem also, the brother of Japheth the elder, even to him were born," &c.—were correct, it might with equal certainty be inferred that Japheth was the eldest. And so it is very generally understood, even apart from the testimony of this verse; but the verse itself should rather, according to a common Hebrew construction, be read, "Shem, the brother of Japheth—the elder," (literally the great); or more plainly, "Shem, the elder brother of Japheth." So the Vulgate: "fratre Japhet majore." Similar examples of the like construction may be seen in Ju. i. 13; ix. 5; De. xi. 7. With respect to the races which were severally to spring from them, the second place only belonged to Japheth, the first to Shem; namely, when those races are considered in the relation they were to hold to the higher purposes of God and the nobler destinies of mankind. According to the remarkable prophecy of Noah, Ge. ix. 25-27, it was in connection with the race of Shem that the Lord had purposed to make the more peculiar manifestations of himself to men; and the distinctive characteristic of Japheth was to be expansive energy and enlargement, in consequence of which it should, as it were, overflow, and obtrude itself also into the tents of Shem. But this perhaps points fully as much to the participation the race of Japheth should have in the peculiar blessing of Shem, as to territorial occupation. Looking to the genealogical tables, however, in the tenth chapter of Genesis, there can be no doubt that the race of Japheth was characterized by a remarkable tendency to diffuse itself abroad over the remoter regions of the earth, and that from that root have sprung many of the most active and enterprising nations both of earlier and later times. They took chiefly a north and westerly direction—first, the Medes, the inhabitants of Caucasus, and of the regions about the Black Sea, the Scythians, the tribes generally that occupied the north of Asia and Europe; then the communities of Asia Minor, Greece, and the southern parts of Europe; so that, as is said in Ge. x. 5, "by them were the isles of the Gentiles divided in their lands," that is, not merely the islands scattered through the Mediterranean, but the more distant coasts and regions which were separated by sea from the original seat of the human family. If the descendants of Shem, and of Ham also, attained to an earlier distinction in the government and commerce of the world, those of Japheth both occupied more extensive territories, and rose ultimately to far greater power and resources; and since the early Egyptian and Assyrian monarchies fell into decay, the governing and directing power in worldly affairs may be said to have been chiefly in their hands. The Median, Grecian, and Roman monarchies were examples on a gigantic scale in ancient times of the offspring of Japheth making their way into the tents of Shem; and the history of conquest, colonization, and commerce in modern times is almost a continued exemplification of the same tendencies. The details of this general outline will be found to some extent filled up under the several names of Japheth's posterity, Gomer, Magog, Javan, &c.; but for the full, systematic, and most learned proof of it, recourse must be had to Bochart's *Phaleg*, where everything in this line of inquiry has received so thorough an examination, that later research has been able to add little to it. But with all this superiority on the part of Japheth in physical energy, vigorous enterprise, and capacity for rule and government, the races of this line have held but a secondary place in all that concerns the true knowledge and worship of God. Immediate revelations from heaven have come only through the posterity of Shem; through them also has come the salvation of the world; and the blessing, which they were the first to receive, has reached the tribes of Japheth only by these coming to dwell, not as givers but as receivers, as captives not as conquerors, in the tents of Shem.

JAPHI'A [*splendid*]. 1. The king of Lachish at the time of the conquest of Canaan, and one of the five kings of the Amorites (as they are called, Jos. x. 3, 5), who conspired together to cut off the Gibeonites for having entered into a league with Joshua. The result, however, was that the party were routed by Joshua,

and Japhia, along with the others, hanged. 2. Japhia; one of the sons of David, the tenth that was born to him after his settlement in Jerusalem, 2 Sa. v. 15; 1 Ch. iii. 7. No further notice is taken of this son.

JA'REB [יָרֵב]. In the authorized version, we read, Ho. v. 13, "when Ephraim saw his sickness and Judah his wound, then went Ephraim to the Assyrian, and sent to king Jareb: yet could he not heal you." Instead of "king Jareb," the margin gives "king of Jareb," and also "the king that should plead." So in Ho. x. 6, "It (the calf) shall be also carried into Assyria as a present to king Jareb." There is little doubt that the second of the two marginal renderings is more nearly correct than the others, though Fuerst (Handwörterbuch) still admits the possibility of Jareb being an old Assyrian word. Gesenius renders it *adversary, hostile;* others, following the Vulgate, *vindicator*—avenger. Both explanations are admissible, inasmuch as *rîb, to strive or contend,* may be to contend *for* or to contend *against,* according to the connection in which it stands with what goes before and after, Ju. vi. 31, 32. Certainly the noun יָרִיב (*yarib*), with which יָרֵב (*yareb*) is closely allied, means *adversary* in all the passages in which it is found, Ps. xxxv. 1; Is. xlix. 25; Je. xviii. 19. Still, the context in Ho. v. 13 favours the other rendering; as also Is. xix. 20; Pr. xxii. 23; and the prayer רִיבָה רִיבִי, in Ps. xliii. 1; cxix. 154. We do not, therefore, greatly err, if we understand by מֶלֶךְ יָרֵב (*melek yareb*), a warrior king, who in the days of Hosea assumed it to be his prerogative and his mission, like a powerful emperor in our own day, to right the wrongs of nations, and to act as umpire of the world. No doubt the king of Assyria is meant, 2 Kl. xv. 19; xvi. 7. The explanation *great king,* from the Syriac, which was once adopted even by Gesenius, is now abandoned. [D. H. W.]

JAR'HA, probably an Egyptian name, as it occurs only in connection with an Egyptian person, the servant or slave of one Sheshan, the head of a family in Judah, who had daughters only, but no sons, and took his servant Jarha as a husband for his daughter Ahlai, 1 Ch. ii. 34. It is the only instance of the kind recorded in the Hebrew annals, and as such is deserving of notice. Nothing is known of the time when it took place; but the probability is that it occurred after the settlement in Canaan. Sheshan belonged to the Jerahmeelites, whose possessions lay in the extreme south, where the country adjoins to Egypt; and this probably had something to do with the origination of such a connection.

JAR'MUTH [*exalted*]. 1. One of the cities in Canaan, whose king, Piram, entered into the conspiracy against the Gibeonites to revenge their submission to Joshua, Jos. x. 3. On that occasion it is associated with Jerusalem, Hebron, Lachish, and Debir; in another place it is mentioned among the cities that stood in the valley or low ground of Judah, Jos. xv. 35, and is coupled with Adullam, Socoh, and Azekah. It is set down in the *Onomasticon* as ten Roman miles from Eleutheropolis, on the way towards Jerusalem, but this is thought too large. "It is now the village Yarmûth, about 40′ W.N.W. from Beit Netîf; a tell rises above it, which we heard called 'Ermûd or Armûth, evidently a different pronunciation of the same name" (De Velde).

2. JARMUTH. A town in the tribe of Issachar, Jos. xxi. 29, apparently the same place which in another passage is called *Remeth,* Jos. xix. 21; for in the two passages the two names stand in precisely the same connection. It was a Levitical city, 1 Ch. vi. 73; and is thought to be represented by the modern village Rameh, which is about three hours north of Sebustîyeh, on the way to Kefr Kûd.

JA'SHER, BOOK OF, [יָשָׁר, *Yashar*], is the name of a work wholly unknown to us except as it is twice referred to in Scripture: "Is it not written in the book of Jasher?" and, "Behold, it is written in the book of Jasher," spoken of Joshua's miracle when the sun and moon stood still; and of David's teaching the children of Judah ["the use of] the bow," or lamenting over Saul and Jonathan, Jos. x. 13; 2 Sa. i. 18. This latter passage is translated by many high authorities "he taught them 'the bow,'" which is understood to be the title of his lamentation; but even if we retain the authorized translation, probably the lamentation is at least included in that which is written in the book of Jasher. The simple meaning of the common Hebrew word *Jasher,* rather Jashar, is "straight," or "upright;" and the prevalent idea is that this was a book containing some histories or songs in praise of distinguished men whom God had raised up to work for him and his people. Jasher, "upright," would then be descriptive of these men, and indeed of all the people of Israel, so far as they answered to their profession and calling to be God's peculiar people, and to walk uprightly before him; for this seems to be the meaning also of that name JESHURUN, applied in certain passages written in an elevated tone to Israel. Accordingly it is rendered by the Vulgate "liber justorum," "the book of the just ones;" while the more ancient Septuagint, with greater exactness, translates "book of [the] upright one." The Syriac translates it "the book of praises," or psalms, and seems to allude to another derivation, which has found favour with some modern scholars, and which is possible, though it involves grammatical irregularity (for irregularities do creep into names which are used as titles of books or other words to which reference is frequently made), from the Hebrew יָשִׁיר (*yashîr*) in the beginning of the song of Moses, Ex. xv. 1, "Then sang."

A good deal of interest has come to be attached to this book of Jasher owing to the controversies upon the age of the books of Scripture: because, as it is quoted in Joshua and 2 Samuel, the inference has been drawn that the book of Joshua could not have been written before the time of David's lamentation. This, however, assumes that the book of Jasher was all written at once, which is more than we can safely assume in our state of utter ignorance regarding it. Even if it were a historical work, it might be a series of records of theocratic events, written at various eventful times, when the occasion roused both the agent and the writer; and such a series may have existed in the later historical narratives, the chronicles of the kings of Israel and Judah, which are mentioned very frequently in later sacred history. But as there are fair reasons for regarding it as a national song or hymn book, we have more decided reason for refusing to assume that it was written all at once. Collections of poetry, whether common or sacred, are the very class of books which have been most often republished with additions and alterations: and the inspired book of Psalms seems

itself to have passed through precisely this course from the days of David till probably those of Nehemiah. In confirmation of this view, we find a reference in Nu. xxi. 14, 15, to a poetical fragment from "the Book of the Wars of the Lord," in which perhaps were also inserted two other poetical pieces given in that chapter. Or if all these were separate works, all the more distinctly do they indicate the fervour of spiritual life in the new generation who were going forward to victory in Canaan; and this is the reason apparently for which Moses includes them in his narrative. A similar religious fervour, and a similar wish to give the evidence of it, would account for the formation of the book of Jasher in the stirring and critical age of Joshua and the analogous age of David; as a similar reason might lead the sacred historians of these times to refer to it.

Josephus has been understood to speak of the book of Jasher as one of the books laid up in the temple (Antiq. v. 1, 17), but it is not clear that he alludes there to anything else than the book of Joshua. Certainly we have no other notice of it, and of course he may have been mistaken. There is a miserable English forgery, first published, it is said, in 1751, and republished at Bristol in 1829, the only copy we have seen; but it is utterly unworthy of notice. [G. C. M. D.]

JASHOB'EAM [*to whom the people turns*]. The name occurs several times in connection with the times of David, but whether always of the same person is not perfectly certain, though quite possible. In 1 Ch. xi. 11, Jashobeam, an Hachmonite, stands first in the list of David's mighty men, and is celebrated as having lifted up his spear against 300 men at one time, and slain them. This place is assigned in the corresponding passage of 2 Sa. xxiii. 8, to "the Tachmonite that sat in the seat," as it is in the English Bible, but, as it should rather be read, to "Josheb-bassebeth, the Tachmonite," which is evidently a corruption, or perhaps intentional variation, of Jashobeam the Hachmonite. And though 800 men are said to have been slain by him in the latter passage, and only 300 in the former, the difference possibly arose from a different mode of computation—in the one case those only being reckoned who were slain on the spot, while in the other, such as fell a little afterwards might be included. In 1 Ch. xxvii. 2, a Jashobeam, who is called the son of Zabdiel, is mentioned as head of the first monthly course of officers and men who were appointed to wait by turns upon the king. There is nothing to prevent our supposing this to have been the same person as the Jashobeam already noticed; for whatever may be meant by Hachmonite, or Tachmonite, it cannot be regarded as indicating his father's name. Still again, we find a Jashobeam, a Korhite, among those who joined David at Ziklag, 1 Ch. xii. 6; but we are without any definite grounds for enabling us to decide, either for or against his identification with the other.

JA'SON, a common Greek name, and frequently borne by Hebrews of the dispersion, probably from its resemblance to Jesus. It occurs only once, however, in the New Testament, as the name of a believing Jew resident at Thessalonica, when St. Paul first visited that place, and whom the apostle mentions in his epistle to Rome, among those who sent salutations from Corinth and its neighbourhood, and characterizes as a kinsman of his own, Ac. xvii. 5-9; Ro. xvi. 21. A violent assault was made on his house in Thessalonica by the unbelieving Jews, but he was mercifully delivered from the attack.

JASPER [Heb. יָשְׁפֵה, Gr. *ἴασπις*], a precious stone, having much the same name in Hebrew, Greek, Latin, and English. It was one of the gems in the high-priest's breastplate—the last in order, Ex. xxviii. 20. It forms also one of the foundation-stones in the symbolical city of the New Jerusalem; but here it occupies the first place, Re. xxi. 18. This indicates the higher value that was put on it in New, as compared with Old Testament times, which might possibly arise from the kinds latterly in use being of another and more precious description. With John the jasper plainly ranked first among gems; he calls it "most precious;" regards its glitter as conveying the fittest expression of the radiance of the divine glory, Re. iv. 3; xxiv. 11; and speaks of a crystal brightness shining from it. This scarcely accords with the qualities of the gem known by us under the name of jasper, which is not remarkable for brightness, and is usually of a reddish, sometimes yellow or green hue; it is rather of a heavy colour than otherwise, but admits of a high polish. Some have supposed that the diamond was really the stone meant; but there is no certain ground for this; and two ancient writers (Dioscorides and Psellus) have mentioned a crystal kind of jasper. (Hengs. on Re. xxi. 11).

JA'VAN [etymology uncertain]. Primarily one of the sons of Japheth, and the father of Elishah, Tarshish, Kittim, and Dodanim, Ge. x. 2, 4. There is no reason to doubt, that of these four lines of offspring descended from him, three formed settlements in Asia Minor and Greece—the Hellenes probably coming from Elishah, while the Kittim formed the inhabitants of Cyprus and other islands, and the Dodanim of some parts of the Epirus (the same probably as the Dodonæi). Javan hence became the Hebrew name for Greece, or Ionia, which in ancient times was very commonly identified with Greece by foreigners. Indeed the names were much the same—the one being יָוָן, pronounced Yâvân, Greek Ἰωνάν, the other Ἰάονες, latterly Ἴωνες. In Da. viii. 21, the king of Javan is undoubtedly the king of Greece; and in Zec. ix. 13, the sons of Javan are just the *υἱες Αχαίων*, sons of Greece, or the Greeks. It is said also that Ionia has been found on the famous Rosetta stone as an epithet for Greece, and Yunâ in a cuneiform title at Persepolis for Greeks. (See Gesenius, Thes.)

JA'VAN, a place mentioned in Eze. xxvii. 19, apparently a town in Arabia Felix; and possibly, as some have supposed, it got the name from a Greek colony having settled there.

JEBERECHI'AH [*whom the Lord will bless*], the name of the father of a Zechariah who lived in the time of Isaiah; and a person of well-known piety, as may be inferred from the connection in which he stands, Is. viii. 2. The name is substantially the same as Barachiah, which appears to have been in pretty common use. The form Jeberechiah is found only in the passage of Isaiah referred to; and of the position or office of the person who bore it nothing is recorded.

JE'BUS, JEB'USITES, are the names of a Canaanitish city and people, one of the seven doomed nations. The meaning of Jebus has its simplest explanation in "a trodden place," to which there is possibly an allusion in Is. xxii. 5, "It is a day of trouble, and of treading down, and of perplexity, by the Lord of hosts in the valley of vision," that is, Jerusalem. Yet some

authorities prefer to render it "a dry place;" which again might receive support from one of the interpretations of Zion, "a sunny or dry place." Jebus is the old name of Jerusalem, Ju. xix. 10, 11; 1 Ch. xi. 4. But more frequently it appears in the adjective form *Jebusi*, Jos. xv. 8; xviii. 16, 28; which may have arisen from the fuller form, "city of the Jebusites," or "Jebusite city," Ju. xix. 11. The same word is probably used as a poetical name for Jerusalem in the late prophet Zechariah, ch. ix. 7, "He shall be as a governor in Judah, and Ekron as a Jebusite;" better "as Jebusi." The nation of the Jebusites is scarcely ever omitted in the more or less complete lists of the seven nations of Canaan that were to be destroyed. Almost invariably they are the last in the list, Ge. xv. 20; Ex. iii. 8 17; xxiii. 23; xxxiii. 2; xxxiv. 11; De. vii. 1; xx. 17; Jos. iii. 10; ix. 1; xii. 8; xxiv. 11; Ju. iii. 5; 1 Ki. ix. 20; and in all these passages, except Ge. xv. 20; Jos. iii. 10, they come next to the Hivites. These remarks do not apply to one or two cases in which the lists are otherwise peculiar, Ge. x. 16; Nu. xiii. 29; Jos. xi. 3; Ezr. ix. 1. In Jos. x. 5, Adonizedek, the king of the Jebusites at Jerusalem, is classed as one of the kings of the Amorites, between whom and the Hittites they stand in Nu. xiii. 29, where all the three are mentioned together as dwelling in the mountains; and this description, "the Jebusite in the mountains," is again given to them, Jos. xi. 3, where they stand associated with the same two nations and with the Perizzites. Although we can say nothing further as to their connection with the remaining nations, and as to their geographical distribution, we may be assured that they occupied a part of that mountainous country in which their capital Jerusalem was situated. The king of Jerusalem was one of the five who united against the Gibeonites, and who were destroyed together, Jos. x.; yet in the following chapter the Jebusites appear among the confederates of the northern king Jabin of Hazor, ch. xi. 3. They are named among the nations who remained in the land after the death of Joshua, Ju. iii. 5; and more particularly in ch. i. 21, it is said that "the children of Benjamin did not drive out the Jebusites that inhabited Jerusalem; but the Jebusites dwell with the children of Benjamin in Jerusalem unto this day." It was David who first succeeded in taking their stronghold of Zion, which he called the city of David, and in which he fixed the seat of government, 2 Sa. v. 6-9; 1 Ch. xi. 4-8. After this the Jebusites are mentioned only along with the other Canaanite nations, the remains of which were reduced by Solomon to a state of bond-service, 1 Ki. ix. 20, 21; 2 Ch. viii. 7, 8. Some of them appear among those exiles who returned from Babylon to Judea, Ne. vii. 57; xi. 3. And once more their name appears in Ezra ix. 1, among other nations, only half of whom are Canaanitish, with whom in their heathen condition the returning exiles contracted mischievous marriages. [G. C. M. D.]

JECONI'AH [*whom Jehovah has appointed*], also spelt JECHONIAS, and abbreviated in one memorable passage into CONIAH, by leaving out the *Je* or *Jah*, which stands for Jehovah, Je. xxii. 28-30. It was as much as to say that Jehovah now withdrew all connection with him, and ceased to own his appointment as king. Accordingly, he not only ceased himself to be king, but with him the royal house in that line came to an end. (*See* JEHOIACHIN.)

JEDID'IAH [*darling of Jehovah*], the name given by Nathan to Solomon. He called him so, it is said, "because of the Lord," 2 Sa. xii. 25; namely, because of the Lord looking with favour upon this child, and making him the object of special love, as is stated in the verse immediately preceding. Solomon, however, which was the name imposed by David, and imposed with special reference to the promise of peace, which had been given in the great promise by Nathan to David's son on the throne, 1 Ch. xxii. 9, continued to be the abiding appellation—the royal or covenant-name of the son. For David evidently looked upon this son by Bathsheba—the next born after that first child which was the fruit of sin, and which God in just displeasure took away—as the seal of God's restored mercy to him, the peculiar pledge of God's covenant-love; hence the one of all his sons that seemed best fitted by the circumstances of his birth, should he prove worthy of the honour, to take his place in the fulfilment of covenant-engagements. And this view of the royal parent was confirmed by the message brought from the Lord by Nathan, that the Lord loved this child, so certainly did so, that the love of which he was the object might fitly be impressed upon his name. The name was in fact a combination of David's and Jehovah's: *Yedid* (beloved), *Jah* (Jehovah)—symbolizing the union that now existed between the earthly and the heavenly king. (*See* SOLOMON.)

JEDU'THUN [*who gives praises*], also occasionally JEDITHUN, 1 Ch. xvi. 38; Ps. xxxix. title; lxxvii. title; Ne. xi. 17—a Levite, and one of those who were appointed by David to preside over the companies of sacred singers. In this honourable capacity he was associated with Asaph and Heman, 1 Ch. xvi. 37-41; xxv. 6; 2 Ch. v. 12. In one place he is even designated "the king's seer," 2 Ch. xxxv. 15; implying that prophetical gifts to some extent belonged to him, though no record exists of any inspired productions having come from his hand. Indeed, it is probable, from his being designated the *king's* seer, that the supernatural insight which he possessed, discovered itself rather in the divine wisdom with which, on particular occasions, he was enabled to counsel David, than in his being employed to give forth revelations of a more general kind. In grateful commemoration of the good obtained through him, and of the place he held among the servants of God, David inscribed his name in three of the titles to his psalms: Ps. xxxix., "to the chief musician Jeduthun;" and Ps. lxii. lxxvii., "to the chief musician, upon (or over) Jeduthun"—such is the exact rendering. The expression is somewhat peculiar; but it probably takes Jeduthun for the name of his choir—*q.d.* to the chief musician, and in particular under him to the choir of Jeduthun. The sons of Jeduthun were employed in the sacred music of the temple-service as players on the harp, and also as porters or gate-keepers, 1 Ch. xvi. 38, 42; xxvi. 11. Mention is made of them so late as the time of Hezekiah, in the time also of Josiah, and even of Nehemiah in the same connection, 2 Ch. xxix. 13, 14; 1 Ch. ix. 16; Ne. xi. 17.

JE'GAR-SAHADU'THA [*heap of testimony*, or *witness*], the Aramaic name given by Laban to the heap of stones which was raised after his reconciliation with Jacob, and on which the two families sat down and ate together, Ge. xxxi. 46, 47. Jacob's name for it was *Galeed*, "heap-witness," or, as we would rather put it, "witness-heap." This name may be regarded as a kind of play on Gilead, the name of the rocky and mountainous region where the memorable interview took place. (*See* GILEAD.)

JEHOA'HAZ [Heb. *Yeho-âhâz* (יְהוֹאָחָז), *Jehovah-sustained*]. 1. The son and successor of Jehu, king of Israel, who reigned seventeen years—from B.C. 856 to 840, 2 Ki. xiii. 1-9. The history of his reign was the reverse of prosperous; so that his name seemed more like an irony than an expression of the truth. Forsaking the pure worship and service of Jehovah for the ways of idolatry and sin, he was made to reap the consequences of his folly in utter prostration and threatened ruin. Hazael the king of Syria, and his son Benhadad, ravaged the kingdom of Israel, and made its armies "like the dust by thrashing." Yet the name of Jehoahaz did not prove altogether fallacious; for the Lord did so far interpose for his help as to prevent total destruction, and his people went out from under the hand of the Syrians. The disasters of his reign were in good measure retrieved by his son Joash.

2. JEHOAHAZ. A son of Josiah, king of Judah, and also his immediate successor on the throne. It is said the people, on the death of his father, took him and anointed him, and made him king, 2 Ki. xxiii. 30; although it is clear he was not the eldest son. For, after a brief reign of three months, he was deposed by Pharaoh-Necho, and another brother—Eliakim, called afterwards Jehoiakim—placed on the throne, who appears to have been two years older than Jehoahaz, ch. xxiii. 36. In the genealogical table of 1 Ch. iii. 15, Jehoahaz is even put fourth and last of the sons of Josiah; in which, however, there must be some mistake, if by fourth is meant fourth in the order of birth; for in 2 Ch. xxxvi. 11, the age assigned to Zedekiah, the brother who ranks third in 1 Ch. iii. 15, makes him several years younger than Jehoahaz. Some error must have crept into one of the passages, or in the genealogy the strict order of time is departed from in the case of the two last sons. In that passage, also, instead of Jehoahaz, Shallum is the name given to this son of Josiah—a name that occurs again in Je. xxiii. 11, and was probably given to him in consequence of the judgment which so early befell him on account of his evil ways, and probably not without respect to his unbrotherly conduct in grasping at the throne. The word means *retribution;* and fitly expressed the fate of one who, after a brief reign of three months, was carried away in chains to Egypt, and ultimately died there.

3. JEHOAHAZ. A name applied on one occasion to the youngest son of Jehoram, king of Judah, 2 Ch. xxi. 17. But his proper name was Ahaziah, and under this name he is known as king. It is in fact the same name, only with the two compound terms transposed. (*See* AHAZIAH.)

JEHO'ASH [*Jehovah-gifted*], usually contracted into JOASH (which see).

JEHOHA'NAN [*Jehovah's gift* or *favour*], often contracted into JOHANAN, and in New Testament times taking the form of JOANNES, or simply JOHN. Various persons bore the name in Old Testament times, but nothing scarcely is recorded of them except their names and their genealogies. 1. A Levite, in the Korhite line, and a door-keeper in the house of God, 1 Ch. xxvi. 3. 2. A military officer in the days of Jehoshaphat, having charge of a very large force, 2 Ch. xvii. 15. 3. The father of another officer, Ishmael, who took part with Jehoiada in his restoration of the royal house, 2 Ch. xxiii. 1. 4. Also of some others in later times, Ezr. x. 28; Ne. xii. 13, 42. (*See* JOHANAN).

JEHOIA'CHIN [Heb. *Yeho-yâkin* (יְהוֹיָכִין), *set or appointed by Jehovah*], appearing also as JECONIAH and CONIAH—in Eze. i. 2 contracted into JOJACHIN; the Greek uses three different forms in different places—Ἰωαχίμ, Ἰεχονίας, Ἰωακείμ. He was the son of Jehoiakim, king of Judah, and reigned only for three months and ten days in Jerusalem; for Nebuchadnezzar came against Judah, to revenge the alliance that had been entered into by his father with Egypt; and Jehoiachin, his mother Elnathan, and many besides, were carried away to Babylon, having fallen an easy prey into the hands of the Chaldean conqueror, 2 Ki. xxiv. 8-16. In the passage just referred to, Jehoiachin is said to have been eighteen years old when he became king; but in 2 Ch. xxxvi. 9 his age is given as only eight, which is the more probable number, as his father died when only thirty-six years old. Along with him, the flower of the people, the sacred vessels of the temple, and all the available treasure of the kingdom, were taken to Babylon; a poor and feeble remnant was all that remained behind. Jehoiachin himself was kept not only in exile but in actual imprisonment nearly all the rest of his life. After thirty-six years, it is said, Evil-Merodach, the successor of Nebuchadnezzar, lifted up his head, or restored him to liberty, and even elevated him above the other subject kings who were about the Chaldean court. An allowance was also given him to support his position with an air of respectability, which continued to the end of his life; but how long that might be is uncertain. Jehoiachin appears to have been the last survivor in Solomon's line; he is at least the last who has a place in the genealogies; they pass over, after him, to the line of Nathan. (*See* GENEALOGY). That such was to be the result, the prophet Jeremiah gave distinct intimation, when he changed Jeconiah—the name by which he called Jehoiachin—into Coniah, withdrawing the *Je*, or abbreviated form of Jehovah, from it, and declaring, in the most solemn manner, that "this man was to be written childless, and that none of his seed should ever sit on the throne of David," Je. xxii. 30. Whether this means that he was actually without offspring, it at all events announces that the royal line was no longer to be reckoned from him, or the branch of the house of David he represented. So far as *it* was concerned, the patience of God was exhausted, and no further account was to be taken of it. In 1 Ch. iii. 16 there are sons reckoned to Jehoiachin—first, Zedekiah, by whom is doubtless meant the uncle who succeeded him; also Assir, who may actually have been his son; but the genealogy passes over him to Salathiel, who was of Nathan's line.

JEHOIA'DA [Heb. *Yeho-yâda* (יְהוֹיָדָע), *known of Jehovah*], sometimes contracted into JOIADA. 1. Father of Benaiah, one of David's well-known chief captains, 1 Ch. xxvii. 5. This Jehoiada is also called a chief priest while his son was reckoned among the captains, and undoubtedly followed the vocation of a warrior, 2 Sa. viii. 18, though by his birth he should rather have given himself to sacred ministrations. His father, it would appear from another passage, 1 Ch. xii. 27, was among those who came to David at Hebron, while still matters were in suspense between him and the house of Saul; and on that occasion Jehoiada was at the head of 3700 Aaronites, whence, it may be inferred, he was of priestly rank. The irregularity in the case of his son Benaiah

giving himself to military pursuits, would probably be regarded as finding its justification in the peculiarities of the time, and the necessity of applying all available talents and resources to the support of the cause of David.

A Jehoiada, son of Benaiah, appears in 1 Ch. xxvii. 34, as one of David's chief counsellors, next to Ahithophel. The probability is that there is a corruption in the text, and that it should be Benaiah the son of Jehoiada, as in the preceding notice. If this is not the case, then we must understand Jehoiada to be designated as the son of another Benaiah.

2. JEHOIADA. A person who filled the office of high-priest in the time of Athaliah, and acted the chief part in planning the overthrow of her usurpation, 2 Ch. xxiii. The precise period when he entered on his high-priesthood is not stated, nor whether it was before Ahaziah's ascension to the throne, or after it. At the time of Ahaziah's death he appears to have been in the office, and for the important part in regal affairs which he soon after played, he had the advantage, not only of his high official position, but of near affinity to the royal family. His wife Jehosheba, or Jehoshabeath (as it is also written), was daughter of the late king Jehoram, sister of Ahaziah—whose seed, with one exception, was slain by the ambitious and cruel Athaliah. That one exception was the child Joash, who was secretly conveyed away by his aunt Jehosheba, and for six years preserved in a chamber connected with the temple buildings. At the close of that period, and when the people had already become disgusted with the course pursued by Athaliah, Jehoiada concerted measures with the leading men in the kingdom for the destruction of the murderess, and the proclamation of the youthful Joash as the lawful king. The measures were well laid, and perfectly successful, issuing in the sudden death of Athaliah, and the installation of Joash as king at the tender age of seven years. Under the advice and direction of Jehoiada, both king and people entered into a solemn covenant to be faithful to the Lord, and to put away from them the instruments and ministers of idolatry. Accordingly the house of Baal was broken down, and Nathan the high-priest slain at the altar; while the service of Jehovah was again re-established in conformity with the law of Moses. Matters went on well both with king and people, so long as this upright and faithful high-priest lived; and his life was prolonged to a very advanced age. This is given in 2 Ch. xxiv. 15 as 130 years; but it is almost certain there must be some corruption in the text, as in that case Jehoiada must have been fully 90 when he took the leading part in organizing the conspiracy against Athaliah, which can scarcely be regarded as probable. There would also have been 50 years of disparity between his age and that of his wife. For the great services he had rendered to his country, and especially to the royal house, possibly also in part from his affinity to that house by marriage, the singular honour was granted to him of being buried among the kings of Judah, 2 Ch. xxiv. 16.

3. JEHOIADA. A priest in the days of Jeremiah, Je. xxix. 26. By comparing the passage referred to in the writings of Jeremiah with 2 Ki. xxv. 18, we are led to infer that this Jehoiada was succeeded in his office by Zephaniah, and that as Zephaniah is expressly called "the second priest," his predecessor must have been the same—viz. the priest who stood nearest to the high-priest, and who would naturally, on certain occasions, have to act as a kind of vice-highpriest.

JEHOIA'KIM [Heb. יְהוֹיָקִים (*Jeho-yákim*), *whom Jehovah established*], contracted into JOIAKIM, and in Gr. Ἰωακίμ or -είμ. A king of Judah—the eighteenth of David's line, including himself, and not counting Jehoahaz—and the last but two before the captivity. His reign extended from B.C. 609 to 598. His original name was ELIAKIM, differing from the other only in the more general name of God—*El* being placed at the commencement, instead of the more peculiar *Jehovah*. The change was made by Pharaoh-Necho, probably for no other reason than as a memorial of Jehoiakim's dependence on the throne of Egypt. His father Josiah had lost his life in an unwise attempt to arrest the progress of Pharaoh's march toward the Euphrates, where the resources of Egypt and Babylon were preparing to come into deadly conflict. The little kingdom of Judah was immediately laid under tribute to Egypt; a heavy fine imposed on it; Jehoahaz, the eldest son of Josiah, deposed, almost as soon as crowned, and Eliakim, with his new name, set upon the throne—bound, of course, in fealty to the king of Egypt. But this bond was soon broken by a change of fortune in the affairs of the Egyptian monarch, who sustained a sad reverse in the disastrous battle at Carchemish, which left Nebuchadnezzar virtual master of the world. Jehoiakim had been little more than three years on the throne (in the fourth year of his reign, says Jeremiah, ch. xlvi. 2; but Daniel, ch. i. 1, by a different computation, probably by referring to an earlier part of the transactions, makes it a year less), when Nebuchadnezzar came to Jerusalem, and after a short siege got possession of it. The king and the chiefs of the nation now formally transferred their allegiance from the king of Egypt to the king of Babylon; and Nebuchadnezzar carried with him to Babylon some of the seed royal and members of the best families as hostages for the fulfilment of the stipulations. Among these were Daniel and the three noble youths whose faith and piety shone out so brightly amid the corruptions of the Chaldean court. At Jerusalem, however, idolatry and wickedness continued to bear sway. The humiliations which had befallen the kingdom, and which should have been regarded as solemn chastisements from Heaven for the sinful courses pursued, seemed to have no other effect than to harden the heart in evil, and make it cling the more fondly to its deceitful confidences. Jehoiakim, though the son of a godly father, did that which was evil in the sight of the Lord, and was so generally followed in the same course, that, as is plainly intimated by the sacred historian, there was a fresh bursting forth in his reign of the abominable idolatries and God-dishonouring practices which, in the days of Manasseh, had cried so loudly to Heaven for vengeance, 2 Ki. xxiv. 2-4. The guilt was now the more aggravated, and argued a more resolute spirit of alienation from God, that not only were God's judgments calling aloud for repentance, but the earnest remonstrances and solemn warnings of the prophets—especially of Jeremiah and Ezekiel—were continually pressing upon king and people the inevitable retribution which they were provoking, and the necessity of a thorough reformation, if they would avoid the impending doom. But so far from profiting by these wholesome admonitions, the king only waxed

violent against the servants of God; Jeremiah was opposed and persecuted, and his writings contemptuously burned in the fire, Je. xxxvi.; Urijah, another faithful prophet, was even pursued into Egypt, slain with the sword, and his very corpse treated with barbarity, Je. xxvi. 21-23. Such extreme wickedness and perversity could not but draw down fresh visitations of divine judgment; and, accordingly, the land was harassed on every side; bands of Chaldeans, Syrians, Moabites, and Ammonites invaded it, 2 Ki. xxiv. 7, not improbably instigated to this by the Chaldean monarch; for, after three years' servitude to Babylon, Jehoiakim, in a spirit of senseless infatuation, proved false to his engagements, and courted anew the alliance of Egypt. The ungodliness and folly of this course were very strikingly portrayed by Ezekiel in ch. xvii. of his prophecies, and the terrible retaliation announced which it was sure to provoke. It was also strongly denounced by Jeremiah, ch. ii. 18, 36; xxvii. 1-11; and though Nebuchadnezzar was so much occupied with other and mightier adversaries, that he could not for a time come personally to Jerusalem to chastise the king's unfaithfulness, yet it was only what might be expected that he would give his tributaries and allies in the neighbourhood a license to harass Judah. At length Jehoiakim himself fell a victim to his own sinful and crooked policy; but by what agents, or in what precise manner, is not recorded. That his death was a violent one there can be no doubt, from the strong language used regarding it by Jeremiah, which speaks even of indignities of the most shameful kind being poured upon his lifeless body, Je. xxii. 18, 19; xxxvi. 30, 31. Thus perished one of the most worthless princes that ever sat on the throne of David; and within two or three months after his death, the king of Babylon came, and, amid other severe reprisals, carried off his son Jehoiachin and all the most influential people to Babylon.

JEHOIA'RIB [*whom Jehovah will defend*], contracted into JOIARIB, a priest in the time of David, and the first head of the twenty-four priestly courses into which the entire priesthood was then divided, for alternate service, 1 Ch. ix. 10; xxiv. 7. That some of his descendants returned from the Babylonish captivity seems to be implied in Ne. xi. 10, where a son or descendant of his is mentioned; also in Ne. xii. 6, where nearly all the old heads of the priestly courses are enumerated as having still representatives among the returned captives. The Talmudists had a different mode of explaining things, namely, that the old divisions merely were retained, with their respective names, and that such as remained of the priests, though really belonging only to four of the ancient orders, were distributed anew into those divisions. Prideaux (Connec. i. Arm. 536) adopts this view; and it is so far countenanced by the fact, that the lists in Ezr. ii. 36–39, give only four heads; and so also does Nehemiah, in ch. vii. 39–42. The point is of no practical moment, and we want the materials necessary for arriving at an independent judgment.

JEHO'NADAB (so it is in 2 Ki. x. 15, 23, but contracted JONADAB in Je xxxv. 6, &c.), [*Jehovah offers freely*, or he whom *Jehovah makes freely willing*]. The identity of the person named in these two books has been doubted by Scaliger, but he appears to have had few followers. Jehonadab is in both cases called the son of Rechab, of whom we know only from an obscure verse in the genealogies, 1 Ch. ii. 55, "And the families of the scribes which dwelt at Jabez: the Tirathites, the Shimeathites, [and] Suchathites. These [are] the Kenites that came of Hemath, the father of the house of Rechab." Of the time and the place to which this notice refers we are entirely ignorant, except in so far as any inference may be drawn from its standing in connection with the genealogies of the children of Judah, especially with those of the house of David. So far interpreters are generally agreed, that Rechab belonged to those Kenites who were connected with Israel through the marriage of Moses, who at the exodus cast in their lot with Israel, and who appear to have retained, to some extent at least, the roving tent-life of their forefathers; (compare Ju. i. 16; iv. 11). It has been very frequently supposed that the house of Rechab dwelt at this unknown town of Jabez, which again is connected by some with the person named 1 Ch. iv. 9, 10; but even this much is not necessarily implied in the sentence above quoted.

The two passages mentioned at the beginning of the article are the only ones from which scriptural information can be derived as to Jehonadab the son of Rechab. According to the one passage Jehu, in the midst of his efforts to overthrow the dynasty of Ahab, extirpating his family and expelling the worship of Baal which they had established in Israel, "lighted on Jehonadab the son of Rechab, [coming] to meet him; and he saluted him, and said to him, Is thine heart right, as my heart [is] with thy heart? And Jehonadab answered, It is. If it be, give [me] thine hand. And he gave [him] his hand; and he took him up to him into the chariot. And he said, Come with me, and see my zeal for the Lord. So they made him ride in his chariot." And the two appear to have had such an amount of resemblance in their zeal, that Jehonadab took part with Jehu in the details of his stratagem for destroying the assembled worshippers of Baal, without any recorded expression of disapprobation. Again, Jeremiah tells us how he received a command from the Lord to bring the Rechabites into one of the chambers connected with the house of the Lord, and there to give them wine to drink. This they refused, "We will drink no wine: for Jonadab the son of Rechab, our father, commanded us, saying, Ye shall drink no wine, [neither] ye nor your sons for ever: neither shall ye build house, nor sow seed, nor plant vineyard, nor have [any]: but all your days ye shall dwell in tents: that ye may live many days in the land where ye [be] strangers." And this charge had been kept by all of them, of both sexes, as they expressly state, though an unwilling obedience might perhaps have pled for its restriction to the males; only when Nebuchadnezzar's army overran the country, they had taken temporary refuge within the walls of Jerusalem. This obedience to the command of their father is then set before the people by the prophet, and contrasted with their disobedience to divine commands: and while the disobedient children of Israel are assured of impending judgment and ruin, the narrative closes with a corresponding promise to the obedient house of Rechab, "Therefore thus saith the Lord of hosts, the God of Israel, Jonadab the son of Rechab shall not want a man to stand before me for ever." On account of this promise there has often been search made for these Rechabites, who are supposed to be a community still subsisting, and maintaining the pure worship of the living God, and the abstaining ordinance of their ancestor. Nay, there have been reports that they have

been actually discovered, from the days of the old Jewish traveller Benjamin of Tudela, down to our own day—witness the account given by the late Dr. Joseph Wolff: though sober readers of these reports have generally concurred in pronouncing them to be either mistakes or something worse. In fact it cannot be justly inferred that the Rechabites as a distinct fraternity lasted longer than the Jewish commonwealth itself: when the Jewish nation, to whom they stood in a special relation, ceased to exist as the professing people of God, the faithful Rechabites, like the godly Israelites, would most probably embrace the gospel of Christ, and thenceforth becoming incorporated with existing Christian communities, they might fairly enough consider that the peculiar institution of Jehonadab had served its purpose, and ought to terminate. Certainly we have no historical trace of them that is worthy of any attention; although the Septuagint and the Vulgate have affixed to Psalm lxxi. (their lxx.) the title, "A Psalm of David, of the sons of Jonadab and of those first carried captive."

It is by no means quite clear how far this institution rested on religious grounds, and how far on grounds of civil expediency. Witsius is disposed to make it to a large extent, if not entirely, the latter; because the Kenites were settled among the Israelites and shared all their good fortune, while yet it might seem prudent to Jonadab to restrain his people from everything which could by possibility provoke jealousy in the minds of the Israelites properly so called. Certainly their Kenite parentage might lead them the more readily to consent to retain or to resume some such mode of life as he enjoined upon them: and it has been common to compare it with the account of the Saracens by Ammianus Marcellinus (xiv. 4), and still more with the account of the Nabatheans by Diodorus Siculus (xix. 94), "It is a law with them neither to sow corn, nor to plant any fruit-bearing plants, nor to use wine, nor to provide a house." Ewald again leans strongly to the religious aspect of the rule. He looks upon the Rechabites as a religious sect, whose origin is to be traced indirectly to the labours of Elijah and Elisha. While these great prophets had disciples who followed in their steps, the Rechabites were no less strict in their adherence to the true religion as they understood it: but despairing of its maintenance among the degenerate people at large, they retired into desert life, as that generation of Israelites among whom Moses laboured were purified and trained in the wilderness; and they copied the Nazarite institution to a considerable extent; and they also avoided mixing in the ordinary affairs of life, unless some emergency drew them forth, like that revolution of which Jehu was the leader, when his "zeal for the Lord" met with a hearty response from Jehonadab. Neumann, in his commentary on Jeremiah, gives prominence also to the religious element in their character; and thinks that they did not take their name from Jehonadab, but from Rechab, so that, symbolically, they were called Rechabites, "riders," or "pilgrims," to indicate that they were strangers and sojourners, not seeking rest in Canaan and the Jewish institutions; though by a mistaken reading of providence they did seek rest in Jerusalem at the time of which Jeremiah speaks, and were disappointed. There is, however, no trace in Jewish history of anything of importance, additional to what Scripture relates; unless any one find it in the statement of Josephus that Jonadab was a good and just man, and that he had of old been a friend of Jehu.

[The reader may consult the dissertation of Witsius, in his *Miscellanea Sacra*, vol. ii. p. 223–237; and Ewald, *Geschichte*, vol. ii. p. 504, 505.] [G. C. M. D.]

JEHO'RAM, or contracted **JO'RAM** [*Jehovah is high*, or *he whom Jehovah exalts*]. The name of two kings.

1. JEHORAM, the son of Ahab and Jezebel, succeeded to the throne of the ten tribes after the short reign of his brother Ahaziah. He reigned twelve years, from about B.C. 896 to 884. Like all the rest of their kings, he is declared to have wrought evil in the sight of the Lord, not departing from the sins of Jeroboam the son of Nebat: yet his evil doing was "not like his father and like his mother, for he put away the image of Baal that his father had made," 2 Ki. iii. 2, 3. It fell to him to punish the Moabites, who had revolted after the death of his father: but the expedition which he undertook, with the assistance of Jehoshaphat king of Judah and of the king of Moab, was saved from utter destruction only by miraculous intervention through the instrumentality of Elisha, and was not successful to the extent of reducing the Moabites to subjection again, 2 Ki. iii. 4-27. Some other instances of connection between the king and the prophet appear in 2 Ki. iv. 13; v. 5–8; viii. 4–6, but more especially in ch. vi. vii. From these we learn that Joram was very much engaged in war with the Syrians; that repeatedly he was laid under deep obligations by the miraculous agency of Elisha; and yet that he was at one time on the point of committing a judicial murder, as if the prophet deserved to die because he had not by a miracle restrained the ravages of famine. At last the vengeance which had been denounced against the house of Ahab by Elijah, on occasion of the murder of Naboth, though it had been delayed on account of some manifestations of penitence, was executed upon Joram by Jehu, whom Elisha had sent one of his disciples to anoint as king for this very purpose, 2 Ki. ix.; compare the original command to Elijah, 1 Ki. xix. 16, 17; xxi. 17-29. Joram was engaged in war with the Syrians at Ramoth-gilead, in struggling for the recovery of which his father had received a mortal wound. Joram being himself now wounded, had returned to Jezreel to be healed, apparently leaving Jehu at the head of the army. And when Jehu was anointed king, he laid his plans and executed them with such celerity, that Joram had no intelligence of them till Jehu met him close by Jezreel, and drawing a bow shot him dead in his chariot. The body was thrown out upon the ground; and the hand of God was manifest in this, that the plot of ground was no other than the possession of Naboth, in which it had been predicted that the bloody requital should take place.

2. JEHORAM, the son of Jehoshaphat, succeeded him in the throne of Judah for eight years. There are some very considerable difficulties as to the chronology, however, on which we do not enter here, see 2 Ki. i. 17; iii. 1; viii. 16. His character presented a melancholy contrast to that of his father, as "he walked in the way of the kings of Israel, as did the house of Ahab; for the daughter of Ahab was his wife: and he did evil in the sight of the Lord." He appears early to have given proofs of his character by murdering the whole of his brothers, to whom his father had assigned subordinate posts in the government, and also some of the other "princes of Israel." Such atrocities could scarcely

fail to excite disaffection. Accordingly, we read that Edom revolted from the kingdom of Judah during his reign; and though he executed terrible vengeance upon the Edomites, he was unable to reduce them to obedience. At the same time also there were internal troubles, for Libnah revolted "from under his hand, because he had forsaken the Lord God of his fathers." On account of his daring and persistent wickedness, after the pattern of Ahab's family, there came to him a letter with terrible threatenings from the prophet Elijah. And accordingly the Lord stirred up the Philistines and "the Arabians that were near the Ethiopians," who carried on war successfully against him, and spoiled his kingdom, and his very palace of its treasures, and led captive his wives and all his sons except the youngest. In addition to all this, he was smitten with an incurable disease, and at the end of two years "his bowels fell out by reason of his sickness; so he died of sore diseases." And his people marked their strong disapprobation by withholding all royal honours from his burial, 2 Ki. viii. 16-24; 2 Ch. xxi. [G. C. M. D.]

JEHOSHAB'EATH. *See* JEHOSHEBA.

JEHO'SHAPHAT [*Jehovah is judge*, or perhaps rather, *he whom Jehovah judges*], is the name of one of the best and most distinguished of the kings of Judah. He reigned twenty-five years, from about B.C. 914 to 889. His history is given briefly in 1 Ki. xxii. 41–50; but very much more fully in 2 Ch. xvii.–xx. He succeeded his pious father Asa, in whose footsteps he walked, without turning aside. And the high testimony is borne to his personal character, and to the blessing which attended on it, that, "The Lord was with Jehoshaphat; because he walked in the first ways of his father David, and sought not unto Baalim; but sought to the Lord God of his father; and walked in his commandments, and not after the doings of Israel. Therefore the Lord stablished the kingdom in his hand; and all Judah brought to Jehoshaphat presents, and he had riches and honour in abundance. And his heart was lifted up in the ways of the Lord: moreover, he took away the high places and groves out of Judah," 2 Ch. xvii. 3-6. The closing statement is confirmed at ch. xix. 3; yet it is to be taken in connection with ch. xx. 32, 33, that "he walked in the way of Asa his father, and departed not from it; doing that which was right in the sight of the Lord: howbeit, the high places were not taken away, for as yet the people had not prepared their hearts unto the God of their fathers"—confirmed by 1 Ki. xxii. 43. We must understand from the combination of these two accounts, that Jehoshaphat succeeded in removing heathenish worship; but that his people were not in a spiritual state so favourable as to enable him to put down those high places in which Jehovah alone was worshipped. Yet his own faith and obedience were sincere and scriptural, and it was his aim in every way to give full effect to the law of God. Accordingly, he appointed a commission, consisting of five princes, nine Levites, and two priests, to go round among the cities of Judah; carrying the book of the law along with them, and giving instruction to the people. And he himself took a share in the work of going among the people, and bringing them back to Jehovah, the God of their fathers. And no doubt, in pursuance of the same object, he set up judges throughout the land in all the fenced cities, to judge for the Lord; whilst in Jerusalem itself he erected a supreme court for references and appeals, composed of Levites and priests, and chief of the fathers of Israel, with the chief priest over them "in all matters of the Lord," and "the ruler of the house of Judah for all the king's matters;" while the Levites acted as "officers" (*shōterim*), 2 Ch. xvii. 7-9; xix. 4-11.

The prosperity at home which accompanied this faithfulness to God is mentioned in a passage already quoted. Besides, he built castles and store-cities throughout his dominions; and he aimed at the restoration of the old trade from the ports of the Red Sea, though unsuccessfully, owing to a cause immediately to be mentioned. He had also his kingdom divided into five sections for military purposes, with men enrolled capable of bearing arms to the number of 780,000 in Judah, and 380,000 in Benjamin. And the fear of the Lord was on all lands round about; so that, instead of venturing to make war with him, the Philistines and Arabians brought him presents and tribute silver, 2 Ch. xvii. 10-19. The land of Edom was in a subject state, "There was then no king in Edom; a deputy was king," 1 Ki. xxii. 47; as the king of Edom seems to be a vassal in the account of the war carried on by Jehoshaphat and Jehoram, king of Israel, against Moab, 2 Ki. iii. On one occasion, however, Jehoshaphat was in very terrible danger on account of a confederacy, embracing the Moabites, Ammonites, Edomites, and others; which was formidable, not only on account of the nations engaged in it, but also on account of the secrecy of their preparations and the suddenness of their attack. But the piety of the king, and the encouragement of a prophet from among the Levites, and the special interposition of God—by which the enemy were involved in jealousies, and became self-destroyed—saved Jehoshaphat from this danger, and increased his confidence in God and his credit among men, 2 Ch. xx. 1-30. This account was once rejected by the more daring rationalists, but their scepticism has not many followers now; the substantial truth of the narrative being admitted, not only by Ewald, but also by critics like Thenius and Hitzig. To this glorious manifestation of Jehovah there is also confirmation borne by Ps. lxxxiii. xlvii. and xlviii.; perhaps also xlvi.

The one great error of Jehoshaphat's administration was the connection which he formed with the idolatrous kingdom of the ten tribes. It was natural and right, perhaps, to be at peace with them, instead of maintaining constant war, or irritation which was ever leading to war. But he went far beyond this; and to cement the union, he formed a disastrous matrimonial alliance between his son and successor Jehoram, and Athaliah the daughter of Ahab. This led him first to go to war with the Syrians at Ramoth-gilead, when he narrowly escaped with his life; the risk having been all the greater on account of a cowardly proposal by king Ahab, to which he magnanimously but rashly acceded, 1 Ki. xxii. 1-36; 2 Ch. xviii. It led him, secondly, at the time that he planned a renewal of Solomon's trade by sea between Ezion-geber and Ophir, to entangle himself with Ahab's son, king Ahaziah; on account of which unhallowed association his scheme proved an entire failure, and was abandoned, 1 Ki. xxii. 48, 49; 2 Ch. xx. 35-37. And it led him a third time into difficulty, as he went with Ahab's other son, king Jehoram, on an expedition against the Moabites, through the wilderness of Edom, where they would have perished but for miraculous intervention, 2 Ki. iii. On each of these occasions we

find a prophet interfering, to warn, or rebuke, or support, as might be necessary; and in the mutual bearing of these prophets and the king, we may trace one of the surest evidences of the high attainments which Jehoshaphat had made in the divine life.

The forty-one years of the reign of Asa, and the immediately succeeding twenty-five of Jehoshaphat, may be regarded as the climax of the prosperity of the kingdom of Judah; and this prosperous period stands out the more remarkably because of the contrast with the succeeding reigns, which are characterized by idolatry, moral degradation, and political disaster. Yet Jehoshaphat could scarcely fail to see that he himself had been sowing the seed of coming evil, when he contracted that marriage of his son to the daughter of Ahab. It is impossible to say what his misgivings may have been; but their existence in some shape may perhaps be inferred from what is stated of peculiar precautions which he took in regulating the kingdom, the succession to the throne, and the position of the royal family generally. Of his six younger sons it is written, "Their father gave them great gifts of silver and of gold, and of precious things, with fenced cities in Judah; but the kingdom gave he to Jehoram, because he was the first-born," 2 Ch. xxi. 3. And again, "In the fifth year of Joram the son of Ahab, king of Israel, *Jehoshaphat being then king of Judah*, Jehoram the son of Jehoshaphat king of Judah began to reign," 2 Ki. viii. 16; a statement which suggests, perhaps, that Jehoshaphat found reason to proclaim his successor before his own death took place, as David had to do in reference to Solomon. [G. C. M. D.]

JEHO'SHAPHAT, VALLEY OF. This name occurs only in the prophet Joel, ch. iii. 2, 12; and the question has been raised as to whether it is a proper name at all, indicative of a known locality, and not simply the "valley of Jehovah's judgment"—the place where Jehovah will execute his judgment. It is called twice over in verse 14 *Emek Harotz*, the "valley of decision," or judgment, or excision, according to Newcome. How far there is a reference to Megiddo, the great slaughter plain of Palestine, or to Berakah, in the Tekoa desert, where Jehoshaphat assembled his troops after the overthrow of Ammon, Moab, and Edom, and "blessed the Lord," we do not undertake to say.

There is nothing in Scripture to fix the locality; but Jewish tradition has assigned it to the neighbourhood of Jerusalem. There is one peculiarity of expression in connection with it which suggests this. In the second verse of the chapter above named, the nations are said to be "*brought down* into the valley of Jehoshaphat;" while in the twelfth verse they are said to "*come up* to the valley of Jehoshaphat"—which variation or contradiction of expression is only reconcilable on the supposition that the valley was near the capital, "whither the tribes *go up*." The words of the sixteenth verse also describe a scene which implies that Jerusalem, from which "the Lord utters his voice," and the valley where the judgment occurs, were near each other.

Whether tradition rested on these in fixing the locality, or whether the name and place were known before the days of Joel, we have no means of ascertaining. But from the beginning of the fourth century Jew and Gentile have concurred unanimously in identifying the lower part of the bed of the Kedron with the prophet's valley.[1] Kimchi conjectures that Jehoshaphat built or did something here, from which it took its name.

The French pilgrim (A.D. 333) mentions it as between the eastern wall and the Mount of Olives; as in some places covered with vines in his day, which is not the case now; as having in one part the rock at which Judas' betrayal of his Master took place, and at another the palm-tree from which the boughs were plucked to strew the Lord's pathway in the day of his triumphal entry into the city. Eusebius and Jerome simply speak of it as lying between Jerusalem and the Mount of Olives. Subsequent writers of the early and middle ages speak of it in connection with Gehenna or Hinnom, as if the one were the place of judgment, and the other of punishment, and therefore properly adjoining each other; another of the many proofs that the common location of Hinnom (to the south) is a modern idea, founded neither on Scripture nor tradition. The present valley of Jehoshaphat occupies the Kedron hollow and the adjoining acclivities on both sides. Its limits have not been defined, but it is supposed to begin a little above the Fountain of the Virgin (Um-ed-Deraj), and to extend to the bend of the Kedron, under Scopus. The acclivity to the eastern wall of Jerusalem is—at least towards the top—a Turkish burying-ground; and the white tombs, with the Koran (in stone) at the one end and a turban at the other, look picturesque, as they dot for several hundred yards the upper part of the slope. The other acclivity, ascending the steep between Olivet and the Mount of Corruption, is crowded all over with flat Jewish tombs, each with its Hebrew inscription, and speckled here

[360.] Valley of Jehoshaphat—Tombs of Absalom, Jehoshaphat, and Zechariah (tradition), and Jewish Burying-ground.—From a photograph.

[1] "Haec longitudine duorum milliarium ab austro in aquilonem protenditur; latitudine angustâ."—*Cotovici Itinerarium*, p. 260.

and there with bushy olive trees. Thus Moslems and Jews occupy the valley of Jehoshaphat between them, with their dead looking across the Kedron into each others' faces; and laid there in the common belief that it was no ordinary privilege to die in Jerusalem, and be buried in such a spot.

This traditional spot of burial and judgment, though called an *emek* or valley, is more properly a ravine; the declivities on either side coming to a pretty narrow angle at the bottom, without any level ground between; a presumption that this is not Joel's *emek*, though tradition has so unvaryingly affirmed it. The tomb of Jehoshaphat is pointed out on the precipitous face of the eastern steep, along with those of Absalom, Zechariah, and James. But for these identifications there is no evidence; and as tradition has varied in regard to the names of these rocky sepulchres, we are uncertain whether even one of them is authentic. That of Absalom seems the most ancient in its designation, and perhaps the most likely to be correct. Why one of these is called the tomb of Jehoshaphat, or when the name was given, we know not. The tradition regarding it is Jewish; and yet the Jews are sufficiently acquainted with their Scriptures to know that this king was not buried there, but with his fathers in the city of David, 2 Ch. xxi. 1. It is just possible that it may be the tomb of some old rabbi of the same name; and this conjecture derives some presumption from the fact that the Jews bury in it their tattered worn-out rolls. Why they should bring their old books to the tomb of king Jehoshaphat is not very evident; but why they should deposit them in the tomb of one of their venerable scribes or rabbis is plain enough. The Jews so venerate every scrap on which the word of God is written that they will not burn or destroy it; they bury it as they would the dead body of a father. Passing down the valley one day, some few years ago, and examining these tombs, we observed that that of Jehoshaphat had been recently opened; perhaps an hour or two before. The earth lay fresh and loose, as if newly dug, and the stone in front seemed as if it had been removed. We inquired the reason, and ascertained that a party of Jews had just left the tomb, after burying there some of their faded rolls. So strong is the Jewish reverence for the divine word, and so striking the way in which that reverence expresses itself, their scrolls must mix in decay with the dust of their fathers.

Once, wandering by moonlight in this valley, we saw a Jewish funeral, which had waited till the sun had set, and the Jewish sabbath was closed. It came round the south-eastern shoulder of Moriah, down the crooked pathway that descends into the Kedron; then mounted slowly up the acclivity of Olivet, some ten or twelve torches gleaming among the tombs. The procession rested under an olive-tree, for there the shallow grave was dug. Taking the shrouded dead from the bier, they laid it in the earth uncoffined, according to oriental custom. They then covered the body with a layer of large stones, pressed firmly down, lest the jackals should dig up and devour it; and then, filling up the rest with the dry grey soil of Olivet, they scattered homeward to the city. Strange did that torch-light funeral in the valley of Jehoshaphat seem to us. We have seen many a more striking ravine than this; but were it well-watered and well-planted, as of old, it would be a spot of no common beauty. But it is bare and wild; without verdure, save that of an occasional olive-tree.

If the "king's dale" (or valley of Shaveh) of Ge. xiv. 17, and of 2 Sa. xviii. 18, be the same, and if the commonly received location of them be correct, then we have the valley of Jehoshaphat identified with that of Melchizedek, and its history carries us back to Salem's earliest days. But at what time it became a cemetery we are not informed.

Wady *Jos* and Wady *Shafat*, Wady *Jûshaphat*, and Wady *Faraûn* are said to be its modern names. Cyril in the fourth century mentions it in a way which indicates that in his day tradition had altered, or that the valley was supposed to embrace a wider sweep of country than now; for he speaks of it as some furlongs east of Jerusalem—as bare, and fitted for equestrian exercises[1] (Reland's Palest. vol. i. p. 355). Some old travellers say that it was "three miles in length, reaching from the vale of Jehinnon to a place without the city which they call the Sepulchres of the Kings" (Travels of two Englishmen, two centuries ago). Some of the old travellers, such as Felix Fabri in the fifteenth century, call it Cele—from the Koilas of Eusebius and the Cœle of Jerome; and they call that part of the Kedron which is connected with it Crinarius or Krinarius—the place of judgment (Evag. vol. i. p. 371). We may add that these old writers extend this valley considerally upwards, placing Gethsemane and the traditional tomb of the Virgin in it. They seem to have divided the Kedron bed into two parts—the lower, called the valley of Siloam or Siloe; the upper, the valley of Jehoshaphat, from which the eastern gate of the city in early times was called, not as now St. Stephen's, but "the gate of the valley of Jehoshaphat."

The valley of the present day presents nothing remarkable. It is rough to the feet and barren to the eye. It is still, moreover, frequently a solitude, with nothing to break the loneliness but perhaps a passing shepherd with a few sheep, or a traveller on his way to Anâta, or some inhabitant of Silwân or Bethany going into the city by the gate of St. Stephen. Tombs, and olives, and rough verdureless steeps are all that meet the eye on either side.

[See Felix Fabri Evagatorium; and all the early travellers, such as the Italian Laffi, and the Spanish Antonio del Castillo, in the middle of the seventeenth century; also Quaresmius, Doubdan, Prokesch, Niebuhr, Olshausen, Robinson.] [H. B.]

JEHOSHE'BA [*Jehovah's oath; i.e.* sworn or devoted to him], a daughter of Jehoram, king of Judah; but whether also of Athaliah, his idolatrous and cruel wife, is not stated, 2 Ki. xi. 2. From the pious character maintained by Jehosheba, it has very commonly been supposed that she must have been Jehoram's daughter by another spouse. Of this, however, there is no certain evidence; and it is quite possible that, by coming under better influences, she may, even though the daughter of so infamous a mother, have taken the part she did. She became married to the excellent high-priest Jehoiada—the only recorded instance of a female of the royal line marrying into one of the families of Aaron; and by preserving, in concert with her husband, the life of the young Joash, till he could be brought forth for the occupation of the throne, she rendered an important service to the cause of righteous-

[1] There is a valley over the north-east shoulder of Olivet called Wady Khalet-el-Jûs. This may be connected with the above tradition, and indicate the spot which Cyril speaks of.

ness and order at a very critical and melancholy period. (*See* JEHOIADA.)

JEHOSH'UA [*whose help or salvation is Jehovah*], usually appearing in the contracted form JOSHUA (which see).

JEHO'VAH, יְהוָה (after or before אֲדֹנָי, יֱהֹוִה). The name of God in most frequent use in the Hebrew Scriptures; in the English Bible, for a reason to be afterwards mentioned, it is commonly represented (we cannot say rendered) by the word LORD.

In treating of this most sacred name, we shall inquire,

1. *Whether Jehovah is the true and original pronunciation of the name.*—It has been already explained (*see* HEBREW LANGUAGE), that when the Hebrew language was first reduced to writing, it was not thought necessary to invent signs to indicate the *vowel* sounds. Only the consonants were expressed in writing at first. The vowel signs which appear in our Hebrew Bibles were not introduced for centuries after the Hebrew ceased to be a living language. Further, it is necessary to explain that, in reading the Scriptures, the Jews were accustomed in certain cases to substitute for the word in the written text another word which appeared to them more proper to be used. One of the words thus *written but not read* was the divine four-letter name, יהוה (YHVH). Soon after the Babylonish captivity, the Jewish teachers, from a feeling of superstitious reverence, allowed this name to fall almost entirely into disuse. They thought it too sacred to take upon their lips, even when reading the Scriptures in the synagogues on the Sabbath. Wherever, therefore, this name appears in the sacred Scriptures, they substituted for it—not in the written text, but in reading—some other less sacred and mysterious name of God, usually the name *Adonai*.[1] They continued to write YHVH (not for the world would they alter the text in one iota), but they read *Adonai*. That this was the established practice centuries before Christ is evident from the fact that, in the oldest Greek version, that of the Seventy, the name YHVH (*Jehovah*) is not found even once, but instead of it, *κυριος*, which is the Greek equivalent of *Adonai, Lord*. The Greek translators gave the equivalent of the text as read, not of the text as written. The sacred name would have been desecrated by translation into Greek even more than by being uttered in Hebrew. Now, in order to account for the formation of the word Jehovah, one other explanation is required, and it is this: that when the Jewish grammarians found it necessary, in order to preserve as far as possible the ancient pronunciation of their language, to invent a system of signs to represent the vowel sounds, which had hitherto been without any representation in writing, and proceeded to attach these signs to the sacred text, the rule they observed in the case of the words above mentioned, which were written but not read, was to attach to these words not the points which properly belonged to them, but the points belonging to the words which were read in place of them. Following this rule, they attached to יהוה (YHVH) the points of אֲדֹנָי (*'ădonay*); and hence the form יְהוָה, and the name *Y'hovah* (Jehovah).[2] There can be no doubt, therefore, that the pronunciation *Jehovah*, notwithstanding the sacredness with which, from early associations, we have been accustomed to invest it, is quite erroneous, combining as it does the consonants of one word with the vowels of another. It is besides comparatively modern; it is found in none of the ancient versions; it was known to none of the church fathers; even Origen, in that column of his *Hexapla*, in which he tried to express, in Greek characters, the original Hebrew as pronounced in his day, always, so far as can be ascertained, set down Ἀδωναι, where the Hebrew has יהוה. It is said that Peter Galatin, a learned convert from Judaism, of the sixteenth century, was the first who suggested the pronunciation Jehovah.[3]

For a more detailed statement of the argument upon this point, we must refer to sec. 20 of the younger Buxtorf's treatise *De Nominibus Dei Hebraicis*, which forms part of a volume entitled *Dissertationes Philologico-Theologicæ*, and is also included in Reland, *Decas Exercitationum*, &c. The only part of his statement which is defective and unsatisfactory is that in which he endeavours to meet the objection founded upon such names as *Jeho-shaphat, Jeho-iada, Jeho-iakim*, in each of which the first part, *Jeho*, is unquestionably a fragment of the divine name יהוה. In these names, it has been alleged, is preserved the original pronunciation of the first part of the name *Jeho-vah*. This argument, however, is more plausible than sound, though Buxtorf fails to meet it. The true answer to it is, that when a fragment of one word is incorporated with another word, it does not usually retain its original form, but undergoes a change. And the *Jeho*, or rather *Yeho* (יְהוֹ), which forms the initial syllable of the names just mentioned, is, as is now generally agreed, a contraction from יִהְיֶה, the several stages in the process of corruption being יְהוֹ יְהוּ יְהִי (*yahv, y'hav, y'hau, y'ho*), compare יְהִי = יְהִי. In the same way we explain the termination יָהּ (*yâhu*), also a contraction of יהוה, in such names as יְשַׁעְיָהוּ (*yesha-yahu*), *Isaiah*, יִרְמְיָהוּ (*yirm-yahu*), *Jeremiah*. It is evidently a corruption of *yahv;* compare תֹּהִי.

2. *What is the true pronunciation and import of this divine name?*—In attempting to answer this question, we derive but little assistance from tradition. The ancient Jews either could not or would not reveal what they regarded as a sacred mystery. Thus, Josephus (Ant. b. ii. ch. xii. sect. 4), in relating the history of Moses, says: "Whereupon God declared to him his holy name, which had never been discovered to men before, concerning which it is not lawful for me to speak." The later Jews seem to have made the mere utterance of the name on any occasion a sufficient ground of exclusion from eternal life.[4] (See Gesenius, Thesaurus, p. 575, 576.) From them, therefore, no assistance is to be expected. The Greek writers, our only other source of information, are not quite so silent. Diodorus Siculus, the earliest to whom appeal can be made, gives ΙΑΩ as the

[1] Where *Adonai* itself precedes or follows יהוה, they read *Elohim*. Hence the peculiar form יְהוָה, the points belonging to *Elohim* (אֱלֹהִים).

[2] That in יְהוָה stands for ֱ is evident from the forms לִיהוָה, &c.

[3] Buxtorf, *De Nominibus Dei Hebraicis*, sect. 20; Gesenius, *Thes.* s. v. But the pronunciation *Jova* was not unknown before Galatin, who himself says: Quidam ex nostris aiunt hoc nomen in nostris literis sonare Jova. . . . . Non Jova nec Jeova sed Jehova cum leni aspiratione, sicut scribitur pronunciandum est (*De Arcanis Catholicæ Veritatis*, lib. ii. cap. 10).

[4] Qui pronunciat ipsum nomen quatuor literarum non habebit partem in seculo venturo.

Greek equivalent of יהוה; but, as he wrote his history only a few years before the birth of Christ, and therefore long after the name had become a sacred mystery among the Jews, from whom alone any trustworthy information could be had, his testimony cannot have much weight attached to it; still less that of the later writers, by whom the same form of the name is repeated, sometimes slightly modified, as IAOT, IETΩ. It is not improbable that this Greek tradition had its origin in those compound names referred to above, in which the name appears under the abbreviated forms *Yeho, Yahu.* From such a name, for example, as עֹבַדְיָהוּ, *obad-yahu* (*Obadiah*), it would be easy to infer, especially after comparison with Phœnician and other names of similar formation (see Gesenius, Monumenta Phœn. p. 354), that the name of the God of the Jews was *Yahu,* or omitting the guttural, as the Greeks would naturally do, IAOT or IAΩ. More important is the statement of Theodoret, that the Samaritans pronounced the name IABE, a form found also in Epiphanius (see Ges. Thes. p. 577). This is regarded by most modern scholars as the nearest approach to the true pronunciation.

But, passing from tradition, and not delaying to notice the futile attempts of some authors to illustrate this name from heathen sources, let us make our appeal to Scripture. The two most important passages for our present purpose are found in Ex. iii. and vi. In the former we read that *God* called to Moses from the midst of the burning bush, and after commanding him to put off his shoes from his feet, because the place whereon he stood was holy, proceeded to declare himself the God of Abraham, of Isaac, and of Jacob. And when Moses hid his face, because he was afraid to look upon *God,* then *the Lord* (יהוה) said "*I have seen, I have seen the affliction of my people, and I have heard their cry, . . . and have come down to deliver them; . . . and now, come, I will send thee to Egypt.*" And when Moses shrank back from the arduous mission, saying to *God,* "*Who am I that I should go to Pharaoh, and that I should bring the children of Israel forth from Egypt?*" the divine answer is, "*But I will be with thee*" (כִּי אֶהְיֶה עִמָּךְ). And again, when Moses asks by what name he will speak of Him to his people, the answer of *God* is, "I AM THAT I AM (אֶהְיֶה אֲשֶׁר אֶהְיֶה). *Thus shalt thou say to the children of Israel,* I AM (אֶהְיֶה) *hath sent me unto you.*" And this is repeated in the verse which follows, ver. 15, *and* GOD *said moreover unto Moses, Thus shalt thou say unto the children of Israel,* THE LORD (יהוה) *God of our fathers, the God of Abraham, the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob, hath sent me unto you:* THIS IS MY NAME FOR EVER, *and this is my memorial unto all generations.*" From which it is evident that יהיה is just another form of the name אהיה, I AM; and its origin is thus ascertained. The only difference between the two names is, that the one is a verb in the *first* person, the other the same verb in the *third.* The meaning of the one is I AM; the meaning of the other is HE IS. The one is therefore the name of God revealing himself, the other the name of this revealed God contemplated and adored by man.[1]

In both names, אהיה and יהוה, the root-idea is that of *underived existence.* When it is said that God's name is HE IS, simple being is not all that is affirmed. *He is* in a sense in which no other being *is.* "Ille revera est qui a seipso est." *He is;* and the cause of his being is in himself. *He is because he is.* This is evidently the meaning of the divine utterance. *I am that I am.* Just as elsewhere, on a similar occasion: "I will have mercy on whom I will have mercy, Ex. xxxiii. 19, *i.e.* in the exercise of my mercy I am under no constraint—what I will I will—what I do I do; so here—*That I am I am; I am because I am;* the cause (if one may so speak) of the being of God is only in himself. This surely was a wonderful conception for those early times; but indeed it is in a simple unpolished age, before the mind has been varnished over by the influences of civilization, that such thoughts most easily find entrance and take firmest hold. The notion, therefore, that the name Jehovah had its origin rather in the age of David and Solomon than in that of Moses, is not less false philosophically than critically.

From the idea of *underived and independent existence,* which seems to be the root-idea in this divine name, follows at once that of *independent and uncontrolled will and action.* This also is a leading thought in the narrative quoted a little ago. I am the God of Abraham, of Isaac, and of Jacob; and my name is I AM. As God's being is underived, so his will is uncontrolled. All other being flows from him, so all other wills must bend to his. It may not always seem so; it may rather seem as if the reverse of this were sometimes true. Doubtless in Moses' day the will of Pharaoh seemed to be the great power in Egypt. But God revealed himself as Jehovah, the self-existent, the supreme and sovereign Will; and Pharaoh—what proved he then? Man, that is a worm, and a son of man that is a worm.

With the idea of underived existence are also closely allied those of *eternity* and *unchangeableness.* He who has in himself the cause of his being can never cease to be; and he cannot change. This has been thought by not a few to be the primary import of the name Jehovah, which accordingly has been rendered "The Eternal." And in support of this view, the form of the name (a verb in the future tense) has been appealed to. יהוה *he is;* rather, it has been said, *he will be,*[2] *he shall never cease to be.* But the so-called future in Hebrew differs very widely from our future (*see* HEBREW LANGUAGE), expressing as it does what has been wont to be in the past as well as what will be in the future—the ongoing of being or action (as opposed to its completion) in whatever sphere of time. And there can be no doubt that in the present case, though it is impossible to reproduce the Hebrew exactly in English, the translation *I am that I am,* is much more accurate than *I will be that I will be.*

Still, though the ideas of eternity and unchangeableness do not constitute the primary import of the name Jehovah, they are in Scripture, as we might anticipate, very constantly associated with it. "I am Jehovah; *I change not,*" Mal. iii. 6. To Moses the revelation of this name was connected with God's covenant-promise to Abraham—the promise of a seed in whom all the families of the earth should be blessed. I am the God of Abraham; and I am Jehovah—the God of Abraham

[1] Gesenius has suggested that possibly יהוה may be the *fut. hiphil,* and not the *fut. kal,* of the verb of existence, and may, therefore, signify *He causes to be, the author of existence;* but it is a sufficient answer to this that in the passage above quoted אהיה, which is undoubtedly *Kal,* is = יהוה, which cannot therefore be *Hiphil.*

[2] Some writers have attempted on this ground to prove that Jehovah is Christ, *ὁ ἐσομενος, ὁ ἐρχόμενος.*

and of Abraham's seed for evermore. Hence it is that Jehovah is pre-eminently in Scripture the covenant-God of Israel; the God of grace, and truth, and love. Though these attributes are not, primarily at least, contained in the name, they are inseparably associated with it.

Passing from the import of the name, we have still a remark to make on its pronunciation. Being the fut. kal of the old verb *hava* (=*haya*), it would probably be pronounced YAHVE, which does not differ much from the IABE (B in Greek for V) of the Samaritans, nor even from the IAOT or IAΩ of the Greek writers. So Gesenius, Ewald, &c. Others read *Yahăvah* (Jahăwâh). (See Delitzsch, Commentar über den Psalter, Vorbericht, viii. ix.)

3. *What is the relation between the divine names Jehovah and Elohim?*—This is an important question; important in itself, and also in its bearing upon other questions of Scripture criticism, in the solution of which the whole Christian world is interested. It is well known that the discussions as to the origin and authorship of the Pentateuch turn very much, though not so much now as formerly, on the import and use of these names. The fact that in some sections of Genesis the one name is almost exclusively employed, in some the other; whilst in one section, ch. ii. 4-iii. 24, both are combined in the compound name *Jehovah-Elohim*, could not fail to attract attention even at an early period; but with the attempts to explain this and similar phenomena in the Hebrew Scriptures, we are at present concerned only in so far as they may have tended to throw light on the import and relation of the divine names themselves. The explanation of Tertullian is the earliest to which we can appeal; but as that explanation is founded not upon the Hebrew names *Elohim* and *Jehovah*, but upon the Greek Θεὸς and Κύριος, and Latin *Deus* and *Dominus*, it is therefore in so far erroneous, as Κύριος and *Dominus* are the Greek and Latin equivalents, not of *Jehovah*, but of *Adonai*. Nearer to the truth is the view which early found acceptance among the Jewish doctors, that Elohim is the name of the Supreme as the God of *judgment*, Jehovah as the God of *grace and mercy*. But let us see what light the Scriptures themselves throw upon this subject.

(1.) The name Elohim is the name of God as *The Deity*. The plural form of the name does not denote plurality nor a trinity of persons, but, as constantly in Hebrew, the greatness and majesty of him who bears the name. It is the name of God rather as a *power*, the Supreme power, to whom weak man looks up with adoring awe; hence the frequent opposition in Scripture of Elohim and אָדָם (*man*), Da. v. 21; iv. 33, &c. In the name Jehovah, on the other hand, the *personality* of the Supreme is more distinctly expressed. It is everywhere a *proper* name, denoting the personal God and him only; whereas Elohim partakes more of the character of a *common* noun, denoting usually, indeed, but not necessarily nor uniformly, the Supreme. Elohim may be grammatically defined by the article, or by having a suffix attached to it, or by being in construction with a following noun. The Hebrew may say *the* Elohim, the true God, in opposition to all false gods; but he never says *the* Jehovah, for Jehovah is the name of the true God only. He says again and again *my* God (אֱלֹהַי); but never *my* Jehovah, for when he says *my God*, he means Jehovah. He speaks of the God of Israel, but never of the Jehovah of Israel, for there is no other Jehovah. He speaks of the living God, but never of the living Jehovah, for he cannot conceive of Jehovah as other than living. It is obvious, therefore, that the name Elohim is the name of more general import, seeing that it admits of definition and limitation in these various ways; whereas Jehovah is the more specific and personal name, altogether incapable of limitation. Occasionally Elohim is used in the very general sense of *superhuman, supernatural*, as when the witch of Endor exclaimed that she saw Elohim ascending from the earth, 1 Sa. xxviii. 13; she could never have said she saw Jehovah ascending. So we read of *men of God* (Elohim), *i.e.* men who seemed to have become partakers in some measure of the divine nature, but never of men of Jehovah. And of man when first created it is said, that he was created in the image of Elohim, not of Jehovah.

(2.) But if Elohim is a name of *wider* import than Jehovah, the latter is a name of *deeper* significance. It is the incommunicable name of God, emphatically THE NAME (הַשֵּׁם), embodying as it does His most distinctive attributes—self-existence, unchangeableness, eternity.

(3.) As the entrance of sin and suffering was the occasion of this deeper revelation of the divine nature, Jehovah is eminently the *God of redemption*—under the old covenant, the God of Israel. The correlative of Elohim is *man;* the correlative of Jehovah is *redeemed man* (*Israel*). Elohim is God in *nature;* Jehovah is God in *grace*, Ex. xxxiv. 6, 7. Elohim is the God of *providence;* Jehovah the God of *promise* and *prophecy*. "*Thus saith Jehovah*," are the words with which the prophet always introduces his message; never, "*Thus saith Elohim.*"[1] (See on this subject Hengstenberg, Genuineness of the Pentateuch, i. p. 274, &c.; Clark's trans.; Kurtz, History of the Old Covenant, i. p. 18, &c.)

4. *When did God first reveal himself as Jehovah?*—If Jehovah be in a special manner the name of God as the Redeemer, it would seem that the revelation of the name must have been coeval with the promise of redemption. Accordingly, in the second section of Genesis, in which sin and redemption are first mentioned, the name Jehovah also for the first time appears. Compare also Ge. iv. 1, 26. It has been thought, however, that the conclusion most naturally deducible from this early introduction of the name in the sacred Scriptures is shown to be incorrect by Ex. vi. 2, 3, where we read, "And God spake unto Moses, and said, I am Jehovah; and I appeared unto Abraham, unto Isaac, and unto Jacob, by the name of God Almighty, but *by my name Jehovah was I not known to them.*" But those who think so have not studied the last words just quoted in the light of other scriptures; otherwise they would have perceived that by *name* must be meant here not the two syllables which make up the word Jehovah, but the idea which it expresses. When we read in Isaiah, ch. lii. 6, "*Therefore my people shall know my name;*" or in Jeremiah, ch. xvi. 21, "*They shall know that my name is Jehovah;*" or in the Psalms, Ps. ix. 11, 17, "*They that know thy name shall put their trust in thee;*" we see at once that to know Jehovah's name is something very different from knowing the four letters of which it is composed. It is to know by experience that Jehovah really is what his name declares him to be. (Compare also Is. xix.

[1] The relation between the names Elohim and Jehovah is, in some respects, similar to that between the national names Hebrews and Israel.

20, 21; Eze. xx. 5, 9; xxxix. 6, 7; Ps. lxxxiii. 19; lxxxix. 17; 2 Ch. vi. 33.) And when therefore it is said of the patriarchs that God was not known to them by his name Jehovah, but appeared to them in the character of God Almighty, what is meant is, that the aspect of the divine character which was presented to them was rather God's almightiness than that special aspect which is expressed in the name Jehovah. God makes himself known as Jehovah when he hears the cry of his people out of the depths, rescues them from the fearful pit, from the iron furnace, and fills their heart with the joys of salvation; this was an experience to which, outwardly at least, the patriarchs were usually strangers. The name of God Almighty was thus to them a sufficient support of their faith; the dark days had not then come when faith, in order to endure, must take a deeper view and a firmer grasp of Him who is its object.

Besides, (1.) the form of the name יהוה has justly been appealed to as furnishing evidence of its antiquity. It is the future of the root *hava*, which, even in the age of Moses, had become archaic and rare, having given place to the form in common use, *haya*. Also, (2.) the abbreviated form יָהּ, which already appears, Ex. xv. 2; xvii. 16. And, (3.) the name Jochebed, borne by Moses' mother (Ewald, Geschichte, ii. 203, 204).

But though we believe the name Jehovah was known to the patriarchs and revealed anew by Moses, it was not till the great awaking of the prophetic spirit under Samuel, that its import and the value of the revelation embodied in it were fully realized by the people of Israel. Jehovah is eminently the *prophetic* name of God. For while the psalmists frequently address their prayers and hymns to Elohim, it is always Jehovah who speaks by the prophets. Thus we account for the fact that, after the age of Samuel, the name Jehovah seems to have come into more common (and as it were popular) use than before, and especially appears with much greater frequency as an element in the names of individuals—a fact from which the rash and erroneous conclusion has recently been drawn, that previous to that age the name was altogether unknown. (See on the whole subject, Reinke, Beiträge, iii. 1-143.) [D. H. W.]

JEHOVAH-JI'REH [*Jehovah will provide*], the name given by Abraham to the mount on which the angel of the Lord appeared to him, and not only arrested the sacrifice of Isaac, but provided a ram to be put in his place, Ge. xxii. 14. It was embodying in a name the sentiment expressed in an earlier part of the narrative, "God will provide for himself a burnt-offering." For the import of the transactions themselves, see under ABRAHAM.

JEHOVAH-NIS'SI [*Jehovah my banner*], the name given by Moses to an altar he erected in the wilderness, in commemoration of the victory gained by the Israelites under Joshua over the forces of Amalek, Ex. xvii. 15. (*See* BANNER.)

JEHOVAH-SHA'LOM [*Jehovah-peace*], the name of an altar erected by Gideon in Ophrah, after the angel of the Lord had appeared to him with a message of peace, Ju. vi. 24. Appearing as the angel did in a time of great backsliding, there was reason to apprehend some manifestation of judgment rather than of mercy; and Gideon gave expression to his feelings of surprise and thanksgiving by associating the sacred erection with a name which proclaimed Jehovah as the God of peace.

JEHOZ'ABAD, most commonly written JOZABAD, which see.

JEHOZ'ADAK [*Jehovah justifies*], in Ezra and Nehemiah abbreviated into JOZADAK; the son of the last high-priest before the captivity, namely Seraiah, who was slain with the sword at Riblah, on the final taking of the city, 2 Ki. xxv. 18-21. The son was carried into captivity, and died there; but his son Joshua was among those who returned, and in him the suspended functions of the high-priesthood were again revived, Ezr. iii. 2; Ne. xii. 26. In the writings of Haggai and Zechariah our English version adopts the Greek form of the name—Jozedec—which somewhat obscures the connection between the high-priest's family that was carried into captivity, and as again restored from it. It should have read, Joshua the son of Jehozadak.

JE'HU [*Jehovah is he*]. 1. A king of Israel, the founder of the fourth dynasty, whose reign extended from B.C. 884 to 856—twenty-eight years. His father's name was Jehoshaphat, 2 Ki. ix. 2; but he is more frequently called the son of Nimshi, who was his grandfather, and who was probably better known than the father. His age when he was called to assume the reins of government is not mentioned; but he could have been by no means young, as he had already risen to a high place in the army, and had established for himself a reputation for great energy; not only so, but probably as long as twenty years before, or even more, while Ahab and Jezebel were still in the noontide of their power, he had been divinely designated to Elijah at Horeb for the office of king in Israel, with an injunction to the prophet to anoint him, 1 Ki. xix. 16. Even then, therefore, he must have been known to be a person possessed of qualities which peculiarly fitted him at such a time for taking command of the affairs of Israel. Why his actual appointment to the office should have been so long delayed, no explanation is given; but it doubtless arose mainly from that longsuffering patience in God, which waits in the execution of vengeance till every effort has been exhausted, and reformation has become hopeless. At last, however, the set time came; and Elisha, who now stood in the room of Elijah, despatched one of the sons of the prophets to Ramoth-gilead, where Jehu and the army were at the time contending against Hazael king of Syria, with the charge to anoint Jehu king in the name of the Lord. He was to do his work expeditiously and secretly, and then make haste as for his life—seeing it was a perilous step to take in such a place. From the excited manner of the prophet, however, and the singular mode in which he went about his work, the secret presently transpired; and so ripe was the army for the change of dynasty thus initiated, that all immediately, and with loud acclaim, hailed Jehu as king, and in token of respect spread their garments under him. King Jehoram was at the time lying sick at Jezreel, from the wounds he had received in Ramoth-gilead; and as it was necessary, not only for Jehu's personal success, but also for the execution of the work of judgment expressly committed to him, 2 Ki. ix. 7, 8, to sweep away the house of Ahab, Jehu consequently lost no time in proceeding to Jezreel with a trusty and chosen band to aid him in his dreadful commission. His approach was descried from the watch-tower, and messenger after messenger was despatched to inquire whether he came peaceably; but he met them in so defiant a tone, that they were fain to turn round

and form part of his train. At last Joram himself went forth, and at his arrival the storm burst with irrepressible fury. Joram was first slain by Jehu's own hand, and his body ordered to be cast into the vineyard of Naboth. Ahaziah, king of Judah, brother-in-law of Joram, who was with him on a visit, received also a mortal wound, of which he soon after died at Megiddo. Then followed in rapid succession the slaughter of Jezebel and of the whole seed-royal in Samaria; including altogether seventy males slain at Jehu's bidding by the nobles of Samaria, with many besides of remoter connections, and of those who had been chief men about the king. Among others who fell in this time of vengeance, were certain brethren of Ahaziah, king of Judah, whom Jehu met on his way to Samaria, going to pay their respects to the family of the king of Israel. Regarding them as included in the curse pronounced on the seed of Ahab and Jezebel (being their grandchildren), Jehu summarily appointed them to the slaughter—whether justly, however, may be made a question; since, while connected with the house of Ahab, they more properly belonged to that of David. The attack was next made on the priests of Baal, whom Jehu took by guile, publicly announcing his purpose to become himself a worshipper of Baal, and thereby throwing them off their guard; so that they readily came forth to take part in a feast and sacrifice which Jehu proclaimed for Baal at a set time and place. But it was only that they might be fallen upon by the soldiery of Jehu, and put to death. The temple and images of Baal were also broken down.

So far Jehu might be said to accomplish faithfully the solemn work intrusted him. As a minister of divine vengeance against the house of Ahab and its Baal-worship, the sternest retribution had been inflicted, and the work had been done with a promptitude and an alacrity which bespoke a hearty good-will in the matter. Indeed, it is precisely the impression made in this respect as to the spirit of Jehu's procedure which detracts from his glory. He appears throughout more like a man of impetuous ardour, and cold-blooded ferocity, prosecuting a course of terrible severity, which, however right in the main, was still one we should have liked to see somewhat less congenial to his own temperament. We do not conceive of him, even when doing a work of God, and perilling his very life in the accomplishment of it, as a man of high principle, who values nothing in comparison of the establishment of truth and righteousness. Accordingly, we find him stopping short of the proper point, whenever the question came to be what he was himself going to substitute for the abominations he had put down; "he departed not from the sins of Jeroboam who made Israel to sin." He could decide for Jehovah in opposition to Baal, but not for the pure worship of Jehovah as opposed to the idolatrous forms that had been set up at Bethel and Dan. To go so far as to abolish these, would have been to take Jerusalem for a religious centre, and this might have opened the way for a return of the kingdom of Israel to the house of David. Policy therefore dictated an adherence to the course pursued by the founder of the Israelitish monarchy. And hence, while a prolongation of his dynasty was promised for the work of judgment he had executed against the house of Baal, it was accompanied with a limitation which implied a want of approval in regard to his own religious position; the promise extended only to the fourth generation, 2 Ki. xxix. 30. And before that term was expired his house had in turn become the subject of severe threatening, and had to face the prospect of an exterminating doom, Ho. i. 4. In his case, as in the case of Jeroboam, the worldly policy adopted utterly failed to secure its object.

The name of Jehu, it is said, occurs in an inscription on an obelisk discovered in the north-west palace of Nimroud, which has been interpreted thus: "Jehu the son of Khumri"—supposed to be for Omri, and taking the house of Jehu as successor to the house of Omri (Layard, Nineveh and Babylon, p. 613). It may be so, but it certainly does not wear a very natural appearance, nor does Scripture give indication of any intimate connection at that time with the Assyrian empire.

2. JEHU. The son of Hanani, a prophet, who first appears in Israel delivering a solemn and threatening message to Baasha, for following the sins of Jeroboam, and killing the representatives of that house without turning from their sins, 1 Ki. xvi. 2-7. Long afterwards, probably thirty years or more, he appears again in the attitude of admonishing a king; but it is now the king of Judah, Jehoshaphat, whom he reproved for entering into alliance with the ungodly king of Israel, and predicted visitations of evil in consequence, 2 Ch. xix. 2, 3. The Hanani who prophesied before Asa, father of Jehoshaphat, and reproved him for relying, in a time of peril, on the king of Syria, was in all probability the father of Jehu, 2 Ch. xvi. 7-9.

3. JEHU. Three others of this name occur in the genealogies, but nothing particular is known of them, 1 Ch. ii. 38; iv. 35; xii. 3.

JEPHTHAH [יִפְתָּח, *yiphtahh*, not occurring again, except once as the name of a town in the tribe of Judah, written in the authorized version *Jiphtah*], means "he will open," perhaps implying that Jehovah will open or set at liberty, and if so, having the same meaning as *Pethahiah*. Jephthah was one of the most notable of the judges of Israel: his place among them, and some things in respect to his administration, will fall to be noticed in the article JUDGES. His history is given in the book of Judges, ch. x. 6-xii. 7; besides he is named by Samuel among the distinguished persons raised up by God for his people, 1 Sa. xii. 11; and again he is named as one of those ancient worthies in whom faith had a very special manifestation, He. xi. 32. His father was Gilead, a man who lived in the land of Gilead, who had sons by his lawful wife, while Jephthah was the son of a harlot. When the other sons grew up they thrust Jephthah out, and refused him any share in the inheritance, on the ground that he was the son of "a strange woman," literally "an other woman:" and since the elders of the country confirmed this proceeding, Ju. xi. 7, while there is no express law of Moses upon the point, we may conjecture that they were led to adopt this rule on principles of general morality, probably strengthened by the divine approval of the act which thrust out Ishmael and refused him a share of the inheritance, Ge. xxi. 10, to which the words in this history seem to allude. The place to which he fled is not accurately known, a region in Syria, not far off, called the land of Tob, see 2 Sa. x. 6, and of which the name seems to survive in late Jewish history, 1 Mac. v. 13; 2 Mac. xii. 17. Here there were gathered to him "vain men," or empty men, men in difficulty, who had

nothing to lose, with whom David's men, 1 Sa. xxii. 2, have been often compared; and these men went out with him, though it is an unwarrantable inference that he was just a captain of a band of freebooters. From the first he is described as a mighty man of valour. And when the Ammonites, already for eighteen years the masters of Israel, were making war against them, probably in some more galling form of oppression than usual, the elders of Gilead, on whom the burden naturally fell with greatest severity, took the lead in Israel, and offered to any one who was willing to accept it the office of head and captain (קָצִין, *qatzin*, Ju. xi. 6, 11, compare Jos. x. 24); for in their present circumstances a peaceful judge like the two who had preceded would not have met the emergency. But as no one volunteered, they went to Jephthah and pressed the office upon him; which he generously accepted, as soon as they declared their willingness to make amends for past severity. Everything was done in the way of solemn religious covenant in the presence of the Lord, at Mizpeh, Ju. xi. 11, often taken to be the same as Mizpeh of Gilead, ver. 29, from which however the narrative perhaps rather distinguishes it. His first effort was to secure the co-operation of the tribe of Ephraim, Ju. xii. 2, the tribe whose influence was predominant during most of the period of the judges. Having failed in this, he went forward in the strength of the Lord: and after an ineffectual effort to gain his object by reasoning with the king of the Ammonites, he placed himself under the special protection of the Lord by a peculiar vow. Upon this he completely overthrew his enemies, "with a very great slaughter," and at once recovered twenty cities from them. Now the Ephraimites came in to claim their position as the rulers of Israel, emboldened perhaps by Gideon's tender dealing with them in a similar case: but Jephthah met them in their own spirit, apparently dealing with them as traitors to the cause of God and Israel, so that 42,000 of their party fell in the civil war. It is highly improbable that there was any subsequent resistance to Jephthah's rule: and he held the office of judge for six years till his death. He "was buried in [one of] the cities of Gilead."

The great point of interest in his history is his vow, Ju. xi. 29-40, and the manner in which it was fulfilled. The opinion which probably occurs to most people, as they first read the narrative, is, that he put his daughter to death, and offered her upon the altar of burnt-offering. This is the account given by Josephus and the other ancient Jewish authorities; and it is the universal opinion of the Christian fathers. From the middle ages, however, there has been prevalent among the Jews the very opposite opinion, that he devoted her to perpetual virginity and the special service of God at the temple: an opinion which was early taken up by many Reformed theologians, as they entered with alacrity and diligence into the accurate study of the word of God, and which has never wanted advocates down to our own day. The old opinion, however, has much the more general support of authorities; most of the Roman Catholics, who follow the fathers; the rationalist scholars, who find in it much that suits their view of early Jewish history, and who sometimes say, like Ewald, in his *History* (ii. p. 515), that the opposite opinion "deserves no refutation;" while they fancy that they trace the echo of the name and history of Jephthah in the Greek Iphigenia and Idomeneus; and very many whose convictions are expressed by Luther, "People will have it that he did not offer her, but there it stands plainly in the text." Yet that it does not stand so plainly in this text as consubstantiation in "This is my body," would have been Luther's own admission, we are sure: and there has been an instinctive shrinking from this opinion, which seems to us more and more to be justified, in proportion as we examine the narrative thoroughly.

Sometimes the milder view has been vindicated on the principle that Jephthah put his vow intentionally in such general terms as admitted of modification, and might even necessitate it. That which first came out of his house to meet him should be the Lord's; and if it was a subject fit to become a burnt-offering it should be so offered, while if this was in the nature of the case impossible, the nearest substitute possible should be made. Such puzzling cases will from time to time arise, when the fulfilment of a vow literally would go most thoroughly against it and the spirit of religion out of which it arose. And from this principle has sprung our marginal rendering, "*or* I will offer it up for a burnt-offering;" which has been defended by both Jews and Christians, though the grammatical rendering is not wholly satisfactory.

But without resting upon this interpretation there are several considerations which at once throw the utmost difficulty in the way of the common view, and favour the other as really the more natural.

I. Human sacrifices could never be contemplated by any true Israelite worshipper of Jehovah with any feeling other than that of abhorrence. They have been thus rejected even by heathens, except those who were most deeply degraded by vice and abominable superstition; and the practice is noticed as the very climax of Canaanite depravity, De. xii. 31, by which the Israelites were corrupted only when they had most thoroughly turned their back upon everything that was good, Ps. cvi. 35-38. Much less can we think this of Jephthah, the chosen leader of God's people, turning them to the God of their fathers after a period of religious apostasy and political subjugation to the heathen, whose whole dealings are thoroughly godly, Ju. xi. 11; who had just before been filled with the Spirit of the Lord for his work, ver. 29; and *whose faith is celebrated in* He. xi. 32, *plainly with reference to this very vow and its fulfilment*, in which his faith culminated under a trial in respect of offering up his only child, like Abraham himself, who is celebrated for this in the same chapter. To meet this overwhelming difficulty it has been the practice to assume and assert that Jephthah was ignorant of the law and regardless of it, that he was a wild man in a wild age, and among the wildest part of the Israelites; Ewald for instance puts this in an emphatic way. But there is no evidence of it, or rather there is evidence to the contrary. The entire message to the king of the Ammonites indicates a mind very thoroughly disciplined, trained to exact acquaintance with the history of the Lord's dealings for and with his people, as given in the law of Moses, and able to appreciate its bearing on his own age and circumstances. His language, and his daughter's, Ju. xi. 34, 35, imply a knowledge of the Mosaic law as to vows, and seem to refer to the very language of these laws, Nu. xxx. 2; De. xxiii. 23. And his practice of monogamy marks his personal conduct in very pleasing contrast with that of several other judges, Ju. viii. 30; x. 4; xii. 9, 14. The only thing which could even seem to

countenance the surrender of a human being to die for God's service is the practice of "devoting," חרם (*cherem*), Le. xxvii. 29, &c. But by universal consent this is held in its very nature to be a *forced* devoting of the *wicked* to God's service in their destruction, since they would not willingly serve him in any other way; and it was the sole prerogative of God to devote such persons. Not only is all this utterly inapplicable to the case of Jephthah's daughter; though it did apply, it would be unsuitable to the vow, because anything devoted was *accursed*, and could not be accepted as a *sacrifice*, to the very notion of which it stood in irreconcilable contradiction (comp. 1 Sa. xv. 21).

II. If Jephthah was not grossly ignorant of the laws of Moses and the ritual of his people, he must have known that every burnt-offering required to be a male: and supposing that a rash vow had entangled him in a difficulty, still it could not be carried into effect literally; and some other way of dealing with his daughter would be forced upon him, as it would have been had an unclean animal met him.

III. The expression "whatsoever cometh forth of the doors of my house to meet me," Ju. xi. 31, is taken by many to be so indeterminate that it might mean beast or man: but this is not the natural meaning. For the Jews were too exact in their propriety of life to have brutes herding in human habitations; and the expression "whosoever goeth out to meet me" is properly applicable to a human person, as appears in the subsequent history, Ju. xi. 34, and as other instances of the females going out to meet the triumphant males with timbrels and dances occur in the Old Testament, such as Miriam, Ex. xv. 20, and the daughters of Israel after the death of Goliath, 1 Sa. xviii. 6. Indeed, such a vow at hap-hazard would be altogether without a parallel; and it would have sounded contemptible if his vow had run thus: "the first calf, or kid, or lamb that shall meet me coming out of my house shall be the Lord's, and I will offer it up for a burnt-offering," when he might rather have promised the noblest animal in his fold, or many of the noblest. We are irresistibly driven to the conclusion that in making his vow, Jephthah had his daughter in his mind: his noblest possession should be consecrated to the Lord, his only daughter, if she should be the first to come forth to welcome him. Only he may have used the particular words of his vow, to admit of his being perchance spared that sacrifice, if the Lord should so please to direct that some other, some favourite domestic or whoever it might be, possibly even "a lamb for a burnt-offering" introduced as marvellously as in Isaac's history, should be moved to come first out from the house. So that whatever antecedent difficulties there are in supposing that Jephthah was entangled by his rashness into offering his daughter on the altar, these are immeasurably increased when we have to view this act as deliberately and intelligently planned by him from the commencement.

IV. The true interpretation, then, of Jephthah's vow is not a *literal* killing of his daughter, and burning of her body on the altar of God, but a *metaphorical* sacrifice, and yet a most real sacrifice, giving her up to the service of the Lord exclusively and for ever. Such a metaphorical use of sacrifice or offering is common in all languages, and is confessedly found often in the Psalms and the Prophets, and also in the New Testament. If we know that in such cases we must take the word metaphorically, since the connection admits of no other sense, there can be no difficulty in doing so here, when the alternative lies between this and a deliberately planned and executed immolation of an only daughter by the father's own hand. Such metaphorical expressions could not but arise and become common among a people placed under the training of spiritual religion, yet accustomed to literal sacrifice; and probably they arose early all the more on account of the symbolical sacrifice of Abraham, when called, in language to which there is manifest allusion in this vow, *to offer up his only son for a burnt-offering, which he did*, He. xi. 17, though only in a figure, as we know. Another case which very remarkably agrees with the language of this vow occurs in the dedication of the Levites, Nu. viii. 10-16, "And thou shalt bring the Levites before the Lord, and the children of Israel shall put their hands upon the Levites; and Aaron shall offer the Levites before the Lord for an offering of the children of Israel, that they may execute the service of the Lord;" and then follows the act of the Levites' laying their hands upon the heads of their animal sacrifices which were offered for a sin-offering and a burnt-offering, after their own heads had thus had laid on them the hands of the children of Israel, who made a metaphorical offering of them. "Thus thou shalt separate the Levites from among the children of Israel; *and the Levites shall be mine;* . . . . and thou shalt cleanse them, *and offer them for an offering*, for they are wholly given unto me from among the children of Israel." In this text indeed the specific word is "wave for a wave-offering" in the original; as in other metaphorical passages it is a slaughtered-offering, or a peace-offering, that is named. But out of the variety of sacrifices whose name Jephthah might have used, he chose burnt-offering, because, as in the pattern instance of Abraham and Isaac, it expressed entire exclusive dedication to the Lord; since nothing of the burnt-offering came back to the offerer, whereas a part of other kinds of sacrifices did come back to him. The dedication of a person to God's service by a peculiar vow was sanctioned in the Mosaic law, and of females as well as of males—in the law of the Nazarite for instance, Nu. vi. 2. Such a service might even be for life, as Samson and Samuel, and probably Elijah, Jeremiah, and John the Baptist: and in the case of Samuel it is seen that this dedication to the Lord implied a separation from the family, as other children were promised to Hannah, to make up for this one whom she made over to God's service, 1 Sa. i. 11, 20, 22, 28; ii. 20. But in regard to these *singular* or *personal* vows, the law was careful to provide a means of redemption, on payment of which the person was set free, Le. xxvii. 2-8. Yet it went on to enact, ver. 9, "And if it be a beast, whereof men bring an offering to the Lord, all that any man giveth of such unto the Lord shall be holy. He shall not alter it, nor change it, a good for a bad or a bad for a good: and if he shall at all change beast for beast, then it and the exchange thereof shall be holy." And the peculiarity of Jephthah's vow appears accordingly to have been this, that in dedicating his daughter exclusively and for ever to the Lord, he treated her not according to the rule for personal vows, but according to the rule for burnt-offerings, and renounced all possible right of redemption.

V. The common opinion has compelled its supporters

to mistranslate ver. 40, "the daughters of Israel went yearly to *lament* the daughter of Jephthah the Gileadite four days in a year." If the sacred writer had meant to say so, there was no reason for departing from the common word, which he had already used twice, ver. 37, 38, translated "bewail," and taking a word so very rare that it occurs again only in this book, ch. v. 11. There it is translated "to rehearse," with the implication of praising; and this is the meaning on which the best authorities agree, as the only one that has clear evidence in its favour. At the same time there is a difference in the construction of the two passages. The former mentions the object, "there shall they rehearse the righteous acts of the Lord:" this passage throws in a preposition which is superfluous, not to say inconvenient or misleading, unless it be translated somewhat as this, "to rehearse praises to her," or "about her." Hence the marginal paraphrase in the authorized version "to talk with her," implying of course that she was not put to death. This rehearsing of her praises to her by the daughters of Israel was the compensation which they made to her for her being dedicated to the service of God in a single life, when otherwise she might have had praises enough of a different kind, as the only daughter of the judge of Israel might have had the most attractive marriage she could desire; compare Ps. lxxviii. 63, "their maidens were not given in marriage," literally, "were not praised," as in the margin. On the other hand, had she been killed and burned upon the altar, no amount of perverted feeling could have led to a yearly public praising of such an action. Nay, had dire necessity been thought a palliation or excuse for the atrocious deed, it could be remembered only as a matter for secret lamentation, too horrible to speak of publicly: even when the heathen king of Moab in his extremity acted so with his eldest son, it produced such indignation against the victorious army of Israel, who were very indirectly the cause of it, that they departed from him, and returned to their own land, 2 Ki. iii. 27. And in fact, if rehearsing praises to her be not the meaning, it is hard to see how Jephthah along with her, if not to the exclusion of her, should not have been the person considered and celebrated or lamented; just as it is Abraham, and not Isaac, whose faith and obedience are commended in Scripture.

VI. When we read that it was a custom in Israel that the daughters of Israel annually lamented her for four days, how comes it that there is no trace of such a custom in any part of Israelitish history, and no reference to it by any writer, inspired or uninspired, until we come to a late Christian father, Epiphanius, who is reckoned a poor authority on almost any subject, and who is perhaps universally admitted to be involved in some confusion or mistake in this instance? On our theory the answer would be easy. They came to talk with her, or rehearse her praises to her, as she had gone up and down the mountains with her companions for two months bewailing her virginity: they continued to spend these four days annually with her, as long as she lived; but in the nature of the case the practice ceased at her death, and no subsequent reference to it could reasonably be expected.

VII. The correctness of the entire construction is liable to serious doubt, when the last clause of ver. 39 is torn from the rest of the verse, and thrown into connection with ver. 40, by supplying a word. It runs in the English Bible, as in translations generally: "And it was a custom in Israel [that] the daughters of Israel went yearly," &c. The simple rendering of ver. 39, standing by itself, according to the very ancient tradition among the Jews, which divided the verses, is, "And it came to pass, at the end of two months, that she returned unto her father, and he did to her according to his vow which he had vowed, and she knew no man, and it was a custom in Israel." Had the writer wished to say, "And it became a custom in Israel" that so and so should be done, he had at his command a very easy and most familiar phrase for expressing his meaning. Connecting the information given in the previous part of the verse with the "*custom* in Israel" (or "statute in Israel," as the word is generally rendered in our version), there are two explanations that naturally occur, either of which is adverse to her being killed and burned, an action certainly abhorrent to every Israelitish custom or statute. One explanation may be, "he did to her according to his vow, and it was a statute in Israel," namely, to perform a vow faithfully, however painfully trying, Nu. xxx. 2; see Ec. v. 4, 5, and Jephthah's own words, ver. 35. Now if his vow was to consecrate her for life to God's service, the two months' delay was a small matter, a little relaxation in personal liberty to her who during that time felt that God's vows were upon her, and lived in all the purity that became his handmaid. But if his vow had been to kill and burn her on the altar, it would have been a most perilous trifling with the principle of the law, and the opportunity of fulfilling his engagement, which might become impossible by her natural death, or his feelings, or her own coming in the way, or by the opposition of the people: a consideration the force of which becomes plain by two parallel examples, if we imagine Abraham announcing his intention of sacrificing Isaac two months after he received the command, instead of rising and going early the next morning, whereas Hannah had no hesitation in keeping her child Samuel beside her till she had weaned him, at an age much more advanced probably than is usual with us, and at which the child was ready for worshipping the Lord. The other explanation may be, that Jephthah did to her according to his vow, she being a virgin fit for consecration to God's service; and it was a custom in Israel to have such virgins. Females devoted by a personal vow did exist, according to what has been said under No. IV.: and if deaconesses were found so important as to be practically indispensable in the early eastern Christian church, similar causes would render similar female labourers still more manifestly necessary in the services at the Jewish tabernacle and temple, though their position would be comparatively humble, according to the position of inferiority which was assigned to the female sex in the entire economy of the Old Testament. Reference is made to them in Ex. xxxviii. 8; 1 Sa. ii. 22, and not improbably Lu. ii. 37. The reason for such females being unmarried or widows, at least in the case of those who gave themselves to it for life, is plain enough: under a husband a woman would not be free to devote herself to all the details of this work, or if she devoted herself to them she must neglect her family duties. The peculiarity of the case of Jephthah's daughter was that she who might have held the highest place among the women of the happy homes of Israel, consented to become a doorkeeper in the house of her God, a companion to the females among the Gibeonites,

see Jos. ix. 23; only these were degraded to these menial offices under a merited curse by Joshua, but she by her own and her father's free choice, a holy offering for the good of Israel.

VIII. The common opinion is exposed to difficulties on account of several matters which are passed over in silence, which we should have expected to be mentioned, or which are mentioned in such a way as to be naturally explained only on the other theory. (1.) "He did with her according to his vow," a curious circumlocution, when everything might have been plain, had it been said that he killed and offered her. It seems the more strange that not a word should be said of the terrible act, when we contrast the details in the description of Abraham's sacrifice. And it is strangest of all that there should be this silence or sparing use of words, while it is added, "and she knew no man," which is an unnecessary repetition, considering what has been told, ver. 37, 38; except on the other supposition of her living on to lead a virgin life; in which case it is the natural information to assure us that the vow is to be understood metaphorically, and that it was faithfully kept. (2.) There is not a word of the father *repenting*, or finding any difficulty about the principle of his vow. There is nothing besides *sorrow* that he is left alone and childless in his hour of triumphant exaltation to be the leader of Israel: "Alas, my daughter! thou hast brought me very low, and thou art one of them that trouble me." (3.) There is not a word of *death*, but only of her exclusion from the families of Israel, in her single request for two months in which to bewail her *virginity;* which, it is related, that she accordingly did. If we could believe the reply to be satisfactory that her death is understood, when it is another thing that is actually named, there would remain the question why she was to go up and down upon the mountains to bewail it along with her female *companions*, instead of spending the time at least partly with her *father*, from whom death was so quickly to part her. Whereas, if she was to be consecrated to service in the house of God, her father, as the leader of Israel, would have many opportunities of seeing her there.

[The subject of this vow, its nature, and its mode of fulfilment, has been generally felt to be interesting, not merely as a matter of curious inquiry, but also as having an important bearing on the character of the people of Israel at the time of the occurrence. A work specially devoted to an account of all opinions on the subject, which we have not seen, was published by Dresde, *Votum Jeftæ* (Leipsiæ, 1767). It is more or less discussed in commentaries on the text of Judges, and in histories like that of Ewald. Essays on the subject have also been written; among the most accessible of which are two in favour of the common view by Pfeiffer, *Opera*, p. 184–189, 591–598; and two by living writers in favour of the opinion we have advocated, by Hengstenberg, in his *Authenticity of the Pentateuch*, vol. ii. p. 105–121 of the English translation; and by Paulus Cassell, in Herzog's *Encyclopaedie*, article "Jifta."] [G. C. M. D.]

JEPHUN'NEH, apparently a Gentile name, and applied to only two individuals: 1. JEPHUNNEH, the father of Caleb, who, along with Joshua, remained faithful when so many gave way (*see* CALEB). 2. JEPHUNNEH, the eldest of the sons of Jether, who was of the tribe of Asher, 1 Ch. vii. 38.

JERAH'MEEL [יְרַחְמְאֵל; Ἱερεμεήλ, Ἱεραμεήλ; *Jerameel*]. 1. The eldest son of Hezron, a grandson of Judah, 1 Ch. ii. 9, 25–42. Being thus at the head of the senior branch of this powerful tribe, we are not surprised to find him a person of great importance, as is evident from the fact that a portion of the territory assigned to Judah is called after his name. David, when questioned by Achish as to the direction of his recent foray, replied ambiguously, "Against the south of Judah, and [or rather, "even"] against the south of the Jerahmeelites, and against the south of the Kenites," 1 Sa. xxvii. 10; *i.e.* against those portions of the south country (Negeb), pertaining to Judah, which were allotted respectively to the descendants of Jerahmeel and Jethro. Now we know that the latter were settled in "the wilderness of Judah which lieth in the south of Arad," Ju. i. 16; *i.e.* in that part of the south country which adjoined Arad (now Tell 'Arâd). We are justified, therefore, in concluding that the greater portion of "the Negeb of the Jerahmeelites," which is mentioned first, lay south-west of Arad; for a Philistine invasion (such as David's was supposed to be) was only possible from that quarter. Accordingly, we find that, to this day, the extensive plateau, stretching south-west from Tell 'Arâd, and occupied by the Arab tribe of Saidîyeh, is known by the name *er-Rakhmah* (Williams, Holy City, p. 488; Kurtz, History of the Old Covenant, iii. 224–226). This is the Arabic equivalent for the Hebrew *Jerahmeel*, allowance being made for the dropping of the initial letter *yod*, and the (intensive) final syllable *el*. Both these changes are of frequent occurrence; it may suffice, however, to adduce the single instance of *Jezreel*, now called *Zerîn*, which has undergone a modification precisely analogous to that which has transformed Jerahmeel into Rakhmah. Nor is this the only trace we have of the name; we meet with it, still less abbreviated, in Wady *er-Ramâil* (Valley of Jerahmeel), and Belad *er-Ramâil* (District of Jerahmeel), south-east of Arad (Van de Velde, ii. 84, 85; De Saulcy, i. 540–542). This must be regarded as the extreme limit of their territory northwards; for here it meets the southern boundary of the inheritance given to Caleb, afterwards known as "the Negeb of Caleb," Jos. xiv. 14; xv. 19; xxi. 11, 12; 1 Sa. xxv. 2, 3; xxx. 14. We are thus enabled to assign a definite locality to those "cities of the Jerahmeelites" to which David sent a portion of the Amalekite spoil, 1 Sa. xxx. 29.

2. JERAHMEEL. A Levite, descended from Merari, who was contemporary with David, comp. 1 Ch. xxiv. 27–29 with xxxiii. 21, 22.

3. JERAHMEEL. A high official commissioned by Jehoiakim to arrest Jeremiah and Baruch, Je. xxxvi. 26. The Authorized Version represents him as "the son of Hammelech;" but the margin (in common with most of the versions) very properly gives the literal meaning, "the son of the king," which would seem to be the correct rendering here, as well as in the very similar passage, 1 Ki. xxii. 26. [E. W.]

JEREMI'AH, יִרְמְיָהוּ [יִרְמְיָה] ch. xxvii. 1; xxviii. 5, 10, 11, 15; xxix. 1.] The meaning of the name is *Jehovah throws; i.e.*, according to some, *overthrows, casts down*, Ex. xv. 1; according to others, *lays down, founds, appoints, ordains* (Ges. Jehova constituit). But the latter view has no support from Hebrew usage; and the former, besides having this support, gives to the name an import much more distinctive, almost prophetic both of the history of the man and of the character of his time.[1] "He

[1] The root *rama*, from which the name Jeremiah is derived (compare יִבְנְיָה, *Ibneiah*, from *bana*, and יִפְדְיָה, *Iphdeiah*, from *pada*) is rarely used in Hebrew in the kal form, but is certainly nearly equivalent to the common Hebrew verb *hishlik, to throw*, Ex. xv. 1; Ne. ix. 11. In this sense it is in common use in Chaldee; compare Da. iii. 6, &c., "*thrown* into the midst of the

who bore this name was consecrated to that God who, with an almighty hand, throws to the ground all his enemies, ch. i. 10" (Hengst. Christ. vol. ii. p. 361, Clark's trans.)

I. *The Prophet.*—With the prophecies of Jeremiah are interwoven many minute biographical details, which we greatly desiderate in the writings of the other prophets. He was of a priestly family, being born in Anathoth, one of the towns allotted to the priests of the line of Ithamar. As the high-priesthood had passed, in the reign of Solomon, from the line of Ithamar to that of his elder brother Eleazar, and was never afterwards restored to the former, the conjecture that Jeremiah's father was the Hilkiah who held the office of high-priest under Josiah is groundless. From the expression מִן הַכֹּהֲנִים, *of the priests*, in ch. i. 1, we rather infer that he held no conspicuous position in the priestly ranks. It is probable that Jeremiah continued to reside at Anathoth for some years after his call to the prophetic office, which took place in the thirteenth year of Josiah, B.C. 628, while he was yet a youth, ch. i. 2, 6. Like our Lord, who, residing in Bethany under the friendly roof of Lazarus and his sisters, made daily journeys to and from Jerusalem, Jeremiah *may* have continued to spend quiet evenings in his father's house, while by day he laboured in his prophetic mission amid the throng and bustle of the capital.[1] But after some years he was compelled by the bitter hostility of his fellow-townsmen, whose immoralities he had exposed and denounced, to quit his native place and take up his residence in Jerusalem, ch. xi. 21; xii. 6.

This change of residence, however, only exposed him to new dangers, and brought him within the reach of more formidable adversaries than the priests of Anathoth; for the death of Josiah and the captivity of Jehoahaz opened up the way for the accession of the violent and ungodly Jehoiakim to the throne of Judah, Je. xxii. 17. Under such a king Jerusalem was no longer a safe residence for the faithful prophet of the Lord; yet Jeremiah felt that, at so momentous a crisis in the national history, it was not his part to purchase personal safety by the abandonment of public duty. Though naturally of a timid disposition, so that at first he shrank from the responsibilities of the prophetic office, yet now the word of God which had come to him had taken such complete possession of his soul that he could not but give utterance to it, be the danger ever so great. And though in some seasons of deep depression, when he seemed to himself to have laboured in vain and spent his strength for nought, he almost resolved to speak no more in the name of the Lord, yet this momentary impulse was speedily overpowered; for "the word of God was in his heart as a burning fire shut up in his bones; and he was weary with forbearing and could not stay," ch. xx. 9.

Not long after Jehoiakim ascended the throne, and probably on occasion of one of the great feasts which drew multitudes together from all parts of the land, ch. xxvi. 2, Jeremiah made what seems to have been his first public appearance and appeal since the accession of the new monarch. Undeterred by the fate of a brother prophet, Urijah the son of Shemaiah, who had already fallen a victim to the fury of the king, Jeremiah, in obedience to a divine impulse, appeared in the temple courts, and by words of truth and judgment stirred the thronging multitudes. A tumult ensued, the priests and prophets inciting the people to violence. The report of the tumult speedily reaching the palace, the officers of state appeared on the scene, and proceeded to investigate the cause of the uproar. To these princes Jeremiah made a noble appeal, and not in vain. Still the influence of the priests and prophets (the most violent antagonists of Jeremiah) was very great; and it was only by the interposition of a powerful friend, Ahikam the son of Shaphan—a member of a family eminent for its piety during several successive generations—that he escaped with his life, ch. xxvi.

During his residence at Jerusalem, Jeremiah was doubtless the centre of the little circle amid which true piety still lingered; but there was one whom he singled out from all his associates, honouring him with peculiar marks of his friendship, and even admitting him to share the labours of his prophetic ministry. This was Baruch, the son of Neriah, who seems to have been a person of rank and influence, ch. xliii. 3; li. 59; though, being also a man of worth and piety, he preferred the society and friendship of Jeremiah to the high official dignity and authority which he might have aspired to and enjoyed. The friendship and active co-operation of Baruch proved highly valuable to the prophet. For shortly after the incident just mentioned, and probably in consequence of it, we find that Jeremiah had become so obnoxious, either to the court or to the people, or to both, that he could no longer venture to appear in public. In this exigency Baruch came to his aid; and, by acting as his amanuensis and representative, secured the transmission of the divine message to the rulers and people, ch. xxxvi. 5; xlviii. 5.

The fourth year of Jehoiakim, remarkable in Jewish history as the year in which the first Chaldean invasion took place, was an epoch also in the history of Jeremiah; for in that year he was divinely directed to collect into one body the various prophecies he had delivered during the twenty-three years which had elapsed since the commencement of his ministry, ch. xxv. 3; xxxvi. 1, &c. These prophecies Baruch, having written down from the lips of Jeremiah, recited within the temple courts to a large and mixed audience of princes and people. Some of the former, affected by the divine message, resolved, though with but slender hopes of success, to have it read before the king. The result was such as might have been anticipated. The headstrong tyrant, after listening impatiently for a short time to words very different from those which he was accustomed to hear, started up, and seizing the roll, cut it in pieces, and threw it into the fire. Jeremiah and Baruch would have instantly fallen victims to his fury, had they not, at the instigation of the princes, shut themselves up in a place of concealment. In that retreat Baruch wrote down, from Jeremiah's dictation, the same series of prophecies (many like words, we are told, being added unto them); and doubtless this first collection formed the nucleus around which were gathered, from time to time, other prophecies subsequently delivered, till the whole assumed

furnace;" ch. vi. 17, "*cast* him into the den of lions;" ch. vii. 9, "until the thrones were *cast down*." Fürst (*Lex.*) adopts an old explanation which connects *rama* with *ram*, *high*, and renders, *Jehovah is exalted*.

[1] If we consider the character of the earlier prophecies, it is probable that the first years of his ministry were given to contemplation rather than to action.

the form in which they now appear in the scriptural book of Jeremiah.

The second invasion of the Chaldees, which issued in the capture of Jerusalem and the captivity of the young king Jehoiachin (an issue which Jeremiah had distinctly foretold), may naturally be supposed to have given him a position of greater authority in Jerusalem. And accordingly we find the new king Zedekiah, unlike his brother Jehoiakim, not only listening patiently to his prophetic admonitions, but even sending of his own accord to consult him in more pressing emergencies. Zedekiah, however, though willing to ask advice, was not equally disposed to follow the advice the prophet gave. Still less so his princes and ministers, who were for the most part rash and inexperienced, proud of their new dignity, and resolved to pursue at whatever hazard the course of policy which had already brought so terrible disasters upon the nation. To these men Jeremiah speedily made himself obnoxious, and it was not long before he experienced the effects of their hostility. The duty indeed imposed upon Jeremiah was one from which he might well have recoiled. The whole nation was bent upon a war of freedom. Notwithstanding their heart-apostasy from Jehovah, they still retained the conviction that they were the peculiar favourites of heaven; and that, however low they might sink, they could not perish utterly. In their carnal minds the permanence of the true religion, which the prophets had so often foretold, was always associated with the continued preservation of the temple and city in which it was visibly enshrined. It was to oppose these strong national convictions, to counsel submission to the yoke of Babylon, to proclaim the utter fruitlessness and fatal issue of the meditated revolt, that Jeremiah stood forth—one man against a nation. His position was not an enviable one. A patriot counselling submission to a foreign master, and labouring to repress the heavings of the national spirit impatient of the yoke! This was a strange spectacle, and we can scarcely wonder that Jeremiah was by not a few regarded as an emissary of the Chaldeans rather than a prophet of the Lord. And that the once timid and shrinking prophet had the courage to take up this position—to place himself in the way of an excited and rushing nation, and try to stop and turn it—shows that God had not forgotten his promise: "I have made thee this day a defenced city and an iron pillar and brazen walls against the whole land; . . . and they shall fight against thee, but shall not prevail against thee; for I am with thee, saith the Lord, to deliver thee," ch. i. 18, 19.

During the greater part of the reign of Zedekiah, which continued eleven years, the prophet seems to have pursued his work unmolested, at least without encountering any violent persecution. But towards the close of that reign, when the rebellion, no longer only meditated, had actually broken out, and the Chaldean army hastening from the east had invested Jerusalem, and when it was essential to the success of the dominant policy (if success could ever have been hoped for) that the nation should rise as one man against the invaders, and not destroy their cause by divided counsels—it became evident that the conflict between Jeremiah and the rulers must speedily come to an issue. So accordingly it was; for a very trivial circumstance being seized upon as a pretext for violent measures, the prophet was arrested as a deserter and traitor to his country, and cast into the common prison. In this prison, which seems to have consisted of several dark underground vaults, ch. xxxvii. 16, he was closely confined for "many days." Afterward, by command of the king, he was removed to the "guard-house" (חצר המטרה, *chătsar hammattara*) attached to the royal palace, which was a place of considerable extent, with walls and gates, having upper apartments for the reception of the less guilty or less dreaded prisoners, and a row of dungeons underground. At first Jeremiah occupied one of the upper apartments, having the use of writing materials, enjoying the visits and converse of his friends, and being occasionally sent for to be consulted by the king, who probably expected to find him after his lengthened imprisonment a more courtly and pliant counsellor. If such was the king's expectation he must have been greatly disappointed; for Jeremiah still continued undauntedly to declare the mind of God—predicting, as before, the disastrous issue of the siege, and counselling timely submission. The princes, indignant that the hands of king and people should be weakened by the prophet's dark forebodings, resolved on his destruction; and it was not difficult for them to work on the fears of the king, and extort from him permission to carry their deadly purpose into execution. Armed with the royal mandate, they entered the court of the prison, laid hold of Jeremiah, and cast him into one of the dungeons, so deep that it was necessary to let him down by means of cords. And doubtless, as they turned away from their victim, they imagined that his voice had been silenced for ever. But God, who had yet some work for his prophet to do, interposed in his behalf strangely and unexpectedly. An Ethiopian eunuch pleads for him with the king, and obtains an order for his release. Jeremiah, covered with the mire into which he had sunk, is drawn up by means of cords, and restored to his apartment in the upper prison. Meanwhile the Chaldean army was pressing the siege. Jeremiah continued in prison till the city was taken, when he was released by order of Nebuchadnezzar. Strange fate for a prophet of Jehovah—to have his life saved by an Ethiopian eunuch, and his liberty restored to him by a heathen conqueror!

The imprisonment of Jeremiah must have continued for more than a year. It is remarkable that during this period God favoured him with some of the brightest glimpses into the future which he ever enjoyed, ch. xxxii. 36-44; xxxiii. 1-26. The guard-house was his Patmos, where he saw the heavens opened, and read the glorious future which God had in store for his church.

These revelations were connected with a somewhat remarkable transaction, which took place previous to his release. Hanameel, his uncle's son, visits him in prison, and offers him as next of kin the purchase of a small property in Anathoth, which he is about to sell. Here was a trial of his faith. When the proposal was made to him, Anathoth must have been occupied by the Chaldeans; Jerusalem, he knew, would soon be a heap of ruins, and the whole land a desolation. Yet he at once agrees to the proposal of his relative; and, having gone through the various formalities necessary to the legal completion of the purchase, he weighs out the money, and assumes the proprietorship of the ground. The transaction was a prophecy in act. For the spirit of the prophet, so often clouded and over-

whelmed, was at this time irradiated by bright anticipations of Israel's destiny; and as he delivered over the purchase-papers to Baruch, he said to him with calm confidence, "Take these and put them in an earthen vessel, that they may continue many days; for thus saith the Lord of hosts, the God of Israel, Houses and fields and vineyards shall be possessed again in this land," ch. xxxii. 15.

The capture of Jerusalem restored Jeremiah to liberty; but to him restored liberty brought no joy. What a scene must have burst upon him as he passed the prison gates—Jerusalem and her palaces fallen to the ground; and that holy and beautiful house which the piety of a former age had reared, and around which so many hallowed associations had clustered, burned up with fire! To a heart like his, so tender and impressible, the spectacle must have been overwhelming. Can we wonder that the first gush of his poetic spirit poured itself forth, not in joyful strains, but in those *Lamentations* over his fallen country, which will remain an enduring monument at once of his patriotism, his genius, and his piety.

The story of Jeremiah now draws near its close. After the murder of Gedaliah, the son of Ahikam, the remnant of the Jewish people still resident in Palestine resolved, contrary to the advice and despite the remonstrances of Jeremiah, to retire into Egypt; and thither they bore the prophet along with them. There the dangers he had foreboded speedily manifested themselves. The exiled remnant, contaminated by the example of their Egyptian neighbours, fell anew into all manner of abominations; their wives burned incense and poured out drink-offerings to the queen of heaven: so that Jeremiah was compelled in his old age still to prophesy bitter things: "Behold, I will watch over them for evil, and not for good; . . . and all the remnant of Judah that are gone into the land of Egypt to sojourn there shall know whose word shall stand, mine or theirs," ch. xliv.

These were among the last prophetic words of Jeremiah. As more than forty years had elapsed since the commencement of his ministry, he could not have lived long after this period. But of the exact time and circumstances of his death we have no record; and the Jewish and Christian traditions are not in harmony (Carpzov, Introd. in lib. proph. p. 137). By the early fathers of the Christian church he was enrolled among the martyrs, having, according to the account transmitted by them, fallen a victim to the rage of his fellow-exiles, whose sins he rebuked, and whose delusive hopes he unsparingly exposed. And in truth we may well claim for Jeremiah all the honours of a martyr, though we know not how he died. His life was one continued martyrdom. The forty years of a ministry pursued with unflinching fortitude through dangers and discouragements under which many a braver and stronger heart than his would have succumbed, amid fightings without and fears within, with nothing to lean on or to draw strength from but the word of an unseen God—surely such a spectacle of unswerving fidelity, of invincible perseverance, presented too by one naturally of a weak and timid disposition and tender heart, is not less noble and worthy of admiration, and certainly not less fruitful of instruction, than the awful but short-lived agonies of the martyr's death.[1]

[1] We cannot wonder that Jeremiah has been in all ages of the church regarded as a type of Christ (*Carpzov*, p. 134).

II. *The Book of the Prophet Jeremiah.*—Under this head we shall take up in succession the following topics: 1. *Authorship;* 2. *Subject-matter and general character;* 3. *Arrangement;* 4. *Text.*

1. *Authorship.*—This question presents no serious difficulty. The external evidence is altogether in favour of the received view that Jeremiah was the author of the whole book; and the internal evidence is scarcely less decisive. There is in Jeremiah's writings, though not so strongly marked as in Ezekiel's, a prevailing and dominant character—a peculiar cast of thought and expression; and this character pervades nearly every part of the book which bears his name. Criticism thus corroborates the testimony of tradition; and accordingly the book as a whole has been universally received as the work of Jeremiah. Doubts indeed have been expressed as to the genuineness of some portions of it; but these doubts, with one or two exceptions, are not of sufficient importance to merit any extended notice. It is now generally agreed that the first forty-nine chapters are the composition of Jeremiah.[2] The evidence in the case of the last three chapters is not so decisive.

With regard to the last chapter, which is historical throughout, it is not probable that Jeremiah was its author. For (1.) it stands quite apart from the rest of the historical matter in the book, according to the Hebrew arrangement: and the chapter immediately preceding closes with the words עַד הֵנָּה דִּבְרֵי יִרְמְיָהוּ, *thus far the words of Jeremiah,* which seem intended to intimate that the chapter which follows is not his. (2.) The greater portion of the chapter in question is taken almost verbatim from the last two chapters of 2 Ki., where it evidently forms an original and integral part of the history. In Jeremiah several explanatory clauses are inserted, as in ver. 9, 10, 11, 15, 19, 20, 21, 23. (3.) The chapter contains an account of the release of Jehoiachin, which took place when Jeremiah was about ninety years of age.

The fiftieth and fifty-first chapters contain a prophecy against Babylon, with a brief historical appendix recording the date and occasion of its composition. In that appendix it is stated that the prophecy which precedes was written by Jeremiah, and placed by him in the hands of Zeriah, the son of Neriah and brother of Baruch, who was about to proceed on an official journey to Babylon in the fourth year of Zedekiah, with instructions on his arrival in Chaldea to read it to the exiled Israelites, and having done so, to cast it, with a stone attached to it, into the Euphrates, saying, "Thus shall Babylon sink and shall not rise from the evil that I will bring upon her." It must be allowed that the whole of this transaction is very much after Jeremiah's usual manner, especially the prophetic act which followed the reading of the prophecy, and which is remarkable at once for its simplicity and its significance. Of the prophecy itself four different views have been taken: some assigning the entire composition to a later period than Jeremiah's; others holding that though Jeremiah is the principal author, there are many interpolations; others acknowledging Jeremiah to be the

[2] Some smaller sections and clauses of these chapters are still in doubt: "ch. x. 1-16, when purified from additions, is entirely the work of the pseudo-Isaiah." "ch. xxx. xxxi. xxxiii. have been wrought over by the pseudo-Isaiah" (De Wette, *Introd.*) Ch. xxvii.-xxix. have been similarly wrought over by a later hand. Compare De Wette and Davidson with Hävernick and Keil.

author of the prophecy, but assigning it to a later date than that mentioned in the historical appendix; whilst a fourth class, including almost all British critics, receive the whole as genuine, the historical appendix as well as the prophecy.

That the prophecy as a whole is the work of Jeremiah can scarcely be doubted. Dr. Davidson, who, renouncing his earlier opinion, now holds that "it was composed by another than Jeremiah," at the same time admits (and in this almost all critics are agreed) that in favour of the Jeremian authorship "may be adduced," in addition to the testimony of the title and short historical appendix already mentioned, ch. l. 1; li. 59, &c., and the unanimous consent of antiquity, "the language, style, and imagery" of the prophecy, adding, "It is impossible to read ch. l. 1–20 and not be struck with the correspondence of style" (Introduction to the Old Testament, iii. 107). So De Wette, Ewald, &c. If, therefore, internal concurs with external evidence in pointing to Jeremiah as the author, we are required by the principles of sound criticism to receive the prophecy as his, unless it can be shown that by doing so we involve ourselves in some gross contradiction or palpable error.

But this has not been shown. Our readers may examine for themselves the arguments relied on by Dr. Davidson to prove that Jeremiah was not the author of the prophecy (vol. iii. p. 108-110). They will be found to rest not upon purely critical, but mainly upon theological and æsthetical considerations, which have little objective and independent value.

The only argument of weight against the genuineness of these chapters is the apparent discordancy between the scope of them and the scope of other writings of Jeremiah which belong to the same period. According to the historical appendix this prophecy against Babylon was written in the fourth year of Zedekiah, ch. li. 59, and it is wholly occupied with a prophetic description of the utter overthrow and destruction to which Babylon was doomed. It contains likewise several calls to the exiled Jews, to whom it was designed to be read, to flee out of the midst of Babylon, lest they should be involved in her ruin, ch. l. 8; li. 6, 45. Now, on turning to the twenty-ninth chapter of Jeremiah, we find recorded a most interesting letter addressed by the prophet to these same exiles, and about the same period; and certainly the scope and drift of this letter seem at first glance strangely to contrast with that of the prophecy. For, instead of calling on the exiles to flee out of Babylon, it counsels them to build houses and plant vineyards, to take wives for themselves and for their sons, and to seek the peace of the city and land to which they have been carried captive. However, that this discordancy is only apparent, or, if to a certain extent real, does not affect the genuineness of the prophecy, will appear from the following considerations:—

(*a.*) *The different character of the two compositions;* the one being a *letter,* conveying plain and prudent advice in the language of everyday life; the other a *prophecy,* in which the future, filling the prophet's soul, is seen close at hand, and depicted accordingly.

(*b.*) In truth, on closer examination there does not appear to be any real discordance between the letter and the prophecy in the intimations they give as to the duration of the captivity. For, though in the letter the prophet does counsel the exiles to build houses and to discharge the various duties of good citizens in the land of their captivity, he at the same time cheers them by the announcement that their exile is not to be perpetual, nay, he fixes the very date of their restoration, ch. xxix. 10. And so, as to the prophecy, though it may at first glance appear to announce an immediate deliverance, yet on further inspection intimations are discovered that the predicted deliverance, though certain, is not close at hand. Compare ch. l. 4, 10, *in those days and at that time,* &c., ch. li. 47.

(*c.*) We cannot be quite sure that the year is correctly given in ch. li. 59. Mistakes in numbers, as is well known, are not uncommon in these ancient scriptures. We find several such mistakes in the very next chapter as compared with the corresponding portion of the books of Kings (compare Je. lii. 12, 22, 25, with 2 Ki. xxv. 8, 17, 19). But supposing the number to be correct, and the prophecy to have been written in the beginning of the fourth year of Zedekiah, *i.e.* only a short time after the exiles had arrived in Babylon, and whilst the heart-wounds caused by separation from the sacred soil of their beloved country were still fresh, we can well understand how, in such circumstances, he should have been guided by the divine Spirit to choose as the subject of his prophecy—"Babylon's fall and Israel's deliverance." But, like St. Paul in writing to the Thessalonians, Jeremiah seems to have been misunderstood by many of the exiles, as well as by his countrymen still remaining in Judea. For, very shortly after, in the same fourth year of Zedekiah, we find false prophets misleading the people by predictions of *immediate* deliverance, ch. xxviii. 3, *within two full years,* &c.; and it appears to have been for the express purpose of counteracting the effect which such predictions would naturally produce, and preventing his countrymen, whether in Judea or in Chaldea, from being hurried by the false hopes thus excited into the adoption of violent and fatal measures, that Jeremiah wrote the letter recorded in the 29th chapter, in which he predicts the duration of the captivity, and counsels acquiescence for the time in their present position. The apparent discordance between the letter and the prophecy is thus explained, and the objection to the genuineness of the latter, founded on this discordance, is removed.

2. *Subject-matter and General Character of the Prophecies.*—The death of Josiah had an important influence on the prophetic teaching of Jeremiah and his immediate successors. For centuries the hopes of the Jewish people had been eagerly directed to the Prince of David's line destined to arise and restore the glory and pre-eminence of Israel. Was not Josiah just such a prince? It is not improbable that many of the Israelites beheld in him the predicted Restorer. But now he had fallen, and with him had been extinguished the last ray of freedom and hope. And to the still repeated announcement of the coming Christ, doubtless the popular reply would be: "You speak of a king yet to come—a king of righteousness and peace. Was not Josiah such a king—a king after God's own heart? And if he has not delivered us, what hope have we more? Has not the word of the prophets become as wind?"

The prophets of this age accordingly, in order to adapt their teaching to the circumstances and wants of their times, give special prominence, not to the fact that the Messiah was yet to come, but to the *moral and spiritual revolution* which his coming was destined to usher in. True, Josiah was a pious king, and he

had extirpated idolatry and restored the temple worship; but the Messiah—*he* must accomplish something greater. The change he is to work is not an outer and formal, but an inward and spiritual change. The aim and end of his rule will not be an external conformity with the Mosaic ordinances, but the subjecting of the heart to God. This thought, accordingly, we find specially prominent in Jeremiah, and in his disciple Ezekiel—so prominent that it may be regarded as the thought which ruled their prophetic activity, and to lodge which in the national mind they were specially raised up and supernaturally endowed. Compare Eze. xxxvi. 25, &c., and Je. xxxi. 31–34; the latter a passage on which a great part of the argument of the epistle to the Hebrews is founded. See also Je. iii. 16, 17; iv. 3, 4, 14; xxxiii. 7, 8.

Still, though the βασιλεια is more prominently the subject of Jeremiah's prophecy than the βασιλευς, the latter is by no means forgotten, ch. xxiii. 5, 6; xxx. 9; xxxiii. 15, &c.

But to the prophet's eye the revelation of the kingdom of God was by no means close at hand. In the near future he saw dark overwhelming clouds of judgment. Only out of the deepest affliction was it possible for the future glory of Israel to spring. Hence the predominantly dark character of the prophecies of Jeremiah. The night is at hand; the day is yet afar off. Again and again we hear from him the wail of despair, alternating with words of passionate remonstrance and urgent appeal. His call is no longer that of the earlier prophets—to fight the battles of the Lord, but to submit to the Lord's rod, and to hear its voice.

The style of the prophet accords with his character and theme. In the writings of Jeremiah, indeed, we find specimens of almost every description of Hebrew composition, from the simplest prose narrative to the highly impassioned utterance of poetic feeling. Rarely, however, does he reach the highest poetic elevation. His was not the eagle eye and wing of Isaiah. His dove-like spirit usually meditated a humbler flight. We do not find in his writings the nervous, compressed, and abrupt style of the older prophets. His language is flowing, loose, and one might almost say redundant, were it not that the gentler emotions naturally find utterance in such language (Lowth on Hebrew Poetry, Lecture xxi.; Ewald; Rödiger in Ersch and Gruber, s. v.) As an expression in language of singular beauty of the soul's deep grief, the book of Lamentations is without a rival.

A Chaldee influence begins, as we might have anticipated, to make itself perceptible in the writings of Jeremiah.

3. *Arrangement of the Prophecies.*—The mode in which the book of Jeremiah is arranged has long and often been complained of by critics. Thus Carpzov, in his Introduction, has a section entitled, "Turbatus Vaticiniorum ordo." So Blayney, who talks of the "preposterous jumbling of the prophecies from ch. xxi. to ch. xxxvii.," and Lightfoot (Chron. Temp.) The prophecies certainly are not arranged in order of time; but the chronological is not the only principle on which the different parts of a volume may be arranged. It is quite as natural to group together prophecies bearing a similar character, or relating to the same subject, as those belonging to the same period. And that this principle has determined, in part at least, the present form of the book of Jeremiah, is obvious at a glance. For in ch. xlvi.–li. we find the prophecies against foreign nations grouped together, as also in ch. xxx.–xxxiii. those which announce the final triumph of truth and religion (at least the more important of them); and we cannot fail to observe that in the commencement of the book the purely prophetic predominates, while the latter half is chiefly historical.

In investigating this matter more minutely, there are three sources from which we receive aid—1, the historical notices met with in the book relating to collections of prophecies formed by Jeremiah himself; 2, the titles prefixed to the prophecies; 3, their internal character. The first of these sources of information is most interesting and important; furnishing us, as it does, with at least one instance of a prophet collecting and arranging his own writings, or part of them. For we are informed that in the fourth year of Jehoiakim, and twenty-three years after Jeremiah began to prophesy, he was divinely instructed to make a collection of all the prophecies he had delivered "against Israel, and against Judah, and against all the nations," ch. xxxvi. xlv., from the day when God called him to be a prophet. This injunction he obeyed, employing Baruch as his amanuensis; and thus was formed the first collection of Jeremiah's prophecies. We are further informed in the chapters just quoted, that after the roll which contained this collection was destroyed by the king, the prophet, again with the aid of Baruch as amanuensis, prepared another roll, on which he set down all that was contained in the first, *adding many like words.*

Of another collection of prophecies of very different import we have an account in the beginning of the thirtieth chapter, where we read of a second command received by the prophet to write "all the words which God had spoken to him in a book." From the reason which is given for this command, "For lo! the days come, saith the Lord, that I will bring again the captivity of my people Israel and Judah," &c., there can be no doubt that this new collection included ch. xxx.–xxxiii., which constitute the most purely Messianic portion of the book as at present arranged. This collection was formed towards the close of Zedekiah's reign, shortly before the destruction of Jerusalem, and therefore about twenty years after the publication of the first collection.

In the title of the book we find traces of a *third* collection, including the two already mentioned, which was formed shortly after the destruction of Jerusalem. In ch. i. 3, it is said that Jeremiah prophesied "unto the end of the eleventh year of Zedekiah, unto the carrying captive of Jerusalem in the fifth month." But as we know that Jeremiah prophesied for some time after the period here assigned, it is probable that the words just quoted were originally attached as a title, not to the whole of the present book, but to a somewhat smaller collection formed immediately after the destruction of Jerusalem, and during the short interval of rest which the land enjoyed under the government of Gedaliah, the son of Ahikam, ch. xl. 6.

Of this collection the two earlier formed the groundwork; but it may help to account for the apparent want of order in the collection, if we suppose that the prophet, either on this or some earlier occasion, divided his first collection into two parts—viz. (1) the prophecies against Israel; and (2) the prophecies against the Gentiles. Thus of the new collection three docu-

ments would, on this hypothesis, form the basis—(1) and (2) the two just mentioned; and (3) the prophecies of Israel's return, and of the final triumph of the true religion. Now a great part of the apparent disorder of the present arrangement is removed if we adopt the very natural supposition, that to each of these three documents (especially to the first) the prophet added other prophecies subsequently delivered, but of a similar scope and tendency, and also illustrative historical notices. It is not improbable that, in the original documents, some "like words" were at the same time introduced, suggested by the experience of the intervening years.

The book as it now stands must have been completed at a still later period by the introduction of ch. xl.–xlv., and possibly some of the other historical chapters. According to the arrangement of chapters in the Hebrew Bible, it may be divided at once into two portions.

A. Ch. i.–xlv.—Prophecies and historical notices regarding Israel.

B. Ch. xlvi.–li.—Prophecies against the nations.

A. may be subdivided, according to the character of the composition, into two parts of nearly equal length —the first purely prophetic, ch. i.–xxiii.; the second, ch. xxiv.–xlv., in which the prophetic and the historical are intermingled, the historical becoming more and more prominent towards the close. Or it may be subdivided into four parts, according to the nature of its contents, viz.:—

a. Ch. i.–xxiii.—The divine judgment on apostate Israel.

b. Ch. xxiv.–xxix.—Nebuchadnezzar the instrument of divine judgment on Israel and the nations; his power meanwhile irresistible, but of temporary duration; present duty of submission; superior happiness of the exiled portion of the nation.

c. Ch. xxx.–xxxiii.—The glories of the latter days: Israel restored; the Messiah reigns upon the throne of David.

d. xxxiv.–xlv.—Chiefly historical. The prophet reverts to the dark present. His main design seems to be to illustrate the necessity of the divine judgments, by examples of the stubbornness and resolute unbelief of all classes of the people.

4. *Text.*—The Septuagint differs considerably from the Hebrew text, (1) in the order in which the prophecies are arranged, and (2) in the addition or omission of words and clauses.

The most remarkable, and indeed the only important, variation of the first sort, is in the place assigned to the prophecies against foreign nations. In the Hebrew these prophecies are placed at the end of the book, as ch. xlvi.–li.; in the LXX. they are inserted immediately after xxv. 13; so that what stands in the former as ch. xxv. 15 (for the 14th verse is not found in the LXX.) is in the latter ch. xxxiv. 1. There is also a change of the order in which the several prophecies belonging to this division are arranged, the Hebrew beginning with the prophecy against Egypt and ending with that against Babylon, the Greek beginning with Elam and ending with Moab.

Of greater moment are the omissions (the additions are few) of the Greek text as compared with the Hebrew: some of these of such extent that they can scarcely be ascribed to accident or carelessness on the part of translator or transcriber, as ch. viii. 10–12 (repeated from vi. 13–15), xvii. 1–4, xxvii. 12–14, and 17–22 (much fuller in Hebrew), xxix. 16–20, xxxiii. 14–16, xxxix. 4–13, xlviii. 45–47, li. 28–30. To account for these differences between the two texts, it has been supposed, with some degree of probability, that when the Greek translation was made, there were in existence two recensions, so to speak, of the text of Jeremiah, an Egyptian and a Palestinian, a shorter and a longer. The existence of these, if allowed, may possibly be connected with the fact that Jeremiah was in the habit of revising and enlarging his prophecies, adding to them many like words. The added portions do not contain any new matter, but are in almost every case repetitions or expansions of older prophecies.

An important question connected with the book of Jeremiah is the relation of that book to the other Scriptures, both earlier and later. It holds, as it were, a central position, and affords to the student good standing ground, from which he may look back into the remote past, or forward upon the future. It is of special importance in the criticism of the Pentateuch and of Job (Kueper, Jeremias, Librorum Sacrorum interpres et vindex).

Besides the book which bears his name, and the Lamentations, several other portions of the Old Testament scriptures have been ascribed to Jeremiah—some of the Psalms, the books of Kings, and the book of Deuteronomy. But the investigation of such questions does not properly belong to the present article.

[For the older commentators and writers on Jeremiah, see Carpzov, whose list includes Origen, Theodoret, and Jerome, Thomas Aquinas, Calvin, Brentius. Among more recent authors may be named Rosenmüller, Ewald, Neumann, Blayney, Henderson.] [D. H. W.]

JERICHO. An ancient city of the Canaanites, in the valley of the Jordan. It is also called in Scripture the City of Palms, De. xxxiv. 3; Ju. i. 16; iii. 13; 2 Ch. xxviii. 15, on account of its magnificent forest of palm-trees, eight miles long and three broad. Its site has long been identified by tradition with the modern village of Reha, which stands about six miles west of the Jordan, in the middle of the plain, and is a collection of miserable huts surrounded by a somewhat formidable fence of thorn bushes. Conspicuous among these hovels is a square tower, the residence of a detachment of Turkish soldiers quartered here; and in spite of its obviously modern date, called by the pilgrims the house of Zaccheus. But the investigations of modern travellers have resulted in transferring the site to Ain es Sultan, also called the Fountain of Elisha, a copious spring about a quarter of a mile from the Quarantana Mountain, which is the traditional scene of our Lord's temptation, and one of the range of hills which bound the Jordan valley on the west. The fountain is thus described by Dr. Robinson (Bib. Res. 2d ed. vol. i. p. 555), "The fountain bursts forth at the eastern foot of a high double mound or group of mounds, looking much like a tumulus or as if composed of rubbish, situated a mile or more in front of the mountain Quarantana. It is a large and beautiful fountain, of sweet and pleasant water, not indeed cold, but also not warm, like those of Ain Jidy and the Feshkah. It seems to have been once surrounded by a sort of reservoir or semicircular inclosure of hewn stone, from which the water was carried off in various directions to the plain below, but this is now mostly broken away and gone."

From the *Jerusalem Itinerary* we learn that the Jericho of the fourth century was situated at the base of the mountain range, one and a half mile (Roman)

from the fountain, and that the more ancient city had stood by the fountain itself (Murray's Handbook for Syria, vol. i. p. 192). The authority of Josephus is also in favour of the ancient city being near this spot, for he writes of it (Bell. Jud. iv. 8, 2), "It is situated in a plain, but a naked and barren mountain of a very great length hangs over it, which stretches as far as the land about Scythopolis northward, but southward to the country of Sodom and the utmost limits of the Lake Asphaltitis." And again, in sect. 3, "There is a fountain by Jericho that runs plentifully, and is very fit for watering the ground: it arises near the old city, which Joshua the son of Nun, the general of the Hebrews, took the first of all the cities of the land of Canaan by right of war. The report is that this fountain at the beginning caused not only the blasting of the earth and the trees, but of the children born of women, and that it was entirely of a sickly and corruptive nature to all things whatsoever, but that it was rendered mild and very wholesome and fruitful by Elisha." He also fixes the distance of Jericho from the Jordan at sixty stadia, which would agree better with the position of Ain es Sultan than of Reha; which moreover possesses neither the spring of water which would represent the water of Jericho, Jos. xvi. 1, nor any traces of ancient buildings, while these are abundantly to be found to the south and south-west of Ain es Sultan.

The road from Jerusalem to Jericho, the scene of the parable of the good Samaritan, is to this day infested by bands of robbers, who must either be satisfied by a bargain previously arranged with their agent in the capital, or overawed by superior force. The track leads through a succession of desolate chalky hills, till at last the whole Jordan valley comes suddenly into view. Most of the plain is desert and sandy, sprinkled with thin patches of withered grass, stretching away to the clear waters of the Dead Sea to the southward, and eastward to the narrow strip of jungle that marks the course of the Jordan, beyond which rise the white mountains of Moab. Immediately at the foot of the steep ravine through which the road descends into the plain, the eye is caught by a wide oasis reaching down to the river, and formed by the streams issuing from the Ain es Sultan and a neighbouring fountain called El duk, 1 Mac. xvi. 14, 15. Here was formerly the renowned palm forest of Jericho, now replaced by a grove of acacias and other shrubs, which in this tropical temperature and abundant moisture grow with rank luxuriance.

Such is the present aspect of that city which Moses first saw from Mount Nebo; but whose towers and battlements were surveyed by his successor Joshua from the banks of the Jordan over the intervening palm-trees. Its wealth and importance may be inferred from the spoils which were poured into the treasury of the Lord, and by the effect the sight of its riches produced on the unfortunate Achan, Jos. vi. 24; vii. 21. It was strategically the key of the whole country, being situated at the entrance of two passes through the hills, one leading to Jerusalem and the other to Ai and Bethel. It was consequently the first object of attack to the invading hosts of Israel, and its miraculous conquest was a fitting prelude to their victorious occupation of the whole land, in which they were so dependent on the outstretched arm of the Almighty. No military skill or prowess was allowed to be employed against it. The armed host of Israel was merely for six successive days, and on the seventh day for seven successive times, to compass the city in marching order, the priests bearing the ark of the Lord, as the peculiar symbol of his presence, and trumpets to make a blast in token of his power. At the close of the last solemn march, followed by an unusually loud blast from the trumpets, and a mighty shout from the people, the walls fell prostrate, laying the city open to the assault of Israel; so that by faith—the faith of those compassing priests and armed hosts—the walls of Jericho fell down, He. xi. 30. The sudden fall of the walls has often been ascribed to the effect of volcanic agency, of which traces are common throughout the Jordan valley; but such explanation, were it real, would in no way diminish the miraculous nature of the overthrow, which consisted in its coincidence of time with the conclusion of the seven days' march of the hosts of Israel round the besieged city. There was an evident reason for the miracle: "The first city of Canaan was delivered into the hands of Israel, as the first-fruits of the land, without any exertion on their part, to show that the Lord was about to fulfil his promise and give them the land for a possession; also, that they might always regard it as a gift of God's mercy, placed in their hands simply as a fief, which could be withdrawn whenever they were unfaithful to him" (Keil).

The same causes which led to the importance of the conquest of Jericho, as giving access to the interior of the country, no doubt prompted Joshua to pronounce the curse upon whoever should rebuild it, Jos. vi. 26, since, as Professor Stanley observes (Syria and Palestine, p. 302), "a place of such strength was not to be left to be occupied by any hostile force that might take possession of it." It does not however seem to have ever ceased to be inhabited, for, (1.) Ju. i. 16, we find that "the children of Moses' father-in-law went up out of the city of palm-trees with the children of Judah." (2.) Eglon king of Moab, Ju. iii. 13, "possessed the city of palm-trees," and seems to have made it his place of residence during his occupation of the country. (3.) The ambassadors of David who were insulted by Hanun king of Ammon were ordered to "tarry at Jericho till their beards were grown," 2 Sa. x. 5. On this point Doubdain (Voy. de la Terre Sainte, ch. 34), supposes either that some houses were saved from the fire or that some poor people had retired thither.

In the reign of Ahab Jericho was rebuilt by Hiel the Bethelite, and in him was the curse literally fulfilled, for "he laid the foundation thereof in Abiram his first-born, and set up the gates thereof in his youngest son Segub, according to the word of the Lord which he spake by Joshua the son of Nun," 1 Ki. xvi. 34. The prediction and its recorded fulfilment have given rise to several rationalistic hypotheses and weak explanations. But the natural purport of the curse plainly was, that Jericho—not as a town or inhabited place (for in that respect it is shortly after spoken of as still in existence, Jos. xviii. 21; Ju. iii. 13), but as a *fortified city*, was to remain unbuilt—an abiding monument of its miraculous overthrow; and that he who should rebuild it might justly expect divine judgments in his family—a virtual repetition of Jericho's doom. And so it happened in the case of Hiel. Soon after this time Jericho became a school of the prophets, 2 Ki. ii. 5, over which Elisha seems to have presided for a time, 2 Ki. iv. 1; vi. 1, 2; see also v. 24, where Stanley, "Syria and Palestine," p. 303, note, sup-

poses the word "ophel," translated "tower," to be the "rising swell" near Gilgal, where the prophet dwelt and received the visit of Naaman. Lightfoot (Works, vol. x. p. 94) says that some of the courses of the priests lived at Jericho, which would account for the presence of the priest and Levite in the parable of the good Samaritan. From Ezr. ii. 34, we learn that the children of Jericho were 345 in number after the return from Babylon, and in Ne. iii. 2 they are mentioned as assisting to rebuild the walls of Jerusalem.

The city was occupied and plundered by Antigonus and Herod (Jos. Ant. xiv. 15, 3). Its revenues were afterwards given by Antony to Cleopatra, and farmed from her by Herod, who eventually redeemed them, and often resided, and finally died here (Jos. Ant. xvii. 6, 5). His son Archelaus magnificently rebuilt the royal palace that had been in Jericho, and planted palm-trees in the plain.

While we have this testimony of Josephus as to the importance of Jericho in our Lord's time, the sacred narrative itself affords indications of its wealth and consideration. It is only once mentioned in our Lord's journeys; but when there multitudes seem to have thronged him, pointing to a populous city, nor is it at all likely that a rich publican like Zaccheus would have dwelt in any but an important place. "It was this Roman Jericho," writes Professor Stanley, "through which Christ passed on his final journey to Jerusalem —passed along the road beside which stood the sycamore-tree, Lu. xix. 4; went up into the wild dreary mountains; caught from the summit of the pass the first glimpse of the line of trees and houses on the summit of Olivet; and so went this way through the long ascent, the scene of his own parable of the good Samaritan, till he reached the friendly house perched aloft on the mountain side—the village of Bethany" (Syria and Palestine, p. 304). [C. T. M.]

JERICHO, PLAINS OF (mentioned in 2 Ki. xxv. 5; Je. xxxix. 5; lii. 8), the part of the Jordan valley near Jericho, extending from the mountains to the river, a distance of eight miles. They were chiefly noted for the forest of palm-trees and the fountain of Elisha. (*See* JERICHO (CITY OF), JORDAN (VALLEY OF). [C. T. M.]

JEROBO'AM [Heb. *Yarab'am*, יָרָבְעָם, *abounding in people*]. 1. The founder of the kingdom of Israel, in its separate and independent existence. He was of the tribe of Ephraim, and the son of Nebat by Zeruah, who is called a widow, 1 Ki. xi. 26. No other particulars of his early life or connections have been preserved to us in the sacred narrative. But when still only a young man, he is represented as having first risen to distinction under Solomon's reign, and then proceeded to project schemes of rebellion. At the building of Millo, one of the fortresses connected with Jerusalem, and in the repairs generally of the city, which were carried into effect by Solomon, Jeroboam signalized himself as an extremely expert and energetic person; insomuch that Solomon took special notice of him, and even "made him ruler of all the charge of the house of Joseph," 1 Ki. xi. 28; that is, committed to him the oversight of the public burdens exigible for such purposes from the tribe of Ephraim, and perhaps also of Manasseh. It was then, we are told, that he began to lift up his hand against Solomon, ver. 27, though we are left to infer how; but we can have no doubt, from what afterwards followed, that he took advantage of his position to stir up disaffection against the existing government, on account of the heavy exactions it imposed, and to insinuate that if he were made king, a greatly less oppressive regime would be established. This at least was the ground he took up at a later period; and we therefore cannot wonder that when Solomon came to know of the seeds of sedition Jeroboam was sowing in people's minds, he sought to slay him, so that Jeroboam was obliged to flee for his life to Egypt. This did not happen, however, till a memorable interview had occurred between him and the prophet Ahijah; who, during the time that Jeroboam was exercising his function as overseer over the house of Joseph, met him one day by the way, and made known to him from the Lord, that, on account of the idolatrous defection into which Solomon had fallen, the kingdom was to be rent asunder; that two tribes only were to be left to the house of David; that Jeroboam himself was to be made head of the other ten; and that if, when raised to this high position, he should walk in the fear of God, and keep the commandments delivered in the law of Moses, the kingdom would be secured to his house for many a day to come. In token also of the certainty of all this, Ahijah took the new mantle which Jeroboam wore, and, having torn it into twelve pieces, gave ten of these to Jeroboam as his proper share. We can easily imagine how such a communication, accompanied and confirmed by such an action, would inflame the ambition which was already working in the bosom of Jeroboam; and would lead him, instead of patiently waiting God's time, like David, to precipitate the result, which he not only ardently wished, but now had certified to him from heaven. His selfish zeal betrayed itself too soon for his own ends; and to avoid summary vengeance, he had to make his escape to Egypt.

In Egypt, however, he found not only an asylum, but apparently a kind and honourable reception. Shishak, the Sesonchis of profane history, then occupied the throne of Egypt; and having, as is understood, dethroned the Pharaoh whose daughter Solomon had married, policy would naturally dispose him to take such courses as might be fitted to weaken the dominion of the house of David, which had attained in Solomon's hands a height that could not but be eyed with jealousy by the ruler of Egypt. Hence Jeroboam, as well as Hadad, another enemy and conspirator against Solomon, met with marked favour at the hand of Shishak; and not improbably, through the advice and instigation of Jeroboam, this Shishak at a later period brought war against Rehoboam, and extorted from him great treasure. But as soon as the commotions arose which grew out of Solomon's death, and the people began to press their demands on Rehoboam, they sent tidings to Jeroboam, and invited him to come and take the lead in urging their grievances, 1 Ki. xii. 3. He was not slow to do so; and the result was, through the folly of Rehoboam on the one side, and the skilful management of Jeroboam on the other, the accomplishment of Ahijah's prophecy by the formation of the ten tribes into a separate kingdom. For this action Jeroboam had a divine warrant; and however a false ambition may have morally vitiated the procedure, the procedure itself was chargeable with no blame. This new kingdom, called into being for a specific aim and purpose, stood on a divine promise

not less than the kingdom of David itself. But the misfortune was, that Jeroboam was not content with what that promise secured for him: he would be the founder of a kingdom which should acknowledge no superior, and should stand in another relation to the kingdom of Judah than one of temporary subservience to its ultimate good. And so, while he fulfilled God's counsel in withdrawing his allegiance from the house of David, he withstood that counsel in framing a constitution for his new kingdom, which was both designed and fitted to sever the now divided tribes religiously, as well as politically, from each other, and that for ever. In this higher respect he acted the part of a rebel against the proper Head of the theocracy, and changed the very spirit of the Hebrew commonwealth. It was on the religious side, he readily preceived, that the chief danger lay of a relapse in the ten tribes to the original unity; for so long as the one altar of sacrifice, and the one temple of Jehovah, stood at Jerusalem, *there* of necessity would be the religious centre of the people; and when the first few years of excitement were over, and the tribes began anew to go up to Jerusalem, and meet together in solemn festival on the spot hallowed by so many associations, how likely was it that they should yearn again after the old fraternal unity! So Jeroboam forecast in his mind; and distrusting the divine promise, which assured him of a reasonable prolongation of his dominion, if he adhered to the law of Moses, he resolved to make the separation complete, by setting up in Dan on the north, and Bethel in the south (places already esteemed sacred, *see* DAN and BETHEL), two centres of worship, where the people might assemble to pay their vows. However the worship established in these places had been ordered, it must have been at variance with the spirit of the constitution introduced by Moses; for, according to this, there was to be but one altar of burnt-offering, and one place of meeting, where God should put his name. But the contrariety became much greater when calves were set up as symbols, in the new temples at Dan and Bethel, through which Jehovah was to be worshipped: for here it came into conflict with the stringent prohibitions of the second commandment; and the religious feelings of the people were shocked by the innovation. For the reasons that induced Jeroboam to adopt this form of false worship, rather than any other, we refer to what is said in another place (*see* CALF-WORSHIP); but, however plausible these might be, he soon found that so radical a change could not stand alone; it involved the necessity of others. The priests refused to minister at the altars, and he had to supply their place from such as could be had, "the lowest of the people." By virtue also of his own authority as the supreme head of the constitution, he changed the feast of the seventh month, the feast of tabernacles, into one in the eighth; and himself at times took it upon him to minister in the priests' office. It was while standing, on one occasion, beside the altar to offer incense, that a prophet from Judah suddenly appeared, and cried out against the altar, predicting its destruction by a future king of Judah:—a denunciation that must have been peculiarly galling to Jeroboam, since the grand object he was aiming at by his whole policy, was to vindicate for his institutions a stability that should be independent of the sister kingdom. He stretched forth his hand to arrest the man of God, but the hand became paralyzed in the effort, and was only restored to use on the prophet's intercession, 1 Ki. xiii. 1-4. Still, he persisted in his course, even with the manifest seal of Heaven's displeasure upon it, and the earnest protest of all the more pious and upright members of the community. The multitude, however, followed, and the corrupt worship he established came by and by to be regarded as the settled order of things for Israel, paving the way for still more flagrant departures from the faith, which were also in due time introduced: so that the name of Jeroboam stands written with the dreadful brand on it as that of the man "who made Israel to sin."

Politically considered also, the course of Jeroboam proved a fatal one: his worldly-wise policy weakened what should have been its firmest bonds, subverted the grand principle of order in men's minds, and presenting him to his subjects in the light of a merely successful usurper, naturally encouraged others to try the same perilous course. Accordingly, heavy disasters and ominous defeats befell him even in his own lifetime, 1 Ki. xiv. 1-18; 2 Ch. xiii. 1-20; and the son who succeeded him on the throne, and all the house he had laboured so much to consolidate, were within a brief space swept away by a fresh usurper—Baasha, of the tribe of Issachar, 1 Ki. xv. 25-30. (For several points very briefly noticed here, see under AHIJAH, REHOBOAM, ABIJAH, and ABIJAM.)

2. JEROBOAM II. The son and successor of Joash, and the last member but one of the fourth Israelitish dynasty. In the general principles and character of his government he entirely agreed with the first Jeroboam. Corruptions of all kinds were rampant in his time, and the prophet Amos ventured, even at Bethel, to lift up his voice against them, and to proclaim the approaching visitation of divine judgments on account of them, Am. vii. For this the high-priest of Bethel reported him to Jeroboam as a preacher of sedition, and sought the interposition of the civil arm; but whether any violent measures were taken against him is not stated. The probability is, that an arrest was at least laid on his prophetical agency in the kingdom of Israel; for Jeroboam was evidently an energetic ruler, and was not likely to allow so faithful a reprover as Amos to continue his ministrations. He not only held all the territory that he had received from his father, but enlarged its border toward the north, and recovered Hamath of Judah (*i.e.* the part of Hamath which once belonged to Judah), and Damascus, which had fallen into the hands of the Syrian monarchy. These temporary successes, it is said, had been predicted by the prophet Jonah, and are represented as one of the last flickering manifestations of divine mercy toward Israel, before the final extinguishment of their light as a people, 2 Ki. xiv. 25-28.

Jeroboam's reign was a long one, forty-one years. The manner of his death is not mentioned in the history, and no intimation is given of its being other than a natural one. In Am. vii. 11 Amaziah, the high-priest of Bethel, in reporting what he called the conspiracy of Amos against Jeroboam, represents the prophet as declaring that Jeroboam should die by the sword; and some would regard this as a prophecy that had failed of its fulfilment. But the probability rather is, that the high-priest, who displayed the true spirit of a persecutor, gave an unduly specific and offensive turn to the words of Amos, in order to inflame Jeroboam the more against him; for in the utterances of Amos, so far as

he himself reports them, nothing is affirmed of the mode of Jeroboam's death. The Lord, he said, was to rise against *the house* of Jeroboam with the sword, Am. vii. 9; but that is a different thing from affirming that Jeroboam himself should die by it—although the high-priest, for his own purposes, might very readily put that sense upon the words. We find the Jews of our Lord's time dealing after the same fashion with his words, Jn. viii. 52, 53; Mar. xiv. 57, 58, and with Stephen's, Ac. vi. 13, 14.

JERUB'BAAL [*whom Baal pleads* or *contends with*], a surname of Gideon, given to him in consequence of Gideon's having thrown down an altar of Baal, and when the Abi-ezrites brought an accusation against him to his father Joash, the latter defended his son, and said, Let Baal plead against him, Ju. vi. 32. Jerubbaal was thenceforth applied as a surname to Gideon.

JERUB'BESHETH [*whom the idol contends with*], the same term substantially as Jerubbaal, only with the general word for idol (*shemeth*, shameful thing, abomination) substituted for Baal. It is only once, and at a comparatively late period, applied to Gideon, 2 Sa. xi. 21.

JERU'EL [*founded by God*], occurring only once, as the name of a desert, lying between the Dead Sea and the city of Jerusalem, 2 Ch. xx. 16. The combined forces of Moab and Ammon were said, on the occasion referred to, to be "at the end of the brook (wady) before (or facing) the wilderness of Jeruel." The region so called must have been comparatively limited in extent; it has not, however, been identified by modern research.

JERU'SALEM. The interesting and important subject indicated by this name, naturally falls into two main divisions; the one having respect to the origin of the name, and to the historical notices contained in Old Testament scripture of the place which bore it; the other involving the discussion of all that relates to the topography of the city, and its present, as compared with its ancient, condition. The latter is necessarily by much the larger division of the two. The articles are from different writers, but they so rarely touch on the same topics, and so briefly also, when they do, that it is unnecessary to do more than notice, that one or two points more formally treated in the one are again referred to in the other. [ED.]

I. JERUSALEM: ORIGIN OF THE NAME, AND HISTORICAL NOTICES IN OLD TESTAMENT SCRIPTURE.

1. *Name.*—The Hebrew form is יְרוּשָׁלַ֫ם (*Yerūshalaïm*), noticed in the Masora as five times written יְרוּשָׁלַ֫יִם—this latter having the appearance of a regular dual noun—and so it is understood by many as referring to the two parts of the city. This, however, is not by any means the common opinion of scholars, because the fuller form occurs only in Je. xxvi. 18, and once in Esther, and thrice in Chronicles, which appear to be two of the latest books, and of least authority as to grammatical forms; so that more probably the pronunciation *aim* was a later usage, the old true pronunciation being *em*, which has been preserved in the Chaldee portions of the Old Testament, in the Septuagint Greek version usually, and often in the New Testament, especially in the writings of Luke and Paul. There is indeed a plural form, also quite common in the New Testament, in Josephus, and in classical writers, Ἱεροσόλυμα, *Hierosolyma*, which might be taken as confirming the belief in a proper Hebrew dual. But at the utmost it evinces nothing as to the *ancient* Hebrew pronunciation; and it does occur once or twice in the New Testament as a feminine singular instead of a neuter plural; and it may have become the popular pronunciation on account of the identification which some made of Jerusalem with the Solyma of Homer, as is reported by Josephus (Ant. vii. 3, 2), and by Tacitus (Hist. v. 2), without however committing themselves to it, and which, since the refutation by Bochart, has been generally regarded as erroneous. However, there is no doubt that two cities did exist very early—the citadel on Mount Zion, and the lower and less defended portion, as we find these two portions in the hands of the ancient inhabitants and of the Israelite conquerors respectively; and again we find them in David's history, the part on Mount Zion being called "the stronghold," "the fort," and "the hold," as our translators have pleased to vary the word, 2 Sa. v. 7, 9, 17.

The meaning of the name Jerusalem has been debated more than the form. There are, however, just two interpretations which at present find much approval. The simplest possible is that of Gesenius (followed by Delitzsch on Ge. xiv.), who compounds it of יְרֵה (*yerē*), and שָׁלֵם (*shālēm*), "the foundation of peace," for which there is some analogy in other proper names; as indeed the *founding* of Zion is repeatedly a prominent idea in prophetic descriptions of its stability by the blessing of God, Ps. lxxxvii. 1; Is. xiv. 32; He. xi. 10, though the Hebrew verb is different in these instances and in this word. It is on account of the non-appearance of the doubled *sh* that Gesenius objects, as a grammarian, to the commoner etymology given by writers from Reland and Simonis down to Hengstenberg, to which the highest authorities, like Ewald, nevertheless adhere; יְרוּשׁ (*yerūsh*), and שָׁלֵם (*shalem*), "possession of peace." In the Arabic versions of some Jewish authorities Jerusalem is translated, by a paraphrase, "the house of peace," or "the city of peace." The former part of the word alone presents any difficulty; and as the syllable *Hiero* occurred repeatedly in Greek renderings of Hebrew names, it often misled classical and early Christian writers into the supposition that it was connected with the Greek word for "sacred." It is rather too much, however, to charge this error on Josephus, on account of his speaking, perhaps a little vaguely, in the passage above quoted, of the *temple* (ἱερόν) being called Solyma, which he rightly renders ἀσφάλεια, "security," a sense included in the Hebrew conception of "peace," which is the more verbally exact, as in He. vii. 2, "king of Salem, that is, king of peace." Another derivation—"the sight or vision of peace"—might be defended from its connection with MORIAH, of which it was said, "In the mount of the Lord it will be seen."

SALEM, or, as it would more exactly be written, SHALEM, is the name given to Jerusalem, Ps. lxxvi. 2, the first part of the word being dropped, as in Beth-nimrah and Nimrah, En-gannim and Ginæa. This name also occurs, Ge. xiv. 18, as the city of Melchizedek. And it has been identified with Jerusalem by the great mass of scholars, following the early authority of the Targum of Onkelos (Jos. Ant. i. 10, 2), and the great rabbinical authorities, as in our own day still it has been supported by such names as Gesenius, Ewald, Hupfeld, Knobel, besides Hengstenberg, Delitzsch, Kurtz, and Keil. There have been a few, however, from the time of Jerome (Epist. 73, 7, ed. Vallars. i. p. 445),

as in recent times Rosenmüller, Tuch, Rödiger, and Robinson, who make it a place eight Roman miles south from Scythopolis or Beth-shean; while Ewald (Geschichte, i. p. 410) holds that it was on the eastern side of the Jordan, in which opinion he has a few to agree with him. Jerome admits that his opinion is against that of "Josephus and all our [Christian writers];" and his two arguments will not carry much weight, (1) Because the palace of Melchizedek was shown there, which displayed the splendour of the ancient work by the magnitude of the ruins; a building not very likely to be what it was supposed; (2) Because it was hereabouts that the city Shalem lay to which Jacob came, Ge. xxxiii. 18; for in spite of the authority of the Septuagint and the Vulgate, which has swayed most of the public translations, like our own, it is now generally agreed that this is not a proper name at all, and that the rendering ought to have been, "Jacob came *in peace*," or "safe and sound, to the city of Shechem." There remains, then, besides Jerusalem, no Salem, or anything like it, noticed in Scripture, till the Salim of John the Baptist's ministry, Jn. iii. 23; and the Apocryphal *τὴν ἀυλῶνα Σαλήμ*, Judith iv. 4, "the valley of Salem," is too indefinite and too little trustworthy to be of value in this discussion. Besides, in favour of Jerusalem as the seat of Melchizedek's royal priesthood, there fall to be mentioned the natural impression of Ps. cx.; the resemblance of the names Melchizedek, "king of righteousness," and Adonizedek, "lord of righteousness," who was certainly king of Jerusalem, Jos. x. 1, &c., as if this were a family appellation, analogous to what we find in other cases in Scripture history (in fact, there are traditions, though not in themselves of much weight, that the city anciently bore this name of Zedek, "righteousness;" see the mystical name for it, "city of righteousness," Is. i. 21, 26); the express assertion, Ge. xiv. 17, that on this occasion the king of Sodom went out to meet Abraham *after his return* from the slaughter of the kings, suggesting that he was near home, as he was not far from Hebron when he was at Jerusalem; whereas it would have been a singularly long movement to meet him if the king of Sodom went to near Beth-shean; and the other express statement that the meeting was *in the king's dale*, a place which is again named only on occasion of the rearing of Absalom's pillar, 2 Sa. xviii. 18, in speaking of which, Josephus (Ant. vii. 10, 3) places it two stadia from Jerusalem; from which, on the one hand, the inference is inevitable, while on the other hand we have no reasonable ground for pronouncing the premiss a mistake.

2. *History.*—The first mention of Jerusalem is during the life of Abraham, in Ge. xiv. 18, under the name of Shalem, if we are not mistaken in the belief we have expressed that this is indeed the city of the royal priest Melchizedek; a place of some importance politically, and still more important in a religious point of view, since, in some way unknown to us, it seems to have been a centre of pure spiritual worship, to which even the heir of the promises did homage, He. vii. 4-7. The next reference to it is probably also during the life of Abraham, when he was commanded to act as priest himself, and to offer up his only-begotten son upon one of the mountains "in the land of Moriah," Ge. xxii. 2; comp. 2 Ch. iii. 1. "Solomon began to build the house of the Lord at Jerusalem, in Mount Moriah, where [the Lord] appeared unto David his father." This, however, involves a question of geography, on which we cannot enter here, as good recent authorities, from Bleek to Stanley, deny that this transaction took place at Jerusalem. (*See* MORIAH.)

The first time that the name Jerusalem appears is in Jos. x. 1, &c., the account of the successful struggle of Joshua against the southern confederacy, at the head of which was Adonizedek, king of Jerusalem. At the partition of the land Joshua drew the line between Judah and Benjamin close by Jerusalem, yet so that the city properly belonged to the latter tribe, Jos. xv. 8; xviii. 16, 28; although so precisely upon the line of division, that its suburbs must have run into the territory of Judah, or have been occupied by the people of Judah, since they are represented as being unable to drive out the Jebusites from Jerusalem, and having to dwell along with them, Jos. xv. 63. The like is said of the people of Benjamin, Ju. i. 21. We learn from these texts in Joshua that the city was then called Jebusi, or the city of the Jebusites, by whom it was then inhabited. (*See* JEBUS, JEBUSITES.) It seems plain that the unprotected parts of the city were taken, and more or less held, by the children of Israel, while the stronghold on Mount Zion was able to resist all their efforts. Accordingly, it is said, Ju. i. 8, "Now the children of Judah had fought against Jerusalem, and had taken it, and smitten it with the edge of the sword, and set the city on fire," probably fearing that they might be unable to retain possession of it. And very soon after it is described as a city, or the city, of the Jebusites, so thoroughly "the city of a stranger, that is, not of the children of Israel," that the wandering Levite coming from Bethlehem-judah would not turn aside into it, but passed over to Gibeah, Ju. xix. 10-12.

But when David came to be acknowledged as king over all Israel, "the king and his men went to Jerusalem unto the Jebusites, the inhabitants of the land;" and after apparently a severe struggle, in the hope of attaining what the Jebusites imagined to be unattainable, he "took the stronghold of Zion; the same is the city of David." "So David dwelt in the fort, and called it the city of David; and David built round about from Millo and inward," 2 Sa. v. 6-9; and see 1 Ch. xi. 4-8, nearly a transcript of this passage. Here David established his capital, the political centre of his kingdom, probably choosing the place on account of its naturally strong position; its importance as a central point long in the hands of the bitter enemies of Israel, which had been a constant source of annoyance and danger to his people, as it must now become the contrary; its intimate association with his own prowess and that of his men, so that it commonly received the name of "David's city;" and its politically important situation, inasmuch as it stood on the borders of his own tribe, the great tribe of Judah in the south, and also on the borders of the small but valiant tribe of Benjamin, to which his predecessor Saul belonged, and which was allied to the powerful tribes of the house of Joseph, who came next to it, and occupied the very middle of the land of Canaan. And the good policy of this selection appears in the result, as Judah and Benjamin became intimately and inseparably knit together. Accordingly David proceeded to build a palace for himself in Jerusalem; and in connection with his occupation of it, we are told that he "perceived that the Lord had established him king over Israel," 2 Sa. v. 11, 12. It would seem from what follows, ver. 17, 18, 22, that the importance of this new capital was equally apparent

to his enemies the Philistines, who made it the special object of their attacks.

In the account of the victory won by David over Goliath, it is said, 1 Sa. xvii. 54, "And David took the head of the Philistine and brought it to Jerusalem; but he put his armour in his tent." This reference to Jerusalem at so early a period has perplexed many readers. But the simplest supposition is, that the extraordinary giant's head was preserved as a marvellous trophy, and finally laid up in Jerusalem, when it became the capital of the kingdom and the centre of the church; as we know that the sword of Goliath, here probably included in the general name "his armour," came to be laid behind the ephod, under the care of the high-priest, 1 Sa. xxi. 9; xxii. 10; and as king Saul's armour was put by the Philistines in the house of Ashtaroth, and not improbably his head, which they had cut off, was laid beside it, ch. xxxi. 9, 10, compared with 1 Ch. x. 10. For Israel was far more remarkable as the church of God than as one of the nations of the earth; and to establish the affairs of Israel fully, Jerusalem had need to be not only the throne of the kingdom in the house of David which God had chosen, but also the seat of worship and the home of the hereditary priesthood. Accordingly David brought up the ark to the tent which he had pitched in Jerusalem for its resting-place after a long period of wandering; and he was on the point of changing this tent into a solid house, when he was interrupted by the prophet Nathan, who announced to him that this was an honour reserved for his son, 2 Sa. vi. vii.; 2 Ch. xiii. xv. xvi. xvii. This selection of Jerusalem must be regarded, however, not as if it had been made by David through mere motives of policy. It is likely that even as the political centre of the nation, it was chosen under the direction of "the great King," whose city it is expressly named, Ps. xlviii. 1-3; Mat. v. 35. But the divine choice is altogether prominent and undeniable, when we further take into consideration the fact that it was at the same time "the holy city," Ne. xi. 1, 18; Mat. iv. 5; xxvii. 53; the spiritual capital, "the place which the Lord your God shall choose out of all your tribes to put his name there," De. xii. 5, 11, 14, 18, 21, which is often applied to Jerusalem and Mount Zion, 1 Ki. xi. 36; xiv. 21, &c.; Ps. lxxvi. 1, 2; cxxxii. 13-18. In this last passage the civil and the spiritual supremacy of Jerusalem appear to be blended together in the choice of Jehovah; and so also, Ps. lxxviii. 67-71, "Moreover he refused the tabernacle of Joseph, and chose not the tribe of Ephraim; but chose the tribe of Judah, the Mount Zion which he loved. And he built his sanctuary like high [palaces], like the earth which he hath established for ever. He chose David also his servant, and took him from the sheepfolds; from following the ewes great with young, he brought him to feed Jacob his people, and Israel his inheritance." All this was confirmed in the course of providence, when David's sinful numbering of the people had brought on them the pestilence, and he had made atonement by sacrifice at the appointed place, the thrashing-floor of Araunah or Ornan, the Jebusite; "then David said, This is the house of the Lord God, and this is the altar of the burnt-offering for Israel," 1 Ch. xxi. xxii. 1. And immediately he began his preparations for that temple, which his son Solomon actually erected in that appointed place on Mount Moriah, 2 Ch. iii. 1.

It is unnecessary here to enter into the particulars of Solomon's sacred and secular buildings in and around Jerusalem, as given in the history; ample evidence of the magnificence of his undertakings is to be found in the sentence, "And the king made silver [to be] in Jerusalem as stones, and cedars made he [to be] as the sycamore trees that are in the vale for abundance," 1 Ki. x. 27; 2 Ch. ix. 27. It is no wonder that he adverted to the glories of his city and its kings from Melchizedek to David, and contrasting himself with them, exclaimed, when he had summed up all his achievements in it, "So I was great, and increased more than all that were before me in Jerusalem," Ec. ii. 9. On occasion of the disruption of the church and the nation after the death of Solomon, Jerusalem continued to be the capital of the two tribes who adhered to the royal family of David's line, and to the priestly line of the house of Aaron; and while the kingdom was sadly reduced in extent, the city may have been increased and enriched by the priests, and Levites, and faithful people generally, who flocked into it from the ten tribes, as no doubt it shared in the fortifications which were profusely thrown around the cities of the little kingdom, 2 Ch. xi. 5-17. But all this did not preserve the kingdom from the ravages of Shishak, king of Egypt, so soon as the people had forsaken God; the city was taken by him, and many of its treasures carried away, though their repentance saved it from some extreme severities to which it might have been readily exposed, 2 Ch. xii. 2-12; 1 Ki. xiv. 25, 26. Another capture of Jerusalem, in the reign of king Jehoram, seems to be implied, 2 Ch. xxi. 16, 17, "Moreover the Lord stirred up against Jehoram the spirit of the Philistines, and of the Arabians that were near the Ethiopians; and they came up into Judah, and brake into it, and carried away all the substance that was found in the king's house, and his sons also, and his wives." Some important buildings for worship, lawful and unlawful, must have been made at Jerusalem during the period which includes these reigns. Not to speak of Solomon's high places, built for the strange gods of his wives "in the hill that is before Jerusalem," 1 Ki. xi. 7, 8, and "the idol in a grove," or "horrible thing for Asherah," which queen Maachah made, and which her son Asa destroyed and burned by the brook Kidron, 1 Ki. xv. 13; 2 Ch. xv. 16; we read of "the new court" in the house of the Lord, where Jehoshaphat assembled the people on occasion of his fast in a great emergency, 2 Ch. xx. 5. And at the overthrow of the usurper Athaliah, we read of the people breaking down the house of Baal, his altars and his images, 2 Ki. xi. 18; 2 Ch. xxiii. 17; all which had no doubt been erected by "that wicked woman," after the example of her father and mother in Samaria; as we are also told that her sons had "broken up the house of God," for repairing which king Jehoash and the high-priest Jehoiada therefore found it necessary to take effective measures, 2 Ch. xxiv. 4-14. Yet when Jehoash himself turned away from serving God, a scourge was prepared for Judah and Jerusalem in the person of Hazael, king of Syria; and he was induced to go away, probably after Jerusalem had been besieged, or even had capitulated, either by an extravagant ransom, or by being satiated with spoil, 2 Ki. xii. 17, 18, compared with 2 Ch. xxiv. 23, 24. Once more Jerusalem was taken, in the next reign, that of Amaziah, by Joash, king of the ten tribes, who rifled what remained of treasure in the temple and the palace, and broke down 400 cubits of the city wall, from the gate of Ephraim to the corner gate, 2 Ki. xiv. 13, 14; 2 Ch. xxv. 23, 24. The succeeding king, Uzziah, restored the fortifications of Jeru-

salem, he "built towers at the corner gate, and at the valley gate, and at the turning [of the wall], and fortified them," 2 Ch. xxvi. 9. His successor, Jotham, "built the high gate of the house of the Lord, and on the wall of Ophel he built much," 2 Ch. xxvii. 3, and partly in 2 Ki. xv. 35. The following reign, that of Ahaz, was disgraced by idolatrous erections in Jerusalem, as well as by defacement of the temple, 2 Ki. xvi. 10, 11, 17, 18; 2 Ch. xxviii. 24; all which mischief was repaired laboriously by his pious son Hezekiah. Yet Hezekiah was exposed to imminent danger from the invading king of Assyria, and he was induced to save Jerusalem from capture by a ransom, taken once more from the treasures of the palace and the temple, 2 Ki. xviii. 13-16. The perfidious king of Assyria, however, renewed the siege, in the course of which the best qualities of Hezekiah appeared, and a miraculous deliverance rewarded his faith and patience, 2 Ki. xviii. xix.; 2 Ch. xxxii. 1-23. In this last chapter we have some particulars of Hezekiah's arrangements about the city—stopping the fountains of water outside the city, building up the broken wall and raising up towers, and another wall outside, besides stopping the upper watercourse of Gihon, which he brought straight down to, or on, the west side of the city of David, comp. also Is. xxii. 8-11. Manasseh once more restored the idolatrous abominations of Ahaz, and in an aggravated form, while he also filled the city from end to end with innocent blood, 2 Ki. xxi. 3-16. It is not certain that the city was taken at the time that he was carried to Babylon, though it is probable; but after his return, "he built a wall without the city of David, on the west side of Gihon, in the valley, even to the entering in at the fish gate, and compassed about Ophel, and raised it up a very great height," besides undoing his previous idolatrous and ungodly operations as far as in his power, 2 Ch. xxxiii. 11, 14-16, 19. His son Amon had restored some of the abominations; so that Josiah had once more to remove them, which he may have done more effectively than any of his predecessors, removing even Solomon's high places; and he had to take measures for repairing the temple, much the same as king Jehoash had formerly taken, 2 Ki. xxii. 3-7; xxiii. 4-14; 2 Ch. xxxiv. 3-13. In the miserable reigns of the sons and the grandson of Josiah, the city was taken by Pharaoh-Necho king of Egypt, and repeatedly by Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon, and its treasures were carried away on every successive occasion; but the final catastrophe was in the year B.C. 588, according to most chronologers, or 587, or 586, according to Hales, in the eleventh year of Zedekiah, when, after a siege of eighteen months (once interrupted on account of an irruption and diversion by the Egyptians, Je. xxxvii. 5, 11), the city was stormed, the temple and the palaces and the other principal houses burned, the walls broken down, the city mercilessly plundered, and the inhabitants driven into exile, or carried captive to Babylon, 2 Ch. xxxvi.; 2 Ki. xxiv. xxv. Yet, as this last passage distinguishes between the taking of the city when the king fled, on the ninth day of the fourth month, ver. 3, and the final desolation on the seventh day of the fifth month, ver. 8, and as the narrative in Je. xxxix., agreeing with this, mentions besides, that on the earlier occasion "all the princes of the king of Babylon came in and sat in the *middle* gate," ver. 3, it is very likely that this month's delay was owing to the superior strength of Zion, the city of David, which had prolonged the defence as on earlier occasions.

During the captivity we read that it was the practice of Daniel to have his windows open in his chamber toward Jerusalem, and to kneel three times a day and pray and give thanks to God, Da. vi. 10. And if we take this in connection with his studying the prophet Jeremiah, so as to understand the years of the desolations of Jerusalem, and his earnest pleading on its behalf, ch. ix 1-19, and with the answer granted to him in the wonderful prophecy as to the rebuilding of the city and the coming and work of Messiah the Prince, we may infer that God's believing people had not lost sight of "the city of their solemnities," nor lost faith in the promises which gave them as deep an interest in it as ever. Their affection for it is also manifested very touchingly in Ps. cxxxvii. Hence we understand the joyful alacrity with which more than forty thousand of the captives welcomed the decree of Cyrus, king of Persia, permitting and encouraging all who chose to return and rebuild the temple at Jerusalem, Ezr. i. &c.; comp. Is. xliv. 26-28. Of course when the temple was building, there would be other buildings also in the city; but it is very doubtful whether the population was anything considerable till the times of Ezra and Nehemiah, from B.C. 457 and onwards. Certainly there is no evidence that there were serious attempts to restore the walls and gates which Nebuchadnezzar had burned and destroyed, till the occasion described, Ne. i.-iv.; for in the article on Ezra, we have noticed that the passage, Ezr. iv. 7-23, in all probability belongs to the time just before Nehemiah. And it is equally manifest that the population was, comparatively speaking, small, and the buildings insignificant, till Nehemiah made his efforts to improve matters, when the people cast lots for one-tenth of their number to dwell at Jerusalem, and "blessed all the men that willingly offered themselves" to do so, Ne. vii. 4; xi. 1, 2. He solemnly dedicated the wall of Jerusalem in presence of the assembled inhabitants, ch. xii. 27-43; in celebration of which event Ps. cxlvii. may have been written.

It is not necessary to say much as to the history of Jerusalem during the intermediate period, of which we have no account in Scripture; as indeed we are almost wholly ignorant of the details of the half of that period. When Alexander the Great was in the height of his successes, he was provoked at the faithfulness with which the Jews adhered to the cause of the Persian monarch; and he marched from Tyre, which he had besieged and taken, to avenge himself upon Jerusalem. Jaddua the high-priest, however, was warned by God in a dream to go forth with the priests in procession to meet the conqueror, which they did; and Alexander received him most reverently, recognizing him as the person who in a dream had exhorted him to make his expedition, and afterwards he was shown by the high-priest the prophecies regarding him in the book of Daniel; in consequence of all which he confirmed the Jews in the possession of their privileges according to the laws of their forefathers (Jos. Ant. xi. 8, 3-5). After the partition of Alexander's empire, Ptolemy, the son of Lagus, to whom Egypt fell, surprised Jerusalem by treachery on the Sabbath-day, and ruled over it in a cruel manner, also carrying off multitudes into Egypt (Joseph. xii. 1). On the death of the high-priest Onias III., about B.C. 175, he was succeeded by his unworthy brother Jesus or Jason, who had to contend for this dignity with his still more worthless brother and supplanter, Onias or Menelaus; for these men adopted Grecian names, as well as Grecian habits and tendencies

to Grecian heathenism; and from this time the Jews in general, and the people of Jerusalem in particular, suffered fearfully from the inducements to apostasy and the persecutions of the Syrian king, Antiochus Epiphanes. Again and again he took the city, pillaged it, polluted the temple by idolatrous innovations, and inflicted horrible cruelties on those who adhered to the faith of their fathers. It is impossible to speak of the struggles of the Maccabees; but the crowning result was attained by Simon, who succeeded to the high-priesthood, B.C. 143, when he took the citadel Akra (not Baris, on whose site Antonia was afterwards erected), which had long been a source of annoyance and danger to the worshippers in the temple, expelled its garrison, and levelled the very site on which it stood (Joseph. xiii. 6, 6; 1 Mac. xiii. 43-52). The twenty-third day of the second month was the day on which this victory was gained, according to the last-named author, and was appointed by Simon to be an annual feast; as Judas had one instituted on account of the cleansing of the temple, on the twenty-fifth of Cisleu, the ninth month, 1 Mac. iv. 59; see Jn. x. 22. Two additional calamities befell Jerusalem somewhat later. In the year 63 Pompey took the city, entering it on the Sabbath like Ptolemy, and massacring the worshippers at the very altars, and killing altogether about 12,000 Jews (Joseph. xiv. 4, 1-4). He however spared the treasures of the temple; but these were all carried away a few years afterwards by Crassus, as he went on his disastrous expedition against the Parthians (Joseph. xiv. 7, 1). The outward fortunes of the city began to rise from the time that Cæsar gave the principality of Judea to Antipater, with the name of procurator, and permitted the re-erection of the walls, which Pompey had demolished, B.C. 43 (Joseph. xiv. 8, 5). Antipater's son, Herod the Great, executed many extensive schemes for ornamenting the city in general, and particularly the temple, which he actually rebuilt on a scale of almost incredible magnificence, see Jn. ii. 20; Mar. xiii. 1, 2; Lu. xxi. 5, 6.

Jerusalem was the capital of Herod's kingdom; and it accordingly was there that the eastern magi appeared, when they came inquiring for him that was born King of the Jews, by their inquiry throwing both the king and his capital into perturbation, Mat. ii. 1-3. It appears also to have been the capital of Archelaus during his brief reign, Mat. ii. 22. Afterwards it lost some of its grandeur when Judea was reduced to a Roman province, and the seat of the local government was removed to Cesarea. At the termination of the great revolt against their Roman masters, the Jews saw their temple burned and their ancient capital destroyed by Titus, A.D. 70, according to the prophecies of our Lord referred to above, see also Lu. xix. 41-44. The unparalleled horrors of the siege have been fully related by Josephus, a contemporary and almost an eye-witness. Again they rose in revolt, under the guidance of Bar-cochab, who pretended to be the Messiah; but this war having been brought to a termination in A.D. 135, the emperor Adrian rebuilt Jerusalem as an entirely heathen city, from which the Jews were rigorously excluded, and dedicating it to Jupiter, he named it Ælia Capitolina. Its subsequent history in the Roman empire, and afterwards till the present day, under various Mohamedan rulers (excepting the wonderful episode of the Christian kingdom of Jerusalem founded and sustained by the Crusaders), does not properly fall within the limits of this work. The common modern Arabic name is El Qods, "the Holy City." [G. C. M. D.]

II. JERUSALEM, AND ITS ENVIRONS: TOPOGRAPHICALLY DESCRIBED WITH REFERENCE BOTH TO PAST AND PRESENT TIMES.

Our description may not unfitly be prefaced by a few words on the import of the name Jerusalem, and the other names applied to the city. Jerusalem has been variously rendered, "city of peace," "vision of peace," "foundation," or "possession," or "inheritance" of peace (Simonis Onomast. V. T. p. 252, 467, 571). Jerome calls it the "three-named or rather four-named city," "prius *Jebus*, postea *Salem*, tertio *Hierosolyma*, et nunc *Ælia*,"[1] (de Terra prom.) In the days of our Lord it was called "the Holy City," Mat. xxvii. 53; and this name, after some ages, re-appears in the modern *El-Kuds* (pronounced *El-Goods*). The crusaders speak of it sometimes as Jerusalem, and sometimes as the Holy City; and the Mohamedan historians and geographers name it *Beit-el-Mukaddes*, the Holy House (see Bohadin's Hist. of Saladin; and Ibn Haukal's Geog.), contracted into *Makdes* or *Mikdash*, or *Macktash*. It is also called *Kuds Mobarek*, "Sanctitas Benedicta," and *Kuds Scherif*, "Sanctitas Nobilissima." *Gotz*, *Godz*, and *Kuz-Mobarech* appear in the works of eastern lexicographers and travellers of the olden time.

Fabri, the old traveller (A.D. 1484), in giving the names of the city, draws attention to the different names by which in his day it was designated. He remarks, "Dicitur etiam Algariza, *i.e.* mons altissimus, ab Eusebio; Akossa nominant eam Sarracini" (Evagat. vol. ii. p. 303). Laffi says, "Chiamano li Turchi questa citta *Cuzumufaroch* (query, *Kuds Mubarek*), che vuoi dire citta sacrata" (Viaggio, A.D. 1678, p. 413). Ouseley remarks, "This name (Gong-i-Dizh) has also been given to Jerusalem, the *Beit-al-Mukaddes*, or Holy House. It was a name for one of the imaginary paradises or seats of beatitude" (Geographical Works of Isfahani, translated by Sir W. Ouseley, p. 43). Twice it is called, in prophetic metaphor, "the Valley of Vision"—Gae-Hazun, Is. xxii. 1, 5; for though built chiefly on hills, a large portion of the city, specially its markets, shops, or "bazaars," as at this day, occupied the great valley, called by Josephus the Tyropœon, which intersected the city, and furnished considerable space for building. It had a *mount of vision;* and a *valley of vision;* and itself was the *city of vision.* Referring to the day of its siege and overthrow—perhaps to its seventeen desolations (for so many have been the waves of Gentile fury that have rolled over it), the prophets speak of it as a desolation, an astonishment, a hissing, a place of dragons, a city of confusion, as if it had been a second Babylon, or Bozrah, as well as a second Sodom, Is. i. 10. Ezekiel calls it in one place "Jerusalem the defenced," ch. xxi. 20; in another "Aholibah," *i.e.* my tent is in her,

[1] We should say, "first Salem, then Jebus, then Jerusalem, then Ælia." It seems to be to its post-Melchizedek time that Ezekiel refers, "thy birth and thy nativity is of the land of Canaan; thy father was an Amorite and thy mother a Hittite" (ch. xvi. 1, 2). It was called Ælia in the early centuries of the Christian era, from Ælius Hadrianus, the Roman emperor. While in the East Hadrian was substituting his name of Ælia for Jerusalem, in the West he was affixing it to an unknown village of barbarians, *Pons Ælii* (now Newcastle). It is remarkable that it was from *Britain* that some of the Roman legions were summoned, in one of the emergencies of the Jewish war (whether to take part in the siege of Jerusalem we know not); and it is no less strange to hear Josephus in his speeches to his fellow-countrymen, as he stood on the walls of the city, once and again naming the Britons as proof of the invincibility of the Roman arms, and the helplessness of Jewish resistance.

ch. xxiii. 4. *Ariel* is another of its prophetic names, in a passage which we thus give, Is. xxix. 1:—

> Woe to *Ariel*, to *Ariel!* (lion of God)
> The city of the tabernacle of David.
> Add a year to a year,
> Let the festivals go their round;
> And then I will distress *Ariel*,
> And there shall be heaviness and sorrow;
> And it (Jerusalem) shall be to me as *Ariel;*
> (*i. e.* I will fight against it as against a mighty lion;)
> Yea, I will come against thee round about;
> Yea, I will lay siege to thee with a mount;
> And I will raise forts against thee;
> And thou shalt be brought low.
> Out of the ground shalt thou speak,
> And out of the dust shalt thou bring up thy words.

So has it been with the "lion of God" these many ages, trodden down and wasted; once the "gates of the people," Eze. xxvi. 2, "the perfection of beauty," La. ii. 15; now a heap, a tomb, a "whited sepulchre."

1. *Site of the city, and relation to the mountain ranges of Palestine.*—Of Jerusalem Abraham Peritzol writes, "Shem the son of Noah was king of Shalem, which is Jerusalem" (Itinera Mundi, ch. ii.; see his translator's long note on the name and history of the city). That Shalem was its original name, and that Melchizedek was its king, appears probable from the following statements. (1.) The name of Melchizedek's city was *Salem*, Ge. xiv. 18; which corresponds with *Jerusalem*, and is recognized in Ps. lxxvi. 2, "in *Salem* is his tabernacle, and his dwelling-place in *Zion;*" where *Salem* is connected with *Zion*. That several of the fathers thought Salem to be the Shalem of Jacob is of little moment. The opinion of some of them that Gerizzim is Moriah, and that the land of Moriah is to be sought for near Shechem, is no more trustworthy nor satisfactory than the tradition of others of them connecting Mount *Tabor* with Abraham and Melchizedek. (2.) Psalm cx. joins Melchizedek with *Zion*, as other passages do with *Salem*. (3.) Jos. x. 1, 3, shows the traces of Melchi*zedek's* name in Jerusalem, ages after his day—"Adoni-*zedek*, king of Jerusalem."

The two great mountain-ridges, in Scripture known as Lebanon, in classical geography as Libanus and Anti-Libanus, do not terminate, as many suppose, at the northern frontier of Palestine. They project themselves far southward, though not with equal elevation or compactness, in two nearly parallel ranges, separated from each other by the long depression of the Ghor (*see* JORDAN), which may be said to begin at the base of Hermon—that "goodly mountain," De. iii. 25—now Jebel-es-Sheikh, and end at the Gulf of Akabah. The eastern ridge distributes itself through Golan, Gilead, Moab, Petra, and the Arabian margin of the Red Sea. The western one pushes right through the heart of Palestine, as its backbone, forming successively the hills of Galilee, Samaria, Ephraim, Benjamin, Judah; then spreading out into the scattered peaks and cliffs and groups of the Sinaitic or Et-Tih desert, till abruptly brought to a point at Ras Mohammed, in the mountainous angle formed by the bifurcation of the Red Sea.

This latter ridge breaks up considerably as it passes through Palestine; throwing out spurs on both sides during its course; sinking down into plains such as Merom, Esdraelon, and Shechem; or branching out into undulating table-lands, such as the region round Bethel and the hill country of Judah.

This broken prolongation of Lebanon is the great platform on which the cities of Palestine rest; the innumerable knolls, hills, hollows, and slopes, furnishing their sites, and the easily-wrought limestone supplying plentiful materials for houses and towers and walls. These white clusters of human dwellings, perched in all directions, in all conceivable positions, and at all different heights, from the hillock round which El-Jib coils itself, to the mountain-top where Safed has struck root, form the most notable features of the Syrian landscape of the present day, as their predecessors must have done in the ages of Joshua and David.

On a section of one of these broken table-lands of limestone, some 2000 feet above the sea, lies Jerusalem.[1] The surface of its platform is rough and diversified; an ellipse, running north and south, of above four miles circumference in its most populous days. The site of the city is admirable; more however for strength, compactness, visibility, and an indescribable tranquillity of repose, than for grandeur or picturesque attractiveness. A small central knot of low hills, three or four in number, shut off from the rest of the rugged plateau by ravines and hollows, nearly clasped round on three sides by the Kedron, and then girdled by an outer circle of higher hills, forms a very uneven but gently sloping esplanade, on which the city spreads itself out like a theatre, as Josephus says (*θεατροειδής*, Ant. xv. 11, 5). Thus, while *set* upon mountains, Ps. lxxxvii. 1, 2, or hills at least, it was also *surrounded* with these, Ps. cxxv. 2. "Beautiful for situation," Ps. xlviii. 2, it is to this day; whether seen from the Mount of Olives or the Bethany road, or Scopus, or the many heights far and near from which it is visible. "Urbs ardua situ" is the expression of Tacitus (Hist. v. 11); and the Sept. translating

[361.] Jerusalem, from Bir-Eyub, or Well of Job.
From a photograph by Frith.

[1] It is exactly 2610 feet above the Mediterranean, and 3927 above the Dead Sea, according to Lynch and Van de Velde somewhat more according to aneroid observations. It is 210 feet higher than Damascus; about 1000 lower than Baalbec.—*Dr. Whitty's Water Supply of Jerusalem*, p. 221.

Ps. xlviii. 2, calls it ἐυριζων, "well-rooted." "Felix nimis et formosa" are the words of the old hymn.

The mountains that are "round about Jerusalem" are the following: (1.) On the north *Scopus*, the watch-hill (Jos. J. W. v. 2, 3), one of the many *Mizpehs* and *Zephaths* of old times. The modern name of the hollow just over the brow of the hill, which the great "north" or "Damascus" road climbs on leaving Jerusalem, is *Shaphat;* a relic of the *Mizpeh* of Je. xli. 1–6; the Septuagint *Massephath* of Ju. xx. 1; the *Maspha* of 1 Mac. iii. 46; v. 35; and the *Masphatha* of Josephus (Ant. vi. 4, 4). Here all the great invaders first encamped, from Sennacherib to Titus; and here the coming or departing traveller gets his first or his last look of the Holy City. (2.) On the east the Mount of Olives, now Jebel-et-Tur, *i.e.* the "fort-hill," like Tabor, Gerizzim, and others, which take the same name from their once fortified character. Of its three peaks or round heights, the middle one is the highest (2724 feet above sea-level), and is "the Mount of Olives," which is "before Jerusalem, on the east," Zec. xiv. 4. The northern height is nameless (for Stanley's idea that it is the Mount of Corruption is untenable); and the southern, which is opposite Mount Zion, is "the Mount of Corruption," where Solomon built the high-places of Ashtoreth and Chemosh, 1 Ki. xi 7; 2 Ki. xxiii. 13; traditionally named "mons offensionis;" and by Milton the "opprobrious hill," "hill of scandal," and "offensive mountain" (Par. L. b. i. l. 403, 416, 443). From this hill the traveller looks down on the Jordan and the Dead Sea, with the Moab mountains beyond, on the one side, and on Jerusalem on the other. The whole ridge is now known by the name Jebel-es-Zeitun. (3.) On the south there are the low crags and broken hillocks—half gray, half green—that form Akeldama, and run westward and southward, passing into higher ranges beyond, of which the "Frank Mountain," or ancient *Bethhaccerem*, which Herod fortified and named *Herodium*, is the most conspicuous, with its lofty and truncated top, almost overlooking Bethlehem. (4.) On the west there is the partly level, partly undulating ground which slopes very gradually upward as it retreats from the city-walls, till it rises into the heights around Soba and Nebi-Semwîl, from which the Mediterranean is seen, and which command a noble view of the city itself. The rough ground west of the walls, through which the road to Jaffa passes, is called by the resident English "the Jaffa Plain," by the natives the Meidân, which in Arabic, Turkish, and Persian denotes a level place of public exercise adjoining a city. This Meidân is now nearly covered with the large Russian erections. It used to be the place of military drill. Few cities in the world are so protected by natural bulwarks. Its mountain fortification is complete; though of course there are weak points in it, of which invaders have availed themselves.

2. *Relation of the city to the tomb-regions.*—Within this circle of *hills*, there is another of *tombs*, which does not fail to attract the eye of the stranger.[1] On the east, there is the Jewish burying-ground, one of the most interesting places about Jerusalem. It occupies a stripe of the slope of Olivet, about 900 feet by 120, right opposite the south-east angle of the mosque, between the Bethany road and the Kedron. It is covered with flat tombstones, most of which have Hebrew inscriptions, with the well-known Jewish word *Tsiûn* (epitaph) at the top, as the title of each (Benjamin of Tudela, vol. i. p. 72, Asher's ed.; Petachia, p. 61, Benisch's edit.) About 900 feet higher up the hill are the Tombs of the Prophets—*Kubr-en-Nebia;* by some called the Tombs of the Apostles (De Saulcy, vol. ii. p. 189; Barclay, 198). At the foot of the hill, and immediately below the Jewish cemetery, are the monuments of Zecharias, James, Absalom, and Jehoshaphat, in which last the Jews bury all their soiled or tattered rolls, thinking it criminal to burn them. There are probably other tomb excavations in the mount; so that one writer affirms that could we but get a proper section of this hill and the neighbourhood of Jerusalem all round, we should find the rocks exhibiting a succession of perforations "resembling the cellular construction of a hornet's nest" (Dupuis' Holy Places, vol. ii. p. 8). On the other side of the Kedron, close under the eastern wall of the city, are crowds of Moslem gravestones, great and small, dotting the steep down to the Kedron, and probably indicating that this is not a slope of solid *rock*, but of *debris*, from the frequent ruins of the city, which has converted the original precipice into a gradual ascent. Here "the stones of the sanctuary have been poured out," La. iv. 1. On the south we have the rocky shelf of Akeldama, right opposite Zion, and overhanging what we believe to be the extremity of Gihon, now called Wady-er-Rababi, the "Monk-valley." This shelf of rocks is honey-combed with tombs for nearly 2000 feet along, from east to west. These are very extensive excavations, some right down into the rock and built over, others cut far into the side of a rock; some plain, others with carving and inscriptions; but all of them bearing very distinct marks of their design; none of them mere caves or holes in the rock. The one which we once carefully explored with torches was a very remarkable piece of excavation. Entered by a well-cut square aperture, low down in the face of the rock, for which there had once been a regular door, probably of stone (the rolling of "large stones" was generally but a temporary appliance), it retreated we knew not how far, chamber after chamber, each shelved round, if we may call it so, with loculi, tier above tier, for bodies or sarcophagi, many of which were filled with skulls and bones and human dust. (Wilde's Narrative, vol. ii. 337-357. This is the fullest and most curious of the many accounts of Akeldama.) On the west there is the Moslem graveyard at the Mamilla pool, called *Turbet Mamilla* (*Turbet* = graves), some 700 or 800 yards from the Jaffa gate. To the north there is another Mohamedan graveyard, called *Turbet-es-Sahera*, on the north slope of the excavated hill, which contains "Jeremiah's cave," or "*Maghâret-el-Edhamiyeh.*" Farther north than this there are several tombs and ruins; tombs of the martyrs, tombs of the judges, tombs of the kings, the Wely (monument) of Sheikh Jerrah, and in the very valley of the Kedron, where the Wady-el-Jôs begins, the tomb of Simon the Just, large, and much visited by Jewish pilgrims, as the Hebrew inscriptions on its walls testify (Barclay, p. 198).

3. *The ravines and fountains in the neighbourhood of the city.*—Another circle is that of ravines, valleys, and plains. Commencing at the foot of Scopus, you have the "fields of Kedron" about you, 2 Ki. xxiii. 4; then you enter the hollow of the Kedron (which first strikes east and then south), called the Wady-el-Jôs, or valley of

[1] That the tombs in ancient times were outside the city, as now, is shown by Matt. xxvii. 53, where we are told of the bodies of the saints arising from their graves and coming into the city—εισηλθον εις την ἁγιαν πόλιν.

Jehoshaphat ("inter Hierusalem et Montem Oliveti," Jerome); as you go farther south, the bed is still broad, but its banks rise on both sides, and in one of these *breadths*, just at the foot of Olivet, is Gethsemane;[1] then the Kedron hollow becomes deeper and narrower, Olivet on one side, Moriah and Ophel on the other; then you come to the mouth of the Tyropœon, where there is considerable breadth of ground and fertility of soil, watered by Siloam; (it is this last reach from the north end of the Jewish burying-ground to the space round Siloam that is reckoned Hinnom and Gehenna by Jews and Moslems); then turning westward, and passing up the glen (which in modern times has been named Hinnom, but which is probably Gihon), as it bends round the south extremity of Zion and comes right up under the Jaffa gate, you find yourself in a succession of hollows and ravines, which, though in some places filled up with the gray rubbish of the oft-razed walls, are still deep enough to form an almost impregnable line of natural circumvallation round more than three-fourths of the city. On the south-west, west, and north-west, you have more level ground. Here the great towers stood; at one of these points the city was almost always attacked, save once, when the crusaders assaulted it from the east. The "valley of the giants" (Emek Rephaim, Jos. xv. 8; xviii. 16; 2 Sa. v. 18; Is. xvii. 5), which Schwarz says is still called *Rapha*, but which, so far as we could learn, is simply called *Bekâ* (the plain), lies a little southward of the city (if the identification be correct), on the Bethlehem road, and comes up to the suburbs of the city; and in the statement of the boundary-line between Judah and Benjamin (as we understand it), was reckoned to extend a little farther north than is now supposed. Here, where David twice overthrew Israel's enemies, Herod erected the amphitheatre for games, wrestlings, and shows of wild beasts, and performances of the "Thymelici" ("Bacchantic players," see Suidas in verb. Smith's Cl. Dict.), by means of which he sought to corrupt the purity of Jewish morals, and to introduce into the eastern province the luxuries and profligacies of the western metropolis (Jos. Ant. xv. 8, 1). Whether "the plain of Tabor," 1 Sa. x. 3, be another name for the valley of Rephaim, or whether the former be the name for the ground west of the city, now called the "Jaffa plain," cannot be ascertained. The conjecture of some that *Tûr* is the contraction for *Tabor* (because Mount Tabor is now named Tûr; whereas *Tûr* is simply *fort*, and a modern name), and that the plain of Tabor is the plain near the Mount of Olives, is inadmissible.

In this circle of valleys there are one or two things requiring notice. (1.) *Gethsemane*, on the east of the Kedron, but almost in its bed, called now *Jesmaniyah;* though, whether this be a genuine relic of the original name, or merely an Arabic version of the traditional one, we know not. In the middle ages there was a "town" or "village of Gethsemane" (Guylforde's Pylgrymage, p. 33). (2.) *Eroge.* Halfway down the Kedron hollow, below the present St. Stephen's gate, and nearly opposite Gethsemane, must have been the place called by Josephus *Eroge* (Ερωγη, Ant. ix. 10, 4), where, during the earthquake in the days of Uzziah (Am. i. 1; Zec. xiv. 5), there occurred a formidable landslip. Josephus says that the earthquake shook the temple, split one of its walls, and so terrified the king that he was arrested in his impious purpose, 2 Ch. xxix. 18. He further tells us that part of the cliff on the west side of the valley was splintered, and rolled down the valley for four furlongs to the east side, where it stood still, blocking up the roads and injuring the king's gardens. We have no farther information about this Eroge, either as to site or name. One might have thought it to be connected with *Rogel*, or the modern *Deraj*, were it not that the distance between it and the king's gardens is much less than four furlongs (see Hudson's note on the passage, in his edition of Josephus, i. 499; also Schwarz, p. 263). Both of these writers make it a transposition of the גֵּיא חֲרִי of Zechariah, ch. xiv. 5; and if so, then the Kedron bed at the foot of Olivet was called the "valley of the mountains," or "mountain-valley." But we suspect that *Eroge* is the Hebrew עֲרוּגָה (*Erugah*), a garden-bed or spice-bed, Ca. v. 13; vi. 2; for it was just in this part of the Kedron that there were the gardens of which Gethsemane was one. (3.) *En-rogel*, the "fuller's fountain," which we place at Um-ed-Deraj, as we have elsewhere stated. (4.) *Zoheleth*, the stone "by En-rogel," where Adonijah "slew sheep and oxen," 1 Ki. i. 9. The Targumists translate this the rolling-stone, on which the young men tried their strength (Jarchi); others make it the serpent-stone (Gesen.); others connect it with running water; and perhaps it may be "the stone of the conduit" (מזחיל ה, *Mazhelah*), from its proximity to the great rock-conduit or conduits that poured their waters first into En-rogel, and then into Siloam (see Bochart; also the Arabic Comm. of Tanchum of Jerusalem on Kings, transl. by Haarbrucker, p. 63). There are several such stones mentioned in Scripture. The stones of Jordan, of Gilgal, Jos. iv. 9, 20, the stone of Shechem, Jos. xxiv. 26, the *Eben-gedolah*, "great stone," called also Abel-gedolah, the great weeping, 1 Sa. vi. 14, 19; the *Eben-Bohan*, stone of Bohan, the son of Reuben, Jos. xv. 6; xviii. 17, the Ehrenbreitstein of the Ghor; Eben-Ezer, the stone of help, 1 Sa. viii. 7, 14; xiv. 33; the *Eben-Ezel* (lapis discessus, a discessu Jonathanis et Davidis, Sim. Onom. p. 156; lapis peregrinantium, travellers' stone, according to Tanchum, Comm. Arab. p. 36). (5.) *Siloam*, the "sent" or "missioned" pool, at the mouth of the Tyropœon, which still exists, though broken and wasted, "sending out" its quiet waters still, as of old, to irrigate the gardens beneath (2114 feet above sea-level). Right across the Kedron, from the pool of Siloam, is the modern village of the same name, *Kefr-Silwân*, a group of dismal Arab huts and tomb-like caves, used now for houses, and once perhaps used for cells by the "Cœnobites," or hermits, who, in the fifth and sixth centuries, occupied several places of the desert and in the neighbourhood of Jerusalem, such as Akeldama. Close by the pool must have been the "tower *in* Siloam" which fell, Lu. xiii. 4; and the Kedron hollow down from the pool is that which Josephus calls "the valley hard by Siloam" (κατὰ τὴν Σιλωὰμ, J. W. v. 12, 2), and which old travellers call "the valley of Siloam" (Pylgrymage of Syr R. Guylforde, A.D. 1506, p. 33), dividing the Kedron valley into two parts: "Here endeth the vale of Josophat and begynneth the vale of Siloe, and they both be but one vale, but the name changeth" (Ib.) Whether the large tank adjoining Silwân on the east,

[1] It is not unlikely that the present Latin garden called Gethsemane is the same as in the days of Eusebius and Jerome, as they speak of it as at "the roots of Olivet," and mention a building there which Eusebius simply calls a place for prayer, Jerome a church. The Greeks have a part of the hollow which they call Gethsemane; but the other is undoubtedly the older. It is 2231 feet above sea-level.—*Van de Velde's Memoir*, p. 180.

now nearly filled with soil, and cultivated as an orchard, be "the king's pool," Ne. ii. 14, is uncertain. Its modern name is Birket-el-Hamra. Mr. Whitty seems to think that the old Siloam was here, or perhaps a little farther down, among the gardens (Proposed Water Supply and Sewerage for Jerusalem, by J. J. Whitty, London, 1863). (6.) *Topheth*, a music-grove in the king's gardens, 2 Ki. xxiii. 10; Je. vii. 31, 32; xix. 6-14, in Hinnom, probably not far from Siloam; called Tophet, not from the "drums" employed to drown the cries of the immolated children (if such implements were ever used here), but from its being the royal music-grove. (7.) *Peristereon*. This was a particular rock or cliff, mentioned by Josephus as one of the points in the south-eastern side of the Mount of Olives, which Titus' great siege-wall or trench touched in its circuit (J. W. v. 12, 1, 2). It must have been nearly opposite Siloam; for the rock on or by which it stood joined on to that "hill which overhung the valley which is hard by Siloam" (J. W. v. 12, 2). Whether it was really the site of a dove-cot (*περιστερεών*, perhaps for temple uses), as its name implies, or whether there is some Hebrew name hidden under this, is unknown. (8.) *The royal gardens*, or "King's Paradise," as Josephus calls them, on the rich ground watered by "the waters of Shiloah, which go softly," Is. viii. 6. In connection with the "king's gardens," we may notice the "king's dale," or *Emek-amelek* of Ge. xiv. 17 and 2 Sa. xviii. 18. Josephus says of the *latter* that it was "two furlongs from Jerusalem," and that Absalom's marble pillar was there (Ant. vii. 10, 3); and he leads us to infer that the *former* was not far from the city (Ant. i. 10, 2), though he does not exactly say so. He calls the first *πεδίον βασιλικὸν*, and the second *κοιλὰς βασιλικὴ*. All the ancient Jewish commentators hold them identical, and in the vicinity of Jerusalem (Reland, Pal. vol. i. p. 356; De Sola's Genesis, p. 71); but Stanley and others take the first to the far north and the second to the east of Jordan (Sinai and Pal. p. 246, 247), though upon slender grounds. We need not contend for the present valley of Jehoshaphat as the spot (though it may be so); but we incline at least to accept the statement of Josephus as to the two furlongs, which would be verified in the plain of Rephaim or the northern fields of Kedron as well. Of the name "Shaveh," which is connected with the king's valley, there is now no trace anywhere. (9.) *Bîr-Eyub* (1996 feet above sea) or "well of Job;" sometimes called "well of Nehemiah," where the Jews say that Jeremiah hid the sacred fire when Jerusalem was taken (Surius, Voyage de Jerusalem, p. 399). It is at the bend of Wady-en-Nar (Nar = fire), at the angle formed by the Kedron and Gihon valleys. It is not a "Birket" (pool), nor an "En" (a fountain), but a "Bîr," a *well*, 130 feet deep, fed by springs, and overflowing in the seasons of rain; probably a very old one, repaired by the famous Saladîn or "Salah-ed-dîn, ibn-*Eyub*," who signalized himself by digging *wells* and building *khans;* and who seems to have given to them sometimes his father's name *Eyub* (as here), and sometimes his own, as in the case of the Khan *Jubb-Yuseph*, north of the sea of Galilee, which tradition has mistaken for Joseph's pit (Bohadin's Life of Saladin, Pref. p. 1; Jalal-Addin's Hist. of the Temple, p. 239). The best description of this old Bîr, accompanied by a woodcut of the interior, is to be found in the *Sunday at Home*, for July, 1863, p. 444; see Whitty also. In the Kedron valley were no doubt many pools or tanks, by which this hollow below Siloam was kept rich and green. Here to this day are the Bistân or gardens, relics of the king's gardens in Jerusalem's golden days, at the angle or basin formed by the four hills of Zion, Ophel, Akeldama, and the Mount of Offence (Josephus names it the King's Paradise; Ne. iii. 15; Je. lii. 7; Jos. Ant. vii. 14, 4). Up the valley of the Gihon there are other pools: the Birket-es-Sultân, perhaps the "pool that was made," Ne. iii. 16 (close by which Solomon's great aqueduct crosses the valley), 592 feet long by 260 broad, and 40 deep, partly rock-cut and partly built; the Birket-Mamilla, perhaps the "upper pool," 2 Ki. xviii. 17, from which the conduit went which brought water into the city, 2 Ki. xx. 20; at which conduit the Assyrian generals stood in delivering their insults to Jerusalem, 2 Ki. xviii. 17; Is. vii. 3. Somewhere west or north-west of the present Jaffa gate this parley took place; and here must have been the "highway of the fuller's field," *i.e.* the road which *led to* the fuller's field; not implying that the field itself was here.

Between the Mamilla pool and that called the pool of Hezekiah, there is a rock-cut duct, in length 790 yards (Whitty, p. 70, 92, 125). To this probably is the reference in 2 Ch. xxxii. 30, "the same Hezekiah stopped the upper water-course of Gihon, and brought it straight down to the city of David;" or more literally, he "stopped up the going out of the waters of Gihon the higher, and made them to come straight down," &c. The word "stopped up" often means "to hide," Ps. xl. 10; li. 6, which may be the meaning here; referring to the underground conduit which conveyed the waters to the west of Zion. To this also is the reference of 2 Ki. xviii. 17; Is. vii. 3. This was "the conduit of the upper pool which is in the highway of the fuller's field." By this means Hezekiah supplied the city and drew off the water from an invader. He "took counsel to *stop* (to conceal) the waters of the fountains, which were without the city; so there was gathered much people together, who *stopped* all the fountains and *the brook that ran through the midst of the land*," 2 Ch. xxxii. 3, 4. Can this last be Solomon's aqueduct? What else ran through the midst of the land? Whether there is any subterraneous connection between Mamilla and the large half-rockcut dilapidated reservoir near the Damascus gate (Whitty, p. 149), we do not know. Aqueducts in this direction would have brought water down into the very heart of the city, the Tyropœon, where it was specially needed by the "inhabitants of *the valley*," Je. xxi. 13, who by their higher level were shut off from the pools in the Kedron valley as well as in the southern ravine. There have been frequent rumours as to the rush of water being heard at the Damascus gate (Saulcy, vol. ii. p. 250; Robinson, iii. p. 197). The number of subterraneous ducts, both for fresh and foul water, with which the rocks in and about the city have been perforated, is incredible. The ground is riddled with them. Each year turns up some new one; and with each such discovery is determining some disputed point in the topography of Jerusalem.

As we sweep northward in this circle, we come to the mounds of ashes, which (in spite of our desire to believe them the heaps of temple-ashes), we suspect to be the debris or refuse of a group of brick-kilns; underneath which may lie relics of antiquity, perhaps the foundations of the third wall, or of the tower of Psephinus. Somewhere on the north here must have been the "Erebinth-town" of Josephus (J. W. v. 12, 2); though what this "vetch-village" (*ἐρεβίνθων οἶκος*, perhaps Beth-Rabinoth in the Hebrew) may mean is hard

to say (Reland, Pal. p. 766). In this north and north-western part were the "fields" or "field," as they are called in Scripture, the place from which Simon was coming (ἀπ' ἀγροῦ), Mar. xv. 21, when seized and forced to carry the cross.

4. *The modern walls and gates of the city.*—We come now to the circle of the walls themselves, rising from 30 to 40 feet high, about 15 feet thick, with frequent towers and gates, with battlements and loopholes on all sides of the city. The stones composing these, especially at the south-east and south-west angles of the Harâm, are very old, though the walls themselves (at least their upper tiers) have not an antiquity of more than three centuries. In the walls there are some things deserving notice: the enormous size of the stones in some places (placed there, as the Arab boys will tell you, by the "Jinns,") evidently the relics of ancient splendour;

[362.] Street in Jerusalem.—From Miss Cubley's Hills and Plains of Palestine.

the peculiar rabbeting or grooving (called by some *bevelling*), at the edges in some parts, marking its Jewish or Jewish-Roman origin (Robinson, i. 286); the remains of the ancient arch at the south-west angle of the Harâm wall (Ib. i. 288; Traill's Josephus, vol. i. p. 26), which connected the temple with Zion; the wailing-place of the Jews at the west wall, where the stones are peculiarly massive, and apparently *in situ;* the ancient gate-work inside the Damascus gate (Hadji in Syria, p. 93); the pillar-fragment in the eastern wall, which Moslem fable names Mohamed's judgment-seat (Fabri, vol. ii. p. 128).

In walking round the walls upon the path or ledge near the top, one gets the best view of the interior of the city; its churches, mosques, minarets, and houses. The *dome-roofs* of the last of these strike the eye. Damascus, with the firs of Lebanon at hand, covers itself with flat roofs; but Jerusalem, with no wood and plenty of stone, betakes itself to the *arch*. The three or four half-grown palms that rise here and there among the houses show themselves, as the only representatives of those which grew on "the Mount" in Nehemiah's days, Ne. viii. 15; and in those later times when the crowds went forth from the city bearing "branches of palm-trees" to meet "the King of Israel," Jn. xii. 13, with hosannas of triumph. The palm-tree has nearly perished from Palestine, save here and there a little group, as at Jaffa, Jenin, &c.; the olive, the symbol of the nation, Ro. xi. 17, remains.[1] Scattered through the vacant nooks of the city you see the cactus or prickly pear; cypresses, olives, and other trees, springing up even in the Harâm; ploughed fields inside the western and northern walls.

In the course of this walk you obtain a correct idea of the character of the city; confused, irregular, and undulating, with marks of decay everywhere. The stones are crumbling, the walls are ragged, but there is nothing dingy about the houses, for smoke is but little known save at the morning or evening cooking time. If you descend and traverse the streets you get a poor impression of the city. Its streets are narrow and uneven (most of them about 12 feet wide); its pavement (if the name can be used in such a case) of the most rugged kind, not rutted, but full of holes, which no one thinks of filling up. The bazaars are poor and ill-stocked; not crowded with buyers like those of Cairo, but still kept alive by a small stream of citizens and strangers regularly flowing through the lanes, on each side of which the shops are placed; and in March and April thronged with pilgrims, both Christian and Mohamedan, who annually flock into Jerusalem from great distances, as far as Constantinople on the north, and Tangiers on the west. Though the streets and lanes are intricate, they are not more so than in other oriental cities. Nor are they at all more filthy than most of these; Dr. Robinson thinks less so, remarking that of all oriental cities he had visited, "Jerusalem, after Cairo, is the cleanest and most solidly built" (vol. i. p. 222). It has no large open space, like the square at Alexandria, or the Esbekiyeh of Cairo; but the vacant piece of ground, inside the Jaffa gate, were it better paved and kept, might be counted tolerable for a Syrian town. There is a certain amount of trade and business; though not what we call bustle, save at the pilgrim season; and the city is not now "full of stirs, a tumultuous city, a joyous city," Is. xxii. 2. Its inhabitants are in general poorly clothed, save on gala-days, when, arrayed in every colour, they saunter outside the gates or sit down in groups upon the tombs.

In ancient times the gates were more numerous than now (see Carpzovii Annot. on Goodwin's Moses and Aaron, p. 326-330; Lamy de Civit. Jerus. p. 592-597; Van de Velde's Jerusalem). At present only *six* are visible, though there are fragments of others. Of these "the golden gate" is built up. It is on the east, looking right up to the Church of the Ascension on the Mount of Olives. It is sometimes called *Bab-er-Rahmeh* (gate of mercy), and sometimes *Bab-ed-Dahariyeh* (eternal gate). Its double arch looks well on the outside, and its portico within (entered only by the mosque), with its Corinthian monoliths, is still finer (Traill's Josephus, vol. i. p. 44; De Saulcy, vol. ii. p. 83-88;

[1] The indestructible vitality of the olive root, even after the stem has been cut over or destroyed by fire, is such, says Lord Nugent, that it has been thought that the trees on Mount Olivet at this day are shoots of the olives of the days of our Lord (see the *Syrian Exploration of American Geog. Soc.* p. 10). What makes this more likely is, that many of the present Gethsemane trees are not only old, but have two or three stems, showing that they are shoots of older trees, which have been cut over, as all the trees round Jerusalem were by Titus.

Williams, vol. ii. p. 355-372; Fabri, vol. i. p. 368). The *Bab-el-Moharbeh* (near the south-west angle of the mosque) is seldom opened; the four in daily use are the *Bab-el-Khulil* (Hebron or Jaffa gate, 2504 feet above sea), on the south-west; the *Bab-el-Amûd* (Damascus or Pillar gate), on the north-west, where there are the remains of a very ancient gateway; the *Bab-el-Hotta* (little or St. Stephen's gate), to the east; the *Bab-el-Nebi-Daûd* (Zion or David gate), on the south. There is little probability that these have exactly preserved the original outlets of the city (except in the case of the "golden gate"); as the city has been so much contracted from its former dimensions, that the gates must be differently placed, though, it may be, somewhat in the old direction. Several Arabic inscriptions, on the Jaffa gate and elsewhere, mention that the present walls were built (or rebuilt rather) by Sultan Suleiman, in the 948th year of the Hegira, or 1543 of our era; probably on the line of the old walls of Hadrian, which had again and again been breached and shattered. The peculiar rebating or edge-indentation of the stones in many places, shows, however, that the materials claim a Herodian, if not a Solomonian antiquity. The circumference of the modern walls is 4326 yards, or about 2½ English miles (Robinson, vol. i. p. 268; Barclay's City of the Great King, p. 430-432). The inside ledge (a few feet from the top) is sufficiently broad to allow any one with a steady head to walk round with comfort. In the days of Josephus the walls measured 33 stadia, or upwards of 4 miles in circuit (J. W. b. v. ch. 4, sect. 3; Strabo says 60 stadia, b. xvi. ch. 2, sect. 36). In the days of the Asamonæans, or Asmoneans (for both forms are used), the city was smaller; in those of Nehemiah yet smaller, and in those of David smaller still; yet probably occupying more ground to the west and south than at present.[1]

[363.] Interior of the Golden Gate.—From a view by Catherwood.

5. The dimensions and configuration of the city.—Frequently in Scripture, Zion is used as the name for the whole four-hilled platform; but more generally, especially in the psalms and prophets, we find a double designation applied to the city, "Zion and Jerusalem." That this is not a mere reduplication, and that the two names point out separate places, is evident from such passages as the following: "Solomon assembled all the elders of Israel unto king Solomon *in Jerusalem*, that they might bring up the ark *out of the city of David*, which is Zion," 1 Ki. viii. 1. "The virgin, the *daughter of Zion*, hath *despised* thee (Zion the strong fort); (even) the *daughter of Jerusalem* (the less fortified city) hath *shaken her head* at thee," 2 Ki. xix. 21.[2] "Out of *Jerusalem* shall go forth a remnant, and they that escape out of *Mount Zion*" (Ib. 31). "In *Salem* is his tabernacle, and his dwelling-place in *Zion*," Ps. lxxvi. 2. "*Zion* is a wilderness, *Jerusalem* a desolation," Is. lxiv. 10. "*Zion* shall be ploughed like a field, and *Jerusalem* shall become heaps," Je. xxvi. 18; Mi. iii. 12. These are a few out of the many places (upwards of forty) in which the two places are spoken of in this distinct way. And though each of these names is, in other places, used to designate the *whole* city, yet this very frequent duality of designation indicates the twofold character of the city, as made up of the fortress (Zion) with the houses and palaces, Ps. xlviii. 13, clustering round it on one hill, and the town itself (Salem) on the other; giving rise perhaps to the *dual* form of the name for the whole, *Jerusalayim* (Gesen. Lex.; Jones' Proper Names of the O.T.; Simonis Onomast. V.T. p. 252, 467, "ob geminam urbis partem, superiorem et inferiorem;" Simonis Onomast. N. T. p. 76, 77; The Proper Names of the O.T. arranged alphabetically, &c. p. 119, 1859). This form of expression thus becomes not tautological, but strictly accurate and exact. Though this twofold division has quite disappeared from the modern city (the only trace of it being the depression which runs from the north-west of the mosque to the Damascus gate); it was recognized by the rabbinical writers, who speak of "the upper and lower markets," showing, as a Jewish traveller remarks, "that in the time of Jeremiah, at least, and probably before, this distinction was known" (Schwarz's Pal. p. 248). The word "market" does not occur in the Old Testament (the

[1] It is difficult exactly to lay down the additions made to the city in the days of the kings. In Kiepert's large school map there is an attempt at this, and also in the map appended to the article in the *Museum of Classical Antiquities*. These give an idea of what was done by Uzziah (2 Ch. xxvi. 10), Jotham (2 Ch. xxvii. 3), Hezekiah (2 Ch. xxxii. 5), and Manasseh (2 Ch. xxxiii. 14). We learn that at the time of some of the great eastern invasions there were breaches in the "city of David" (Is. xxii. 9), *i.e.* in the old wall which defended Mount Zion, and that for the repairing of this wall, the houses of "Jerusalem" (the city proper) were broken down.

[2] Perhaps there are *three* spots alluded to here; thus—
(1) *Zion* hath despised thee (understood though not expressed).
(2) The *daughter* of Zion (the *lower* and feebler city).
(3) The *daughter* of this *lower* city (*i.e.* the outskirts and unfortified suburbs) hath shaken her head at thee.
We know that in Scripture the "daughter of a city" is some adjoining suburb, or village, or dependent city, as "Bethel and her daughters" (1 Ch. vii. 28); "Daughter of Zidon" = Tyre (Is. xxiii. 12); "Sodom and her daughters" = Gomorrha, &c. (Eze. xvi. 53); "Gaza and her daughters" (Jos. xv. 47). Thus Zion, or the "upper city," the "city of David," is the *mother;* Salem or Jebus, the lower city, is the *daughter* (*Akra* is the *mount* of the *daughter* of Zion, Is. xvi. 1; xxxvii. 22); the daughter of the daughter of Zion is the northern suburb of the lower city on *Bezetha*, which was afterwards surrounded by the third wall (Jos. J. W. v. 4, 2). We may notice that it is impossible to ascertain the original heights of any of these hills; all of them having been, at different times, considerably levelled. Were it the case, as Dr. Whitty says, that Josephus gives the depth of the Tyropœon as 50 cubits (Whitty, p. 247), we could get some idea of the elevation of Zion and Akra; but Josephus does not make this statement. He says that the rock on which Antonia stood was 50 cubits; but that is all (J. W. v. 5, 5).

expression in Eze. xxvii. 13, 17, &c. meaning *merchandise* rather than *market*), and there are only three references to market and market-places in the Apocrypha; but Josephus gives us some very explicit statements as to the division of the city into two parts, called the upper and lower market-place (ἀγορὰ). Thus he writes, "The city was fortified by three walls, save in those parts where it was girt with inaccessible valleys; for there there was but one wall (περίβολος). The city was constructed with one part facing the other (ἀντιπρόσωπος), upon two hills (λόφοι), which are separated by a middle valley, at which the houses, rising one above the other (ἐπάλληλοι—not "corresponding," as Whiston translates, but "placed one above the other in great numbers"—"alter super et post alterum, creber et continuus; . . . alia aliis superposita sine intercessione aut interstitio et intercapedine," Steph. Thes. vol. ii. p. 1874, 1875, Valpy's ed.)—end. Of these hills, that which holds the upper city is by much the higher, and in breadth more straight (ἰθύτερος; less curved; non obliquus vel tortuosus; Steph. Thes. vol. vii. p. 11074). On account of its strongly fortified character (διὰ τὴν ὀχυρότητα) it was called the fortress (φρούριον)[1] by David the king, who was the father of Solomon, who first built the temple; among us it is called the upper market-place. But the other hill, called *Akra*, and sustaining the under city, is convex. (ἀμφίκυρτος, utrinque incurvus, utrinque gibbosus, Scapulæ Lex.—used of the moon in her third quarter. Akra was unlike the upper hill, which was *straight*, in that part which was opposite to the lower hill, thus broadening the valley between.) Opposite this was a third hill, naturally lower than Akra, and formerly separated from the other by a broad valley. But afterwards, when the Asamonæans reigned, they filled up the valley with earth, wishing to join the city to the temple, and having demolished the top of Akra, they made it less elevated, that the temple might overtop it.[2] Now the valley called the Valley of the Cheesemakers, which we have spoken of as dividing the hill of the upper from that of the under city, reached as far as Siloam, a fountain, sweet and abundant, which we call by this name. On the outside, moreover, these two hills of the city were encircled by deep valleys, and on account of the precipices on both sides, it was nowhere accessible" (Jewish Wars, v. 4, 1).

Here then we have three hills described. The highest (ὑψηλότερος πολλῳ) is that on which the fortress of David was built, viz. Zion, which sustained the "upper market-place."[3] The second was called Akra, and sustained the lower city; and the third, lower than Akra, and right opposite to it, sustained the temple, which was thus so much overlooked by the buildings on the upper parts of Akra that the Asamonæans levelled the top, which would appear to have been *in close proximity* to the temple; for it is evident that it was the *proximity* that made the *height* so unpleasant. The temple-hill still remained lower than the other two, for it formed a sort of centre, *round* which, and *up from* which, tier upon tier, the city gently rose, like an amphitheatre (Antiq. xi. 11, 5), or, like a fan, spreading itself out over the easy slopes of Zion and Akra. These twin hills formed the original groundwork of the whole of what we call Jerusalem; the other heights, Moriah, Bezetha, and Ophel (or Ophlas, as Josephus calls it), being quite secondary. On Zion stood the great fort of the Jebusites which David took, 2 Sa. v. 6; on Akra stood the city called Jebus, Ju. xix. 10; 1 Ch. xi. 5, or Salem, in the days of Melchizedek, and Jebusi, Jos. xviii. 28, in the time of the Jebusite possession. In after ages a splendid city of palaces sprung up round the fort of Zion; but still the "City," originally so called, stood upon Akra, and the two, though often used the one for the other, were still distinguished; much as London and "the City" are still both distinguished from, and yet interchanged with each other.

This distinction is brought out very explicitly in the statement which Josephus gives us of the original capture of the fort. He tells us that David first took the "lower city" by force; and then proceeded to attack the citadel—viz. the citadel of that which became afterwards the *upper* city, or Zion (Ant. vii. 3, 1); as we read, "David took the stronghold of Zion, the same is the city of David," 2 Sa. v. 7; and he "dwelt in the fort, and called it the city of David," ch. v. 9; 1 Ch. xii. 5, 7. Josephus then mentions David's erection of his palace, evidently in the *upper* city; and then adds that "he encompassed the *lower* city, and having joined it to the citadel, made the whole one body;[4] and having walled it round, committed the charge of the walls to Joab" (Ant. vii. 3, 2). From all this it becomes very clear (1.) that the *upper* city was Zion; (2.) that "the castle," or "stronghold of Zion," is what Josephus calls the *citadel* (τὸ φρούριον, and also ἡ ἄκρα); (3.) that the *hill* Akra is quite distinct from this *citadel*, though Josephus gives the same name to both; (4.) that the "upper city" lay to the south, as may be seen in the details of the siege, in which Titus first poured down from the northern height of Scopus, scaled the outer or third wall, pushed through Bezetha, scaled the second wall which circled *Akra*, and then laid siege to the temple; and lastly to the upper city.

The one objection to this is, that in Ps. xlviii. 2, Zion

[1] The Hebrew of 2 Sa. v. 7 is מְצוּדָה (*metzudah*), the fort; the Sept. gives περίοχὴ: Josephus himself in another place calls it ἄκρα (Ant. vii. 3, 1)—this *Akra* must be distinguished from the hill of that name (J. W. b. v. 4, 1)—and is used not only by Josephus, but also in the Apocryphal authors for a fort: ἄκρα sc. πόλις, summa urbs, summa urbis pars, arx, munitio (Biel's *Thesaurus*, vol. i. p. 58, 59). The *hill* Akra may take its name from the Hebrew אָחוֹר, *i.e.* the hill "behind," or "western" hill; "behind," in Hebrew orientation, signifying "west." In Talmudical Hebrew, Akra has been borrowed from the Greek to denote "fort."

[2] ὑψος, cacumen, fastigium (Steph. *Thes.*) These levellings, which took place once and again, make it almost impossible for us to judge of the original heights of the hills of Jerusalem by their present elevations.

[3] In the Talmudic writings the "upper Sûk" and "lower Sûk" are recognized according to the Josephan division (Schwarz's *Palestine*, p. 248). Sûk is "street" in Bible Hebrew; in rabbinical Hebrew "market;" and also in Arabic; as we find in Jerusalem to this day, where we have *Suk*-el-lahem, *Suk*-Bab-el-Amûd, &c. Josephus speaks of the shops or markets of the wool-merchants, the cloth-merchants, the braziers, &c. (J. W. v. 8, 1). These seem to have chiefly occupied the Tyropœon, a valley of greater breadth than many topographers assign to it. Jeremiah speaks in one place of the inhabitant or inhabitress of "the valley" (ch. xxi. 13), and in another of the inhabitant of "the fortress" and his "wares" (ch. x. 17), as if the fortress-city as well as the valley had its merchants. Among the many kinds of merchants mentioned both by Josephus and the rabbis, *cheesemongers* are never mentioned, which shows that it was not from them or their trade that the Tyropœon took its name. The rabbis are very particular in their allusions to cheese and cheese-making, yet they never allude to any part of the city as occupied by its makers.

[4] See Ps. cxxii. 3, "Jerusalem, she that is builded, is as a city which is joined to itself together," is the striking language of the original Hebrew; very like that of Josephus.

seems to be spoken of as *north;* and on this Cellarius and Lightfoot insist. Reland has fully met them (Pal. p. 847, 850; Ant. Sacr. p. 6); but the best answer is the parallelism of the passage; according to Hebrew structure, thus :—

Great is Jehovah, and greatly to be praised!
In the city of our God (Salem, or the "city"),
In the mountain of his holiness (Zion).
Fair of situation, joy of all the land!
Mount Zion;
THE SIDES OF THE NORTH. (Akra.)
The city of the great King. (The *whole.*)

Thus "the sides of the north" is the designation for "the city" proper, or lower market, on Akra, as contrasted with Zion; and the two together, viewed as a whole, or as Josephus speaks, "as one body," are called "the city of the great king." Again, in Is. xiv. 13, we find the same division and designation, when the king of Babylon, marching against Jerusalem, thus boasts himself :—

I will ascend into heaven,
I will exalt my throne above the stars of God;
I will sit on the mount of the congregation (Zion),
(I will sit) IN THE SIDES OF THE NORTH (Akra).

The apocryphal books do not help us in fixing the location of Zion or Sion. Second Esdras and first Maccabees give the prefix *Mount;* the others omit it. Only in *one* place are Zion and Jerusalem spoken of *together* as in the Old Testament books, Ecclus. xxxvi. 13, 14. Sion is certainly so far identified with Moriah as to be spoken of as the place of sacrifice, Ecclus. xxiv. 10; 1 Mac. v. 54. But then the inspired writers frequently do the same, Ps. lxxviii. 68, 69; cxxxii. 13; either recognizing Moriah as a part of Zion, or using Zion as a designation of the whole city, Ps. xlviii. 12; cxxvi. 1; Is. i. 27; La. i. 4. "The Mount Zion," however, of Ps. lxxviii. 68, seems singled out and connected with the tribe of *Judah*—confirming our position that Zion was the southern hill, and that the southern part of Jerusalem belonged to Judah.

The northern line of the first or old wall went straight from Hippicus to the temple, along the southern ridge of the Tyropœon, protecting Zion; and was the strongest of the three, on account of the depth of the valley beneath. The second wall, like an irregular semicircle, went round the curve of Akra, for the defence of that hill and city. The third took a wide and zigzag sweep round the north hill, where the new city, Bezetha,[1] stood. The temple hill originally stood alone, belonging neither to Akra (though perhaps more to the former than the latter) nor Zion; but was afterwards, by means of mounds and bridges, connected with both, specially with Zion, of which it was reckoned to form so specially a part that Zion is sometimes used to denote the temple hill, Ps. cxxxii. 13. The latter however is occasionally mentioned separately even in Jeremiah's time (B.C. 610), when the prophet predicts (1.) that *Zion* should be ploughed as a field; (2.) that *Jerusalem* (the main city which stood on *Akra*) should become heaps; (3.) that the *mountain of the house* should become as the high places of a forest.[2]

Between Zion and Akra there was the valley of the Tyropœon—the chief valley of the city in ancient times, though greatly filled up in after ages. From Josephus' statement as to the hill of the upper city (τὸ μηκος ἱθύτερος, J. W. v. 4, 1), we conclude that the upper part of the Tyropœon ran somewhat from W. to E., or rather from N.W. to S.E.; but that as it approached Moriah, it bent a little more to the south, till it ended at Siloam, where, joining itself to the valley of the Kedron, it formed an open space of somewhat uneven ground, in which the kings' gardens once were, and where there is still a considerable amount of cultivation and fruitfulness.

As Scripture and the rabbinical writers never mention the Tyropœon, but speak of Hinnom as the great valley of the city; and as Josephus never mentions Hinnom,[3] but speaks of the Tyropœon as the great valley; the conclusion is strongly forced upon us that Hinnom and the Tyropœon are identical. The extreme southern location usually assigned to Hinnom is comparatively a modern one, and the deep narrow glen commencing near *Bir-Eyub*, and extending first west and then north (in the tortuous course of which are the two large pools *Birket-el-Mamilla* and *Birket-es-Sultân*), is more likely to be *Gihon*—"the gorge"—the place of the bursting forth of waters. (גִּיחוֹן. See Michaelis on 2 Ch. xxxii. 30; Gesen. Lex.) Scripture places Hinnom, not on the *south* but the *east*—"go forth unto the valley of the son of Hinnom, which is by the entry of the *east-gate*," Je. xix. 2; marg. Sun-gate. Eusebius tells us it lay close by the wall of the city, towards the east,

[1] Bezetha was the hill, and cænopolis (καινόπολις) was the city built upon it, or on part of it; for Josephus distinguishes between the city and the hill (J. W. ii. 19, 4); or perhaps Bezetha was a suburban village, giving its name to the hill, and signifying (not the "new city," which is a strained etymology) but "the house of olives;" זַיִת, *Zayeth,* an olive; *Beth-zayeth,* the house or town of *Olives* (See Simon's *Onomast. N. T.*); like Bethphage, the house of *figs;* Bethany, the house of *dates;* Bethesda (not the "house of *mercy*"), but of *water,* or the water-spring, בֵּית־אַשְׁדָּה (Simon's *Onomast.*) Thus *Bezetha* was connected with *Gethsemane;* not only as adjoining it, with only the Kedron between, but as, the one the *olive-village,* and the other the *wine-press* or *olive-press.* Gethsemane, Bezetha, and Olivet are thus linked together.

[2] The meaning of this last prediction is made clear by 1 Mac. iv. 38, "They saw the sanctuary desolate, and the altar profaned, and the gates burned up, and *shrubs growing in the courts as in a forest*" (see also Jos. Ant. xii. 7, 6). The cypresses and olives which one sees in many parts of the mosque area at the present day, intimate the continued fulfilment of this prediction. The prophecy of the "ploughing of Mount Zion" has *not* been fulfilled, if Zion be, as some think, the *northern* hill. The *south* hill has been ploughed for we know not how many centuries, and at this day is covered with corn, vegetables, especially cauliflowers of enormous size. The *north* hill has *never been ploughed at all,* but been always the chief site of the city; and this city, to this day, literally built on "heaps." This is to us demonstration that the south hill is Zion, according to immemorial tradition.

[3] Unless the *Gennath* of Josephus be (*not* the *garden*-gate, as generally supposed) but really the "*Geennah-gate,*" or "Valley-gate;" the gate that opened down from the upper city into "THE Valley," *i.e.* the Valley of Hinnom or Gehenna—γαιεννομ, as Eusebius writes it. This Gennath-gate was a gate of the old wall, and was situated some little way eastward (or south-east) from Hippicus, where the old wall began. Scripture recognizes only one *Gäe* (גַּיְא) in or at Jerusalem—*Gay-Ben-Hinnom* —mentioned upwards of twelve times (Jo. xv. 8, &c.) *Gihon* is never called a Gäe, and Dean Stanley's derivation of גַּיְא from גֵּיחַ (necessitating the alteration of a radical letter), is improbable (*Sinai and Pal.* p. 477). *Rephaim* is not called a *Gäe* but an *Emek* (2 Sa. v. 18). *Kedron* is never mentioned in connection with either *Gäe* or *Emek;* it is the "*brook* Kedron" (2 Sa. xv. 23), or "the *fields* of Kedron" (2 Ki. xxiii. 4). Hence, the "Valley-gate" should mean the Ge Hinnom-gate, *i.e.* Gennath-gate (see *Lamy de Civit. Jerus.* p. 595). It is almost impossible to conceive *gardens* in front of or near the Gennath-gate of Robinson. These lay to west and north; not in the *valley,* which was the most populous part of the city (Je. xxi. 13).

in the tribe of Benjamin (Onomast.) Jerome frequently alludes to it, as being at the foot of Moriah, as watered by Siloam, and near the fuller's pool (De Locis Hebr.; also Comm. on Mat. x. 28; Je. vii. 31); Tophet they speak of as "in Hinnom," between the potter's field and the fuller's pool). The old Arabic historians and travellers are equally explicit as to its location (Ibn Batutah, p. 123, 124; Jalal-Addin's Hist. of the Temple, p. 7, 143, 180; Oriental Trans. Soc. edition). The older travellers up till the sixteenth century adhere to this. The Jewish writers are no less distinct (Lightfoot's Cent. Chor. p. 77; Travels of Petachia, edited by Benisch, p. 61). Sandys and Maundrell in the seventeenth are amongst the earliest who adopt the new location; and Dr. Robinson, while following in their wake, gives no reasons for departing from the immemorial topography of Hinnom. All ancient writers, Christian, Arabic, and Jewish, call that Hinnom which modern travellers call the mouth of the Tyropœon.

The boundary between Judah and Benjamin, as stated twice over in the book of Joshua, is quite in accordance with this. That of Judah, running irregularly westward, is thus stated, Jos. xv. 8, "the border went up by the valley of the son of Hinnom, unto the south side of the Jebusite (or Jebusi); the same is Jerusalem (not the south side of *Zion*, the citadel; but of *Akra*, the *city*, viz. between the two hills and the upper and lower cities); and the border went up to the top of the mountain (Akra) that lieth before the valley of Hinnom, westward (*i.e.* which lies *eastward*, for before = east—east of the *west* extremity of Hinnom); which is at the end of the valley of the giants, northward" (*i.e.* which hill is at the end of the northern extremity of Rephaim). That of Benjamin, running eastward, is similarly stated, Jos. xviii. 16, "the border came down to the end of the mountain (Akra), that lieth before (east of) the valley of the son of Hinnom, and which is in the valley of the giants on the north (which is at the northern extremity of Rephaim), and descended to the valley of Hinnom, to the side of Jebusi on the south (*i.e.* the south side of the lower city, and the north of the upper), and descended to Enrogel." Thus, according to Jewish tradition, the metropolis of the land was divided between Judah and Benjamin; Judah possessing Zion and Benjamin Akra. Hence it is said that "the Jebusites dwell with the children of *Judah*," Jos. xv. 63; and again, that "the Jebusites dwell with the children of *Benjamin*," Ju. i. 21.[1]

6. *Relation of the Tyropœon to the city.*—But how do we account for the name Tyropœon, as the Josephan designation of Hinnom?

The *nomenclature* of Josephus is worthy of more attention than it has yet received; and, if properly investigated, would elucidate some of the obscurities of Biblical topography. It generally keeps pretty close to the Hebrew; but like that of the Septuagint, is rather arbitrary in its spelling and also in its translation of names. He sometimes gives the Hebrew name just as we have it, or very slightly altered; and sometimes he translates it; and in several of these translations his etymology is at fault, and he evidently knew Greek more intimately than Hebrew. He sometimes gives us the Hebrew in one place and the Greek in another, as in the case of the north hill where Titus encamped; which in one place he calls Σαφὰ, from the Hebrew (Ant. xi. 8, 5), and in others Σκοπὸς (J. W. ii. 19, 4; v. 2, 3), translating into Greek. In his translations there are several things which one cannot help thinking to be mistakes. He describes in one place the great Roman *aries*, or κριὸς (battering-ram), and informs us that the Jews called it *nico* (conqueror) from the Greek. Had he said that the *Romans* thus named it, from its conquering power, we could thus have understood *nico;* but when it is the *Jewish* name that he is giving, we incline to suppose that it is the Hebrew נכה, (to smite, strike, destroy, 2 Ki. iii. 19; 1 Ch. xx. 1; see Gesen.), that is the origin of the name, *q.d.* "the destroyer," the "smiter" (J. W. v. 7, 2). Again, in speaking of the formidable missile projected by the Roman ballista against the walls of Jerusalem, he mentions that the Jews on the walls watched its motions, and gave warning of its approach by the cry ὑιὸς ἔρχεται, "the son cometh;" here also translating inaccurately; for they evidently cried not, as this would imply, בא הבן, "the *son* cometh," but בא אבן, "the *stone* cometh." The *Amygdaloid* pool of this historian may possibly be the *Migdol-pool*, "tower-pool" (J. W. v. 11, 4); the *Struthius* or "sparrow-pool" (Ib.) may be "flock-pool," or "sheep-pool" (עַשְׁתֹּרֶת, Ashtoreth = flock,[2] the word rendered by the Sept. πολμιον in De. vii. 13, &c.), which was near Antonia (J. W. v. 11, 4), just about the place where the modern Birket-es-Serain (called by old pilgrims *piscina probatica*, and by modern travellers Bethesda) lies. The δοκῶν ἀγορα, or "wood-market," as it has been rendered ("materiæ forum," by Hudson, vol. ii. p. 204), may possibly be the square or street into which the people congregated, as when Ezra addressed them, Ne. viii. 1, from דּוּכָן (*duchan*), the well-known rabbinical word for the desk or pulpit from which the priests blessed and addressed the people (Levi's Lingua Sacra). We have no reference to a "wood-market" elsewhere in Josephus; and though the rabbins speak of a chamber in the temple called a "wood-room," where the wood for the altar was examined, yet they mention no public ἀγορα of this kind (Lightfoot's Temple, and his Cent. Chorogr.) They do, however, speak very frequently of the place called *Dukana*, where the priests blessed the people when assembled together (Lightfoot's Temple, p. 185).

It is not unlikely then, that the Tyropœon was a word which Josephus had mistranslated. Nor in saying so do we impeach his scholarship, any more than we do that of Ducange, when we point to his blunder in deriving *Saracen* from *Sarah* the wife of Abraham; or than that of the seventy Alexandrian rabbis, when we point to their translation in Ps. lxviii. 16, of גבנים (heights) by τετυρωμένον, the "cheese-made" hill. If seventy learned Jews mistook the above Hebrew word for another, very like it in sound and spelling, (גַּבְנֻנִּים, *gavnooneem*, high hills, for גְּבִינָה, *geveenah*, cheese), why should not a less learned Jew mistake גבנהם, *gibeninnom*, for cheese-makers, and translate it τυροποιος, seeing the Hebrew words are so very

[1] See Lightfoot's *Temple*, p. 3, 161. The Jewish tradition was that "the mountain of the temple lay in the lot of the tribes of Judah and Benjamin; the line of division coming along the south-east corner of the altar."

[2] Here probably an old tower stood (afterwards absorbed in Antonia) called *Ashtoreth-tower* = flock-tower. *Ashtoreth* was confounded with *Strato;* and hence we have "Strato's-tower," near Antonia, where Antigonus was assassinated by order of his brother Aristobulus (Ant. xiii. 11, 2). If the above etymology be accepted, it will solve a great critical puzzle as to the origin of the name "Strato's-tower."

similar? The mistake of the Septuagint is so like that of Josephus as to give some probability to our etymological conjecture; and so to confirm the universal Jewish tradition that Hinnom and the Tyropœon are the same. Schwarz's derivation of it from the similarity of *ashpoth* or *shephoth* (the dung-gate, Ne. ii. 13; iii. 13), to *shephoth*, which is used to signify "cheese" in 2 Sa. xvii. 29, is inadmissible (Palestine, p. 242).

The Tyropœon ended at Siloam (Jos. J. W. v. 4, 1); and it began at or *about* Hippicus, for Josephus merely says that the old *wall* began at that tower; but does not affirm that the *valley* actually began there, though, of course, it must have commenced somewhere near it. We know where Siloam is; as, notwithstanding the displacements and doubts of Lightfoot, Reland, and Alford, it is one of the best-ascertained spots of Jerusalem topography; lying to the south-east of the city, and though in ruins, and perhaps not the veritable tank of Josephus, retaining the name of Silwân to this day. But where was Hippicus? Somewhere *northward*, as Josephus tells us (J. W. v. 4, 2), not *πρὸς δύσιν*, but *κατὰ βορρᾶν*; so that we must look for it somewhere in the north-west quarter of *the city*, not of Zion merely. This, of itself, makes us doubt the usual location of this tower—at the modern *Kalah*, or castle; for the castle lies towards the *west entirely*, or rather *south-west*, and not *north* in any sense. But there are other reasons for the doubt; and as the main topographical controversies regarding the city turn on the site of this tower, we must examine the point.

This great oblong tower has been in former times accounted the representative of the castle of David.

[364.] The Castle of David and Jaffa-gate.—From a photograph by the Rev. W. R. Bridges.

It is not mentioned by the Bourdeaux "Pilgrim," nor by Eusebius, nor by subsequent writers for some centuries; from which we conclude that it was not then the commanding object which it is now. In crusading times it was known as the castle of the Pisans, because repaired and dwelt in by them in the crusading age (Laffi, Viaggio al Santo Sepolcro, p. 334, 412; Waha, Labores Godfredi, p. 429). Occupying the highest point of Zion, it is the most elevated building in modern Jerusalem, and may well be the relic of David's fortress, or rather of the Jebusite stronghold which he took. That it is Hippicus rests on no proof; that it is *not*, admits of much. Josephus is our only informant as to Hippicus; and the measurements of the modern castle *do not correspond with his statements in any particular*. (1.) He says that Hippicus was solid within up to the height of thirty cubits (J. W. v. 4, 3). The present tower is not solid, and bears no marks of having been so. (2.) He tells us that Hippicus was a *tetragon* or *square;* the present tower is not, as the southern exceeds the eastern side by about fourteen feet. (3.) He gives twenty-five cubits (above forty-three feet) as the length of each side of the square. The present tower is fifty-six feet by seventy; and as Josephus never *diminishes* but sometimes *exaggerates* the dimensions of his *mirabilia*, we are quite sure that his measurements could not apply to the present castle. (4.) He is very particular as to the *size* of the stones of the different towers, specifying some as thirty feet long, fifteen broad, and eight deep. The largest stone in the present fortress is thirteen feet long and three feet and a half broad. Instead therefore of the present tower "tallying well enough with the description of Hippicus" by Josephus, as Dr. Robinson says (vol. i. p. 309), *it varies from it so entirely* that we are warranted in saying, that there is nearly all the proof that the circumstances admit of that the modern castle is *not the ancient tower of Herod's friend*. A square tower and an oblong one, a solid tower and a hollow one, a tower seventy feet broad and one forty feet broad, a tower on the north of a city and one at the south, are very different things.

7. *Beginning of the old wall.*—The old wall then, and the Tyropœon which it overhung, did not, we think, begin at the modern citadel. Where then did these commence?

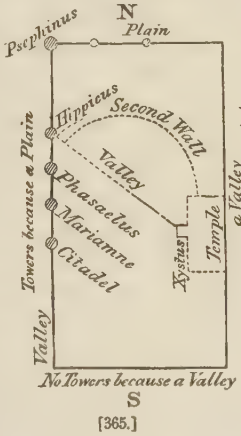
The only still perceptible valley *in* Jerusalem, at this day, is that near the Damascus gate and inwards, from north-west to south-east. There the ground falls low, as one sees very distinctly when standing on the Mount of Olives; and ere the rubbish of centuries was poured into it must have been still lower.[1] May not this be the Tyropœon? Of course, it would slope upward on both sides considerably, and Hippicus would be at some little distance west, or west by north of the Damascus gate. Some great tower once stood at the present projecting angle of the western wall, where we find the *Kalat-el-Jalûd* (castle of Goliath = Giant-castle), the "turris angularis" of the crusaders, and the "Tancred's tower" of their successors (Waha's Labores Godfredi, p. 418, 424). "It consists of a large square area or platform, built up solidly of rough stones, fifteen or twenty feet in height. At the south-west corner of this platform are the remains of a higher square tower, built of small unhewn stones cemented together; all these works seem to have been erected on the ruins of a still older wall" (Robinson, vol. i. p. 318; vol. iii. 193). Dr. Robinson supposes this to be a fragment of the *second* or *third* wall; and according to his topography it might be so;

[1] "Deeply hollow," says De Saulcy (vol. ii. p. 281). "The most marked valley of the city," says Dr. Robinson (vol. iii. 207).

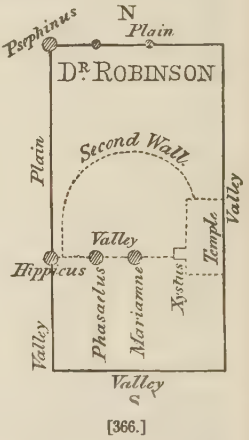
but it is more likely to have belonged to the first wall. We are not prepared to say what tower this was. But probably it was one of the towers that Josephus describes as adjacent to Hippicus; either Phasaelus or Mariamne. For we believe that these three towers were in that part of the old wall which went north and south, not east and west, as some have supposed.[1] About three years ago a letter appeared in the *Athenæum* describing a discovery of great masses of wall-masonry, some twenty feet below the surface, a little south of the traditional "porta judicialis," marked 14 on Van de Velde's large map of Jerusalem. The writer supposes this to be a fragment of the *second* wall. We rather take it to be a relic of the *first*, confirming our conjecture that the first wall ran somewhere in a line from a little south of the Damascus gate to the west wall of the Harâm. It could not, of course, be the *third* wall; and we think that the curve of the *second* wall must have gone considerably further north. We do not dogmatize, we only suggest; a few excavations would settle the question. A letter from a friend in Jerusalem to ourselves mentions, that in February 1861, when workmen were digging foundations near the "Ecce Homo" arch, they came on a large flat stone, on raising which, there appeared a large stream of water running in the direction of the mosque. This marks a hollow running from west to east; and indicates pretty nearly the line of the first wall, which went along the southern ridge of the Tyropœon, on the high ground above this "stream."[2] A straight line (the first wall was straight) commencing a little west of the Damascus gate, then keeping a little to the south of this stream, till it reach the west temple-wall, would suit well the position of that part of the first wall which went eastward. This would, singularly enough, indicate the street *El-Wâd* (the Valley-street) as in part the line of the Tyropœon. (See Van de Velde's map.) It would also follow "the lane of the Valley of the Mills," which began at the Moghrebin-gate and found its way up to the Damascus-gate (Barclay, p. 434; Mejir-ed-din, cited by Barclay, p. 398). Mr. Thrupp, in a recent letter quoted by Dr. Whitty (Water Supply of Jerusalem, pref. p. 32), in a measure seems to coincide with the above view, only he would not begin the Tyropœon quite so far up as the Damascus gate.

As we are of those who believe in the honesty and substantial accuracy of Josephus, we may notice, in passing, a statement of his with regard to the towers in this wall, which has been set down by many as an exaggeration. It has been said that there could be no such view of Arabia from them as he describes. A letter from a Jerusalem friend, very recently, to ourselves, gives the following account. "Your question about Hippicus especially interests us; for we are now living in a house at the extreme north-west corner of the city, close to the remarkable ruins of the so-called Kalat-el-Jalûd, which to me looks far more like Hippicus than 'the castle.' We have been enabled once more to justify Josephus. From the upper room of this house there is a very fine view of the Moab mountains; but that is not all. We have also a peep of the Dead Sea, and can thus testify that any castle which may have existed here in Josephus' time must have had the same."

It will complete our statements as to Hippicus and the Tyropœon to mention that the Chaldee Paraphrast gives *Migdal-Pikus* as another name for the tower of Hananeel in Je. xxxi. 38, and Zec. xiv. 10 (Lightfoot, Cent. Chorogr.) Schwarz remarks, "The targumist Jonathan Ben Uzziel, a scholar of the famous Hillel the elder, lived in Jerusalem in the time of king Herod. . . . . We find that he renders Hananeel by *Migdal-Pikus*, evidently tower of Hippicus" (Palestine, p. 250, 251).



[365.]



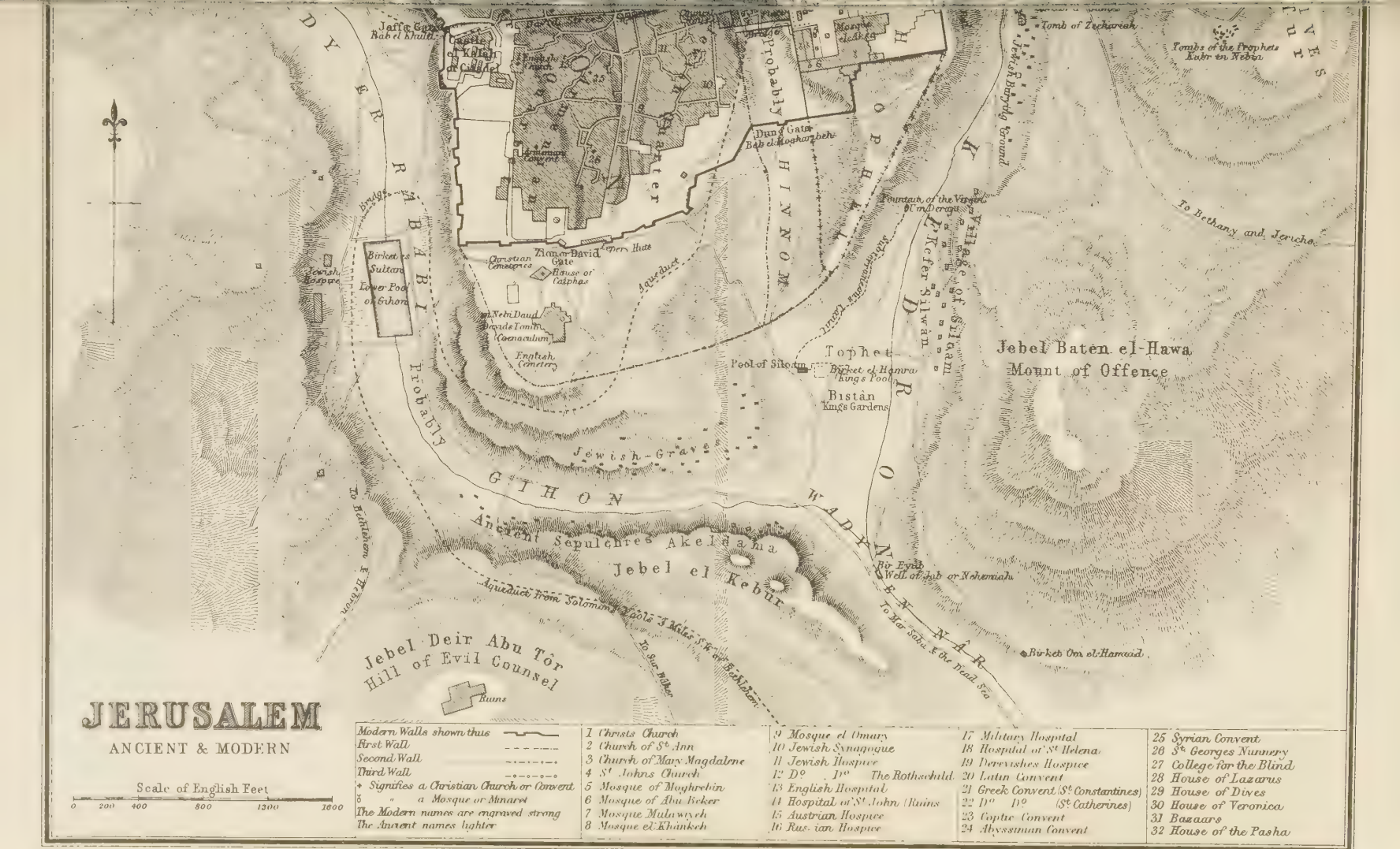
[366.]

This is curious, but determines nothing. Then as to the Tyropœon, the Chronicles of Rabbi Joseph speak of "the valley between the two mountains, Mount Zion to the west and Mount Moriah to the east" (vol. i. p. 74, 75). This would coincide with Schwarz, and in a measure with our own hypothesis; but it completely overthrows the theory of Dr. Robinson, Mr. Williams, and Mr. Fergusson. According to Robinson and others the west wall, extending from Psephinus on the north, to the modern citadel on the south, nearly a mile, had none of these great towers; and yet it was the wall which of all others most needed them, because built on nearly level ground, or rather on ground whose upward slope gave the enemy an advantage. It was the city's weak point, and, as such, assailed by all invaders from the Assyrians to the Romans. According to these same topographers the wall running eastward from the citadel to the temple, not a quarter of a mile, had no less than three immense towers! Yet nowhere were towers less needed, seeing it could not be attacked till the other two walls had been carried, and was besides on the high ridge of the Tyropœon, with a deep valley underneath. The crowding of towers on the city's strong point into a short line of wall where they were useless, and the abstraction of them from the city's weak point, viz. the long line of western wall where they were indispensable, is a species of fortification which strikes even the unmilitary eye as not a little strange. The diagrams Nos. 365, 366 will best illustrate this; and show that (if we are correct in our

[1] A French author, in 1422, refers to a castle a little west of the city, in disrepair—"au dehors de la ville ver ponent il y a un petit chastel desempare au get d'un canon de la ville" (*Survey of Egypt and Syria*, by Sir Gilbert de Lannoy). What fort was this? Hippicus, says D'Anville. There is no trace of any such ruins outside the city now. But as Lannoy's visit was a century before the present walls were built, the Kalat-el-Jalûd might have been then considerably outside, and may be the ruin referred to by this old traveller.

[2] Whitty visited this (p. 197), and reckons it the mere leakage of water through a partition wall, deep underground, into an ancient vault, which was descended to by a ladder. He thinks the vault may have been a subterranean military passage leading to Antonia, though afterwards converted into a cesspool.

SCOPUS
From Nebi Samwil & the Tombs of the Judges
From Nablous & Damascus
Tomb of Simon the Just
Wady el Jos
VALLEY OF JEHOSAPHAT
Brook Kedron
Akabet es Suan
Welj Sheikh Jerrah
Tombs of the Kings
Ruin
Third Wall
Women's Towers
Tower of the Corner
Psephinus
BEZETHA
From Jaffa
Tomb
Second Wall
Mohammedan Graveyard
Ruin
Cave of Jeremiah
Mogharet el Ermamyeh
Gate of Heroes
Hippicus
Essen Gate
Gennath Gate
Damascus Gate
Bab el Amud
Underground Chamber
Russian Establishment
Church
Phasaelus
Meidan
Mariamne
First Wall
Birket Hamman Sitti Mariam
St Stephens Gate
Bab el Hutta
Church of the Tomb of the Virgin
To Bethphage
Bridge
Gethsemane
Tower
Mount of Olives
Kafer et Tur
Church of the Ascension
Haram
Antonia Towers
Golden Gate
Dome of the Rock
Kubbet es Sakhrah
Mosque of Omar
Church of the Holy Sepulchre
Kalat el Jalud
Turbet Mamilla
Mohammedan Graveyard
Birket el Mamilla
Upper Pool of Gihon
Mediterranean
Tomb of Ishbaal



JERUSALEM

ANCIENT & MODERN

Scale of English Feet

0 200 400 800 1200 1600

Modern Walls shown thus	1 Christs Church	9 Mosque el Omary	17 Military Hospital	25 Syrian Convent
First Wall	2 Church of St Ann	10 Jewish Synagogue	18 Hospital of St Helena	26 St Georges Nunnery
Second Wall	3 Church of Mary Magdalene	11 Jewish Hospice	19 Dervishes Hospice	27 College for the Blind
Third Wall	4 St Johns Church	12 Do Do The Rothschild	20 Latin Convent	28 House of Lazarus
+ Signifies a Christian Church or Convent	5 Mosque of Moghrebin	13 English Hospital	21 Greek Convent (St Constantines)	29 House of Dives
☆ " a Mosque or Minaret	6 Mosque of Abu Beker	14 Hospital of St John / Ruins	22 Do Do (St Catherines)	30 House of Veronica
The Modern names are engraved strong	7 Mosque Mulawyeh	15 Austrian Hospice	23 Coptic Convent	31 Bazaars
The Ancient names lighter	8 Mosque el Khankeh	16 Russian Hospice	24 Abyssinian Convent	32 House of the Pasha

J. Bartholomew Edinr F.R.G.S.

topography) the towers were *really built to defend the city, and not the city to defend the towers.*

8. *Site of the crucifixion.*—But these questions as to Hippicus and the Tyropœon, lead on to the great ecclesiastical question—the site of the crucifixion, which we must now, as briefly as possible, discuss.

This point has of late years been argued with much warmth, some dogmatism, and no inconsiderable research. For centuries the spot was regarded as the best ascertained in Palestine; men had no more misgivings as to it than as to Jerusalem itself. But the belief of ages has been disturbed; and with this disturbance much topographical information has been brought to the surface, most of it however tending, as yet, rather to unsettle than to settle old questions; while awakening, at the same time, a most unexpected amount of ecclesiastical, historical, antiquarian, and architectural zeal. Mr. Fergusson's recent theory, founded chiefly on the architecture of the present "mosque of Omar," has added fresh complications, while it has called attention to several points hitherto overlooked.

In discussing the *chorography* of Jerusalem some warmth may be excusable; but dogmatism is out of place. And this for two reasons—(1.) because the questions are intricate and the information imperfect; (2.) because *a few well-directed excavations might*, in a week or two, *supply us with facts which would at once confirm or confute ancient tradition and modern argument.* This second reason will weigh most strongly with those who have sifted the questions most thoroughly, and especially with those who have examined them on the spot. They will be cautious as to their conclusions, if not out of respect to their present deficient information, at least from salutary dread of emerging facts. The localities of a city so often razed, burned, and reduced "to heaps," Ps. lxxix. 1; whose "ruins are multiplied," Eze. xxi. 15; whose valleys have been filled up; whose precipices rounded off into mere slopes; and which is now built upon a deep and undulating substratum of debris, from thirty to fifty feet in thickness, are not so easily determined as those of one, like Athens, never exposed to such desolating reverses, occupied without a break by its original possessors, and retaining in its present monuments the full, sharp outline of its own great national story.

Not that the transformations of Jerusalem and the changes in its topographical physiognomy are due to enemies alone. No doubt, in terrible retribution the city has been "turned upside down," 2 Ki. xxi. 13; and the mounds of its ruins are the monuments of its transgression. No doubt the rubbish poured into its interior hollows, and shot down into the exterior valleys of the east and south by the rage of successive destroyers, has converted depressions into levels, cliffs into slopes, and greatly effaced the features of Agrippean, and still more of Asamonæan Jerusalem; but many of the levellings and fillings up, age after age, recorded so carefully in the Maccabæan and Josephan annals, were for defence, convenience, and necessity, nay, also for ornament, and show us that the effacing of some of the old lines and landmarks was the work, not of the invader, but the patriot. The levelling of Moriah for the building of the temple, and that of Akra to prevent its overlooking the sacred fane, was the work of friendly hands.

We do not mean to detail the items of a long and often wearisome discussion; nor do we at all entertain the hope of settling the site of Golgotha. We wish merely to give the general facts and reasonings of the case, so far as these can be condensed within the limits of an article. A continuous historical statement will perhaps be the best way of putting our readers in possession of this entangled controversy.

We must begin with Scripture. We shall not cite Je. xxxi. 39, where *Goath* is named, as there is some uncertainty whether this is the root of *Golgotha.* Yet it may be; for as we do not know the authentic Hebrew spelling of the latter word, the words may really be cognate, if not identical.[1] But we come at once to the New Testament.

There is no such word as *Calvary* in the original Scriptures. *Golgotha* is the Hebrew name, Mat. xxvii. 33; Mar. xv. 22; Jn. xix. 17; and κρανίου τόπος is the Greek, Mat. xxvii. 33; Mar. xv. 22; Lu. xxiii. 33; Jn. xix. 17. Calvary is the Latin translation, which, through the Vulgate chiefly, has come to be the special name for the place of crucifixion. Golgotha is nowhere called a *mount* in Scripture. In the early fathers *monticulus* is sometimes used, but its name with them is generally "rock" or "place."

> Crux ad locum Galgata
> Sibi ferri datur.—(Mone's *Hymni Latini*, vol. i. p. 110.)

and again—

> Et in rupe Calvariæ
> Tu matrem prope stantem.—(Ib. p. 123.)

and again—

> Et ad locum Calvariæ
> Te mortuum viderunt.—(Ib. p. 124.)

There is no evidence that it was the usual place of execution, though the fact of the two thieves being taken thither along with Christ would rather suggest this. It is not the place of *skulls*, but of a *skull*—indicating either its shape or the discovery of some skull there (see Alford's Greek Testament, vol. i. p. 269). (1.) *It was without the city.* Mat. xxvii. 32, "as they were coming *out*" (ἐξερχόμενοι), *i.e.* of the city, for the previous verse mentions their leaving the judgment-hall, Mar. xv. 20, "they led him *out*" (ἐξάγουσιν); Jn. xix. 17, "he, bearing his cross, *went forth*" (ἐξῆλθεν). The fact also that "a great company (πολύ πλῆθος) of people" followed him, Lu. xxiii. 27, would indicate that he was outside the streets and walls. (2.) *It was not far from the city.* Jn. xix. 20, "the place where Jesus was crucified was *nigh* to the city" (ἐγγὺς); not necessarily in juxtaposition; for the Mount of Olives, which was a Sabbath-day's journey, is said to be "nigh," Ac. i. 12. The transference of the cross from Jesus to Simon would intimate that the *distance* was too great for the sufferer. *It was not till they got outside* that the transference took place, Mat. xxvii. 32; which obviously implies *a distance without the walls*, for which the victim was unequal. This, with the subsequent running to and fro of disciples and women, gives the impression that there was considerable space between the city and Golgotha. (3.) *There was room for a garden, a tomb, and*

[1] The circle described by the prophetic measuring-line would be thus traced—(1) *Gareb*, south-west of the city. (2) *Goath*, westward, to the south of the present ash-mounds. (3) *Valley of the dead bodies*, north, within the third wall, where the Assyrians were destroyed, 2 Ki. xix. 35; Is. xxxvii. 36; the word in all these places being the same as in Jeremiah, פְּגָרִים, *i.e.* dead bodies. (4) *The valley of the ashes*, in the same direction, but more eastward. (5) *The fields unto the Kedron.* (6) *The angle of horse-gate*, at the temple.

a place of execution. Joseph of Arimathæa, being a rich man, would not be content with a small patch of ground for a garden, nor a bare rock for a sepulchre; and this, of itself, seems to be irreconcilable with the theory which makes the dome of the rock the sepulchre. There was no *room* there for a garden, even had the want of soil been no barrier; *a few yards of rock* are all that the rich man could have had for garden and tomb! Besides, the rock-cut tombs around Jerusalem are all very carefully and beautifully hewn. We have visited every one of them, and marked how skilfully and with what labour the chisel has been applied in adorning their exterior, and cutting out their interior; floor, sides, and roof. The tombs on Akeldama are specimens of internal hewing; those of the kings and judges, of external adornment. The rock under the great dome, which Mr. Fergusson claims for the sepulchre, has not been touched by a chisel. There is no shaping, nor squaring, nor carving about any part. It is so rugged and uncouth that one feels nearly certain that a rich man like Joseph would never have been content with such an unshaped block and such an uncarved hole in a rock; and that the evangelists would not have referred so pointedly to the *newness* and the *hewing*, had it been a mere rough block of stone which no tool had ever touched. St. Matthew's statement is, that Joseph laid the body in "his own new tomb which he had hewn out (ἐλατόμησεν) in the rock," ch. xxvii. 60. St. Mark's is that he laid him in a sepulchre which was hewn out of a rock (λελατομημένον ἐκ πέτρας) ch. xv. 46. St. Luke's is that he laid the body in a sepulchre that was "hewn in stone" (λαξευτῷ = בָּנָה, Is. ix. 10, to build; and = פָּסַל, Ex. xxxiv. 1, 4; De. x. 1, to hew or carve.) St. John's is that "in the place where he was crucified there was a garden, and in the garden a new sepulchre" (μνημεῖον καινὸν, ch. xix. 41). These remarks, as to the hewing and carving, apply quite as much to the Church of the Sepulchre as to the mosque-rock. The two graves in the floor of the church mentioned by Mr. Curzon (Eastern Monast. p. 166), and experimented on by Dr. Stanley (Sinai and Palest. p. 452), could not possibly be the rich man's well-hewn tomb. Whether Machpelah was hewn we know not. Probably, at least, loculi or shelves will be found in it for containing the bodies, as the very old sepulchre on the opposite side of the present town, known as *Kasr-Nadr-Habrûn* (the watch-castle of Ephron), has five or six of these carefully executed, still in beautiful preservation, though older than any in Jerusalem. Anyone who has visited the Sakhrah and the sepulchres of the kings will feel the force of this statement. Whatever the cave under the great mosque-rock was meant for, *it was surely not intended for a tomb*, at least by anyone who had shekels enough to pay for its being decently hewn, if not adorned. (4.) *It must have been at a certain legal distance from the city.* We shall not maintain that the same law applied to the suburbs of Jerusalem which did to the forty-eight Levitical cities, prohibiting the dead being buried within their suburbs, *i.e.* within about a mile of the city-walls. But some law there must have been as to burial and the distance of tombs from the city (Lightfoot shows that no body was allowed to be buried within fifty cubits of a city, Cent. Chorogr. on Mat. p. 173); and it is not likely that even Joseph would be allowed to have a tomb so close to the walls as some would have it; as in such a case there would be such danger of contracting ceremonial uncleanness, especially if such tomb were near the temple. The sin-offering required to be burned at some distance from the city, and towards the *north*, Lev. i. 11; iv. 21; at some such distance, and in the same direction, the antitype may be supposed to have suffered. (5.) *It was near some thoroughfare.* It is said that "they that passed by reviled him," Mat. xxvii. 39; and these passers-by are evidently not the chief priests and scribes and elders, but those coming and going along a public thoroughfare. The great highways of Jerusalem are all on the *west and north* of the city; a fact which has led many to look for Golgotha somewhere in the suburban slopes and hollows which lie plentifully in these directions. In leading our Lord to execution, the soldiers met Simon the Cyrenian "coming from the country," literally, "from the field" (ἀπ ἀγροῦ), and laid the cross on him, Mar. xv. 21; and it may be noticed that in 2 Ki. xxiii. 4, the "*fields* of Kedron" are mentioned (the Sept. turns this into a proper name—Σαδημώθ = שְׂדֵמוֹת; Eusebius also gives Sademoth); as if "the fields" (οἱ ἀγροι) were specially the name for this suburban district, Je. xiv. 18; xxxi. 40. If this presumption, along with the previous statements, have any weight, it would bid us look to the north or north-west of the city for the site of Golgotha. The builders of the present church would seem in that case to have gone in the true direction, but not far enough out. Having got hold of the old tradition as to the site, they wished perhaps to build there; but were driven into the city from inconvenience and danger, and took the site nearest to it within the shelter of the walls. This is implied in the following statement of the old traveller Willibald, A.D. 722: "They visited the spot where the holy cross was found, where there is now a church which is called the place of Calvary, and *which was formerly outside of Jerusalem;* but when St. Helena found the cross, the place *was taken into the circuit of the city*" (Early Tr. in Palestine, p. 18). This last clause may mean, either that the walls were extended so as to embrace the sepulchre, or that the church which marked it was transferred within the walls. The latter of the two changes seems the more likely;[1] and we believe that Robinson has expressed the judgment of many modern topographers when he says, "The place was probably upon a great road leading from one of the gates; and such a spot would only be found upon the western or northern sides of the city, on the roads leading towards Joppa and Damascus" (vol. i. p. 418).

It has been strongly argued by some, that the minuteness and accuracy of the Roman provincial "surveys" (see Finlay's Essay on Site of H. S.) are security for believing that the site of Golgotha was correctly ascertained by the first builders of the church. To this there are four objections: (1.) There is no proof that so insignificant an event in Roman eyes, as the execution of three malefactors, was noted, or was likely to have its place noted, in the survey of Jerusalem. (2.) If such a survey fixed Golgotha, it fixed the other localities;

[1] Willibald's words are, "collocavit illum locum intus in Jerusalem;" on which Messrs. Michaud and Poujulat remark, that this was regarded as a great miracle, "comme un miracle du ciel" (*Corresp. d'Orient*, vol. v. p. 145; *Fergusson*, p. 181; *Museum of Classical Antiq.* vol. ii. p. 380). The old traditionists evidently believed in the transference of the *ground and rock*, and are thus witnesses against the authenticity of the present site.

and should have prevented some gross ecclesiastical mistakes, such as the site of the ascension and St. Stephen's martyrdom. (3.) This argument might be equally pleaded by all parties, unless one of them could take up the Roman survey chart, and point to the spot as laid down there, which nobody pretends to be able to do. (4.) It is useless to speak of the first founders being guided to the true spot by a Roman survey map; when they themselves tell us that the site had been utterly lost, and that they were guided to it solely by miracle. The miracles described as accompanying the finding of the cross by Helena, show that the finders saw no necessity for any imperial chart, and are inconsistent with the idea of such a guide being used. (See Eusebius, Orat. in Laud. Constantini; Euseb. de Vita Const. Adrichomius, p. 176; Plessing's Golgotha.)

As the site had been long unknown, and could only be discovered by a miracle, we are warranted in concluding that conjecture or convenience had the chief hand in fixing it. A tradition may have lingered as to *the general locality;* but the exact spot had disappeared, hidden, if we may believe Eusebius and Jerome, under earth and rubbish. In A.D. 326 this was *miraculously* discovered, and the church built by Constantine. It occupied nine years in its erection (De Sacris Ædif. a Const. constructis Synopsis historica I. Ciampini, p. 146-7.)

This begins the history of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. Just seven years after this, A.D. 333, and before the church was finished and consecrated, which was in 335, Jerusalem was visited by a traveller from Bourdeaux; and his statement shows us that the church was toward the *west*, not the *east* side of the city. Eusebius had spoken of it as being in the middle of the city (ἐν μεσῳ; "in ipso urbis meditullio," as his translator Valesius gives it rather strongly), and the French traveller's description coincides with this. He first takes us to the temple of Solomon, and describes at considerable length the objects of interest there, concluding with the two statues of Hadrian near the "lapis pertusus ad quem veniunt Judæi" (p. 279); which statues Jerome speaks of as existing in his day, along with an image of Jupiter[1] (Com. on Is. ii. 8, and Mat. xxi. 15).

He then brings us to Siloam; then up Mount Zion to the house of Caiaphas; then, within the walls, to the palace of David and the synagogues of the Jews. Then he brings us *from the Jewish quarter on Mount Zion, right through the city, to the present Damascus or Nablus gate;* and points to the palace of Pilate on the right hand (at the north-west angle of the great mosque), and on the left to "Monticulus Golgotha ubi Dominus crucifixus est" (p. 279). Anyone who has been in Jerusalem, or who is well acquainted with its sites and streets on a map, will see that *the Church of the Sepulchre could not in that case have been on the east,* at the Sakhrah, but just in the place where we find it at this day.[2] Eusebius next (about A.D. 336) gives us the site of Golgotha; and he is equally explicit: "Golgotha . . . . is shown in Ælia, to the north of Mount Zion," πρὸς τοῖς βορείοις τοῦ Σιὼν ὄρους (Onomast. p. 160. Berlin ed. 1862), just where we now see the Church of the Sepulchre.[3] Jerome makes the same statement, but adds this piece of information, which seems to us quite conclusive: "Hierusalem . . . . quæ nunc ab Ælio Adriano, quòd eam, a Tito destructam latiore situ instauraverit, Ælia cognominata est; cujus opere factum est ut loca sancta, id est Dominicæ passionis et resurrectionis, et inventionis sanctæ crucis, *quondam extra urbem jacentia, nunc ejusdem urbis muro* SEPTENTRIONALI *circumdentur.*"[4] The next witness is Arculf (A.D. 700), whose description of Jerusalem sites and scenes corresponds very much to what we find in subsequent ages.[5] He places Zion on the south, as others do; and the holy places "to the north," but "in the middle of the city," exactly as Eusebius had done. His description of the tomb itself does not in the least correspond to the Sakhrah, either internally or externally; while the lofty column with the cross and the figure of Christ on it, surrounded by the globe, described in his text, and exhibited in his curious map, shows *that the Church of the Sepulchre was considerably to the west of the temple,* just where it now is. This is the first of three old maps published by Van de Velde in his planography of Jerusalem, with accompanying memoir; and is very curious and valuable. Cutting off its enormous towers and gates, which puzzle one at first, and taking the

[1] In the *Epitome of Chronology* of the seventh century, known as the *Fasti Siculi*, or *Chronicum Alexandrinum*, occurs the following piece of curious information, which we do not observe usually quoted—(we find it in Cellarius' *Notitiæ Orbis Antiqui*, vol. ii. p. 462). The writer tells us that Hadrian built δυο δημόσια, καὶ τὸ θεάτρον, καὶ τὸ τετράμαρον, καὶ τὸ τετρανυμφον, καὶ τὸ δωδεκάπυλον τὸ πρὶν ὀνομαζόμενον ἀναβαθμοὶ, καὶ τὴν κόδραν. These were singular structures for Jerusalem—two forums, a theatre, a three-domed building, a four-halled building, a twelve-gated building, and a *kodra*, or *quadra* (a *square*). The "twelve-gated" structure was constructed out of the ruins of what had been the ἀναβαθμοὶ, which is the word used in Ac. xxii. 33 for the stairs between the temple and Antonia. Could Hadrian's splendid erection have been at the north of the temple area?

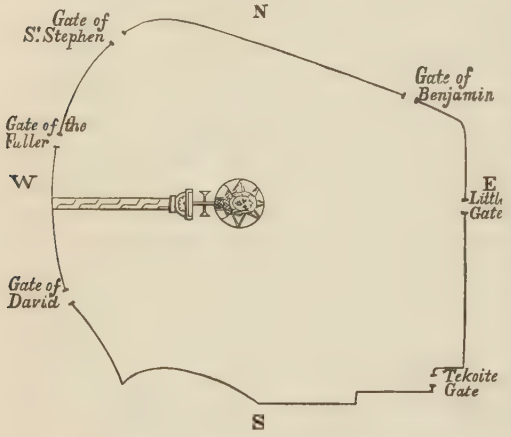
[2] It is clear also that the Sion of the fourth century is just the Zion of the present day; and that the chief places of interest were the same then as now, and in the same localities. Tradition, though not so true as Williams and Chateaubriand would have it, has not proved so entirely false as Clarke and Dr. Robinson affirm. The topographical reaction at present seems rather in favour of tradition.

[3] This shows us that in his day the supposed Golgotha was *within* the city. This is clear also from Cyril's many references (*Catech. Lectures*, iv. 10; iv. 13; x. 19; xiii. 22). He speaks, moreover, of the marks of the great earthquake as still visible in the rent rocks. This father mentions also two caves, an outer and an inner, the outer having been hewn away for the sake of adornment (xiv. 9). It is plain that these early fathers and historians understood Zion to be the *southern* hill; and that therefore the *Sakhrah* could not have been the site of the sepulchre in the fourth century, if we are to credit Eusebius and Jerome, inasmuch as they place the sepulchre *north* of Zion. Eusebius elsewhere places it in the middle (ἐν μεσῳ), but this is a coincidence, not a discrepancy. The present church is literally north of Zion, and yet in the *middle* of the city. The Sakhrah is certainly not the latter, and only in a vague sense the former. Certainly Eusebius could not have meant it, when he spoke of the church being north of Zion and yet in the middle of the city.

[4] *De Locis Hebr. de Actis Apost.* Some have doubted the genuineness of this work, because at one part it quotes Jerome himself. But this addition no more discredits the rest of the treatise, than the mention of Joshua's death discredits the book of Joshua. If the treatise be not Jerome's, it is about his age; which is the same thing for our argument, as giving us the information of Jerome's day. The mention of the *northern* wall shows that he had the *present* site in view.

[5] It may be worth while to quote the following sentence from a well-known historical work, referring to Jerusalem in A.D. 637 when it first came into the possession of the Saracens. "The caliph (Omar) desired the patriarch to assign him a place where he might build a mosque, the patriarch showed him where *Jacob's stone* lay. The stone was covered with dirt. In a short time they had removed all the rubbish and dirt, and cleared the stone. After this, the caliph, leaving their churches to the Christians, built a new temple in the place where Solomon's stood, and consecrated it to the Mahometan superstition."—Ockley's *History of the Saracens* (Bohn's ed.), p. 214. "Jacob's stone" was the Sakhrah.

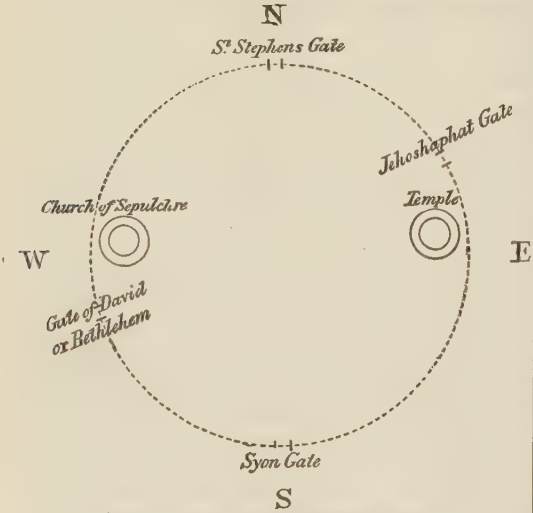
simple outline of its walls, we find the contour of the city wonderfully like what we see it now. The names of its gates form the chief feature of difference; the gate of David corresponds to the modern Jaffa gate, and that of the Fuller to the modern Damascus gate. As Arculf's plan seems to us to settle one part of the controversy—viz. the site of the church in the seventh and eighth centuries—we give a rough outline of it, No. 367, omitting its enormous towers and gates.



[367.] Sketch of Arculf's Plan of Jerusalem, A.D. 700.

The pillar represents the site of the church, near the west of the city, as Arculf tells us in his description. It is surmounted by the cross and an image of Christ, with beams going forth, and the world encircling all.

We add an outline of a plan of the twelfth century, No. 368, which, though not preserving the configuration of the city, shows us clearly the relative positions



[368.] Plan of Jerusalem, twelfth century.

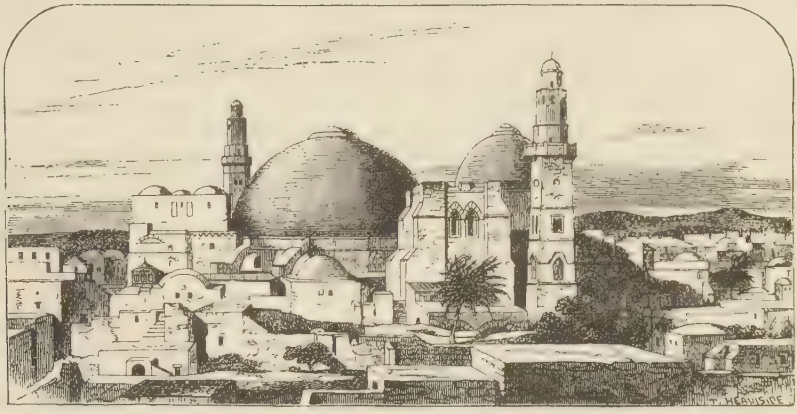
of the Church of the Sepulchre and the temple, just as in Arculf's.

Willibald, in A.D. 722, shows us that the rock of the sepulchre, in his day, was "square at the bottom, but tapering above," quite unlike the Sakhrah. Bernard the Wise, in A.D. 867, expressly homologates Arculf's account, which we have already noticed as proving that the Church of the Sepulchre at that time was on the same spot as at present. He speaks also of the temple of Solomon being *north of Zion*, showing that in his day Zion was accounted, as now, the *southern* hill of Jerusalem.

After this comes the period when Mr. Fergusson supposes the transference took place of the Church of the Sepulchre from the east to the west of the city, somewhere during the seventeen years from 1031 to 1048, when the Christians were fiercely persecuted. But as there is *absolutely no historical proof*, not so much as a hint (except a Moslem fable, which may mean anything, Museum of Classical Antiq. p. 384) that any change took place, we feel ourselves at liberty to set aside conjectures, even were they many times more plausible than they are. From the beginning of the fourth century to the present day there is a continuity of historical testimony as to the site of Golgotha, which nothing save more explicit counter testimonies can shake. We are not contending, like Mr. Williams, for the veritable Bible Golgotha; we are simply investigating the historical and traditional site. We strongly suspect that the present spot is not the Bible one; but we see no reason to doubt that, since the year 326, it has been regarded as such, and that the present Church of the Holy Sepulchre was reared out of the debris and upon the ruins of Constantine's erections.

A brief notice of this celebrated sanctuary—the focus of all traditional ecclesiasticism, the gravitating point of both superstition and devotion to the whole Christian world for at least fifteen centuries—is needful. Jerusalem is studded with holy places, within and without its walls; all of them filled with articles of ecclesiastical *virtu*, and as lucrative as they are sacred. These are in part the relics of the crowds of churches and *proseuchæ* which sprung up all over Palestine in the early centuries, and in part memorials of the crusades. There is the Church of the Ascension perched on the top of Olivet, close neighbour to a Moslem mosque and to the Arab village of Et-Tûr. There is the tomb-chapel of Sitti-Miriam (Lady Mary) in the Kedron valley, half underground. There is the Latin garden of Gethsemane with its picturesque olives. There is the Cœnaculum on Mount Zion, forming part of Nebi-Daüd; a vaulted room which tradition calls the upper chamber of the Last Supper. There is the Ecce Homo arch, near the north-west corner of the Harâm; and the Via Dolorosa, along which the Lord is said to have been led from Pilate's hall to Golgotha. The Church of the Flagellation is in this said Via, with its well of pure water. There is the house of Dives, the house of Veronica, the house of Lazarus. But *the* holy place of Jerusalem is "the Church of the Holy Sepulchre." It stands considerably within the city, quite surrounded by houses, close to the bazaars, and overlooked by the two minarets of Omar and Saladin. It is not one building, but a clumsy assemblage of buildings, and these again built upon the ruins of others; for Constantine's church, or group of churches, was destroyed by the Persians under Chosroes II. in A.D. 614; and again in 969 by the Khalef Muez, and again by another Moslem chief in 1010; and yet again by fire in 1808. Rebuilt and restored in subsequent years, it stands now with its truncated square tower and its double dome, a conglomeration of all that the traditions of ages have been able to scrape together in the shape of sites, and chapels, and relics. Of shrines

there are about forty in that one pile, such as the tomb of Melchizedek, tomb of Adam, tombs of Joseph and Nicodemus, tomb of Godfrey, chapel of the Angel, chapel of the Mocking, chapel of the Penitent Thief, chapel of the Virgin, and the like. Of this edifice, Greeks, Latins, Armenians, Syrians, Copts, all claim a share, though in it they are anything but brothers. At the one double-arched gate which looks toward the south, with a court in front, sit the sellers of the holy wares; who make this, as they do the church of the Nativity at Bethlehem, their special house of merchandise. Pushing through the crowds of pilgrims, and passing the Turkish guard on the left recess, placed there to keep the peace among the sects, you come to the flat marble slab called the "stone of anointing;" and then leaving the vestibule you find yourself in the large rotunda which forms the main body of the building, about 100 feet in diameter, set



[369.] The Church of the Holy Sepulchre.—From a photograph.

round by a fine colonnade, which supports the galleries and dome. Under the skylight of this great dome there is, on a slightly elevated platform, the little marble church containing the supposed sepulchre of the Lord. The massive Gothic architecture of the pile strikes the eye; and would do so more were it isolated from the houses of the city. But the interior, with its pictures, statues, images, candles, lamps, censers, altars, and priests of the seven Jerusalem sects, can impose on none. If that be the place where the Lord lay, it has the misfortune of not looking like it in any sense. Superstition has done its utmost to prevent the possibility of realizing here the great scene of Golgotha. East of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, near the ecclesiastical rock of Calvary, in the Coptic convent, is Helena's cistern, which is said to contain a large water supply. Professor Porter speaks of it as cut out of the solid rock, reached by a long descent of steps; and Dr. Barclay says it is about sixty feet long by thirty wide.

(For views of the Church of the Sepulchre, see Salzmann's *Jerusalem*, and other modern photographs. For plans of it, see Bernardino's *Trattato delle piante et immagini de Sacri Edifizi*, &c., 1620, and many modern works. For the literature and controversy of the subject, see Williams' *Holy City;* Plessing's *Golgotha;* Robinson's *Biblical Researches;* Newman's *Essays on the Miracles of Ecclesiastical History;* Fergusson's *Essay on the Ancient Topography of Jerusalem;* his article on the subject in Dr. Smith's *Bible Dictionary*, and his pamphlet in answer to the Edinburgh reviewers, *Dublin University Magazine* for Sept. 1845, and April, 1848; *The Museum of Classical Antiquities*, May, 1853, which contains a very able and in many respects satisfactory resumé of the whole discussion; Pierotti's two splendid folios (Lond. 1864), which however do not add much to our information, though the views, plans, and sections are admirable.)

Mr. Fergusson thinks that the present "Mosque of Omar" (the Kubbet-es-Sakhrah) corresponds so much more to the descriptions preserved to us of Constantine's original church than the present "Church of the Sepulchre," that we must accept the mosque as the authentic church. But there might be two similar churches, and the Christians might build the church on the temple-site after the model of the other. Constantine's original church was moreover, we know, utterly destroyed, and the mosque cannot be his.

The following difficulties occur to us in regard to Mr. Fergusson's theory. (1.) Arculf's description and map are so explicit as to compel us to believe that the Church of the Sepulchre was in the seventh century just where it is now. (2.) Mr. F.'s theory requires us to believe that our Lord and the two thieves were crucified close by the temple-wall; and that the tomb was less than 200 feet from the temple, and right opposite one of its gates. (3.) It requires us to believe that a tomb was allowed to be excavated close by the temple; and also that there was room enough for a garden round it. (4.) It requires us to believe that at this short distance from the east gate of the temple there was a large rock, 17 feet above the level of the rest of the ground, 40 feet in breadth, by 60 in length; and that this was allowed to remain thus, while all round it was levelled, till Joseph of Arimathæa chose it for his tomb, and cultivated the bare rock as a garden. (5.) It requires us to believe that there was no thoroughfare, and but scanty room for a crowd, in the place where the Lord was crucified, which seems at variance with the Bible narrative. (6.) It requires us to believe, not only that Christians, Jews, and Mohamedans are all mistaken as to the true position of the temple and the sepulchre, but that they all once knew it perfectly, and had their churches and mosques accordingly; yet about the beginning of the eleventh century, they all unaccountably lost sight of their previous knowledge, made a complete mistake, and with one consent transferred the Church of the Holy Sepulchre from the eastern to the western side of the city, and began to acknowledge the original church as a mosque built over the old temple site. A mistake like this is, we think, without a parallel in history.

(7.) It requires us to believe that of this transference neither history nor tradition has taken any notice; and that the traditions of a thousand years as to the site of the tomb were completely reversed and set aside, without a murmur as to the sacrilege, or even a hint as to the bare fact. (8.) It requires us to believe that this transference of site was made *without a reason* (for the reasons given are mere conjectures), and under no pressure or instigation, so far as history records. (9.) It requires us to believe that a certain persecution of Christians, which took place in the century referred to, drove the Christians from their time-honoured church and site; and made not only them, but their enemies, both Jews and Moslems, forget where these had stood. Persecution was not likely to do this. It would endear the old spot to them, and fix it deeper in their memory;[1] nor would they have failed to hand down to us the fact of the change, and their reasons for it. We have historians and travellers of that age, and after it—Christian, Jewish, and Moslem, yet no one of these alludes to any such remarkable change as this must have been; but all assume that the traditional localities of the city, internal and external, continued to be as they had always been. (10.) It requires us to believe that the present Kubbet-es-Sakhrah is the original church of Constantine (the "Anastasis"); and yet it founds itself on the assumption, that all the Christian edifices were demolished during the persecution. If the Anastasis were destroyed, then the present mosque cannot be Constantine's original church. If it were not destroyed, is it possible that the Christians subsequently could have made any mistake about it, and supposed that they were rebuilding the ruined church on the original spot, when the church itself, consecrated in the memory of centuries, was standing some four hundred yards off before their eyes? (11.) It requires us to transfer Zion to the north of the temple, and to make both it and Moriah little more than hillocks; besides reducing the temple-area to a very small size, and placing it in such a position on the great mosque platform as to give space for the sepulchre outside.[2] (12.) It requires us to believe that the present mosque was originally a Christian church, when Moslem historians and inscriptions in the mosque itself affirm that it was built for Mohamedan purposes. (13.) It requires us to believe that when Constantine demolished the temple of Venus in order to make room for the Church of the Sepulchre, he left untouched the temple of Jupiter and other heathen monuments hard by his splendid Christian structure. For even in Jerome's days the temple area was still dishonoured by these heathen idols (Comment. on Isaiah, ch. ii. 8). Yet Constantine seems to have been most zealous in destroying the idols which desecrated the neighbourhood (see his letter to Macarius, in Theodoret. Eccl. Hist. ch. xvii.); the works, as Eusebius says, not so much of impious men, as "of the whole race of devils" (De Vita Const. iii. 26). (14.) It requires us to believe that Joseph of Arimathæa, a rich man, and evidently desirous of a costly tomb, chose a mere cave for a sepulchre; and left every part of the cave, outside and inside, unhewn, unsquared, uncarved, in all its original roughness; for though many a change has passed over the old rock, yet no one who has seen it can fail to conclude that it stands in its natural condition to this day. It is not time-worn, nor broken, nor crumbling down, like the tombs of the kings or the caves of Akeldama. It is just what it was 2000 or 3000 years ago. Assuredly it was not the rich man's tomb. If it should be said that the original hewing and carving have been defaced, we answer—(*a*) that the rock bears no marks of defacement; (*b*) that the idea of such violence is a mere hypothesis, contradicted by appearances, and unsupported by history; (*c*) that the remarkable fracture at the one extremity—said to be the work of crusaders, but possibly earlier, retaining its freshness, whiteness, and sharpness to this day, in contrast to the rest of the rock—demonstrates the unlikelihood of the disappearance of all marks of violence from the other parts, if such marks ever existed; (*d*) that while there are many defacements in the numerous tombs around the city, the marks of the chisel, and the indications of a tomb, are distinctly legible in each of them to this day; (*e*) that as the only parties who could have attempted this supposed desecration were the Romans, and as we are expressly told that they merely covered over the sepulchre with earth, we have no reason to suppose that any such deliberate defacement ever took place.[3] But we must refer our readers to Mr. Fergusson's able and learned work, *Essay on the Ancient Topography of Jerusalem*, to his article in Dr. Smith's *Bible Dictionary*, and to his subsequent pamphlet in answer to his reviewers, for the statement and vindication of his peculiar theory; the chief argument of which is certainly the architectural one.

[1] Yet strange to say, the Christian settlers in Jerusalem after the first crusade, under Godfrey, plundered the Church of the Sepulchre; "Rebus suis spoliavit Christianus populus," is the line of a contemporary rhymer, part of a poem still preserved in the Bodleian.—Webb's Notes to Lannoy's *Survey of Syria*, A.D. 1422.

[2] It must not be forgotten that while Josephus in one place gives the area of the temple as six furlongs (including Antonia), J. W. b. v. 5, 2; in another place he tells us that *the piece of ground on which it was built was twice as large as before, and surrounded by a wall* (J. W. b. i. 21, 1). This quite coincides with the statements of Robinson (vol. i. p. 286; Barclay's *City of the Great King*, p. 490) with regard to the antiquity of the *north-east* angle of the Harâm, as well as of the south-east and south-west. The *area* inclosed by Herod (within which his temple stood) will thus coincide pretty nearly with the present Harâm platform. It is a mistake to suppose that the city-wall and the temple-wall were the same. It is evident that there was a strong city-wall inclosing the temple-wall, for "Simon and Jonathan resolved to restore the walls of Jerusalem, and to rebuild the wall which encompassed the temple" (Ant. xiii. 5, 11; see also ib. xv. 11, 3). "The walls of the temple-inclosure (says a scientific and able writer in the *Times*, 1857), which Mr. Wigley stated have always existed, in contradistinction to the temple proper or inner inclosure, are, in the opinion of M. Salzmann, nothing more or less than the remaining constructions built by Solomon, to support the foundations on which the superstructure of his temple was raised. This opinion is fortified by the fact, that these constructions nowhere assume the character and appearance of an inclosing wall, except at some portions of the side to the west of the temple, where it separates the latter from the town."

[3] Mr. Lewin enumerates other difficulties equally conclusive against Mr. Fergusson's theory, such as that Eusebius describes the sepulchre as looking *eastward*, whereas the Sakhrah-cave cannot be said to look any way, being underground, and entered by a descent of twenty steps at the south-east angle; that the basilica was built on an excavation, whereas the mosque stands on an eminence; that the vestibule of the basilica terminated eastward at a market-place, which is utterly impossible if it were on the present mosque platform; that (according to Dositheus) the church could not be extended westward because of a *hill*, which would not have been the case had it been on the mosque-ground, whose west edge neither has nor ever had a hill to flank it, but a valley.—*Jerusalem*, by Thomas Lewin, Esq., London, 1861, p. 148, 149.

9. *The towers of Jerusalem.*—We now pass on to the towers of Jerusalem. The only very ancient tower in Jerusalem is the "castle of Zion," 1 Ch. xi. 5, *metzûdah, metzâd*, ver. 7. Whether this was the same as "the *tower* of David," Ca. iv. 4 (*migdahl*), is uncertain. Probably this last was some subsequent structure, adjoining to the other, "builded for an armoury, whereon there hang a thousand bucklers, all shields of mighty men." The less ancient towers mentioned in the Old Testament are the following: (1.) *The tower of Hananeel*, Ne. iii. 1; xii. 39; Je. xxxi. 38; Zec. xiv. 10, Sept. Ἀναμεήλ, some little way to the north of the temple in the second wall. It is connected with the building of the "sheep-gate," and with that part of the wall which Eliashib the priest and his brethren the priests built and consecrated. (2.) *The tower of Meah*, Ne. iii. 1; xii. 39, Sept. ἑκατον—the "tower of the hundred," perhaps from its height or its builders. It was next the sheep-gate; between it and Hananeel, about the north-east sweep of the second wall. (3.) *The tower of the furnaces*, Ne. iii. 11. Adrichomius thinks this was a beacon to night-wanderers (his old translators call it "lanterne-tower"), and was on the north; Lamy that it was "bakers'-tower" (à furnis panificorum), or "the tower of the lime-kilns." Certainly the ash-mounds, *Tel-el-massabin*, north-west of the city, may be the representatives of such kilns, the "lime-burnings" mentioned in Is. xxxiii. 12. But perhaps the furnaces may be those of the (*tsurephim*) smelters, Je. vi. 29; Ne. viii. 31, 32, or (*charasim*) the mechanics who formed the molten metals into vessels, Ex. xxviii. 11; 2 Ch. xxiv. 12. (4.) *The tower which "lieth out,"* the projecting tower, Ne. iii. 26. This was near Ophel, not far from Siloam; and perhaps was "the tower in Siloam" which fell, Lu. xiii. 4. Whether it was the same as "the *great tower* that lieth out," is not clear, Ne. iii. 27. Perhaps there were really *three* of these massive projections, not far from each other: (*a*) The "tower which lieth out from the king's high house," Ne. iii. 24; (*b*) The "tower that lieth out," ver. 26; (*c*) "The great tower that lieth out," ver. 27. (5.) *Uzziah's towers.* For we read that "Uzziah built towers in Jerusalem, at the corner-gate, and at the valley-gate, and at the turning of the wall," 2 Ch. xxvi. 9.

The towers mentioned by Josephus are as follow: (1.) *The tower of Antonia.* This, like the Acradina of Syracuse, was both palace and fortress; in later years occupied by a Roman garrison, mentioned in the history of Paul, and called "the castle," ἡ παρεμβολη, Ac. xxi. 34, 37; xxii. 24; xxiii. 10, 16, 32; originally called by the Greek name Βαρις (=μεγαλη οικα, Steph. Thes.; Στόα, πύργος, Suidas; Turrita domus, Jerome in Je. xvii. 27) in the time of the Maccabees. Probably it sprung from the Hebrew and Chaldee בִּירָה (*Birah*); and it is remarkable that whilst in some sixteen other places where this word occurs the Sept. translate it "castles" or "houses," in others they do not translate it, but take the Hebrew word, as in Ps. xlviii. 3, "God is known in her palaces" (ἐν τοῖς Βάρεσι); in Ezr. vi. 2 it is rendered Βάρις; in Ne. i. 1, Ἀβιρά (the Heb. article prefixed); and in Ne. vii. 2, Βιρὰ. This *Birah* was "the palace" over which Hananiah was appointed ruler, Ne. vii. 2; and it belonged to "the house" or temple, Ne. ii. 8, which not merely intimates that the palace was in connection with the temple, but leads us to infer that it was the palace-fort, which subsequently became the Asamonæan Baris and the Herodian Antonia, and in modern times the house of the pasha, hard by which, but round the angle of the Harâm, is the traditional house of Pilate. This is greatly confirmed by recent underground researches, which go to identify the north-west corner of the Harâm with Antonia.[1]

Pierotti has found a subterraneous passage extending from the golden gate in a north-westerly direction (Jerusalem Explored, vol. i. p. 64). He could not trace it completely; only in two unconnected fragments, one 130 feet long, and another 150 feet. This may be the secret passage (κρυπτὴ διώρυξ) which Herod excavated from Antonia to the eastern gate, where he raised a tower, from which he might watch any seditious movement of the people; thus establishing a private communication with Antonia, through which he might pour soldiers into the heart of the temple area as need required. This tower was probably opposite the great gate of the holy place; but whether near *it*, or near the outer gate leading down to the Kedron, we do not know. The expression of Josephus, μέχρι τοῦ ἔσωθεν ἱεροῦ, may not even refer to the holy place at all, but merely to the *inner* part of the temple (in relation to Antonia), especially as he uses ἱερον and not ναος, nor δεύτερον ἱερὸν. His statement is simply that Herod prepared a secret excavation from Antonia to the inner part of the temple, towards the eastern-gate (not for the purpose of his own escape however), but for watching the populace. Hence we do not see the necessity for altering the reading from ἔσωθεν to ἔξωθεν, as Mr. Williams suggests, in the synopsis which he has given of Pierotti's discoveries. This is the more likely to be the meaning of ἔσωθεν, because there turns out to be another subterraneous passage *outwards* from Antonia, which joins the present Harâm inclosure at the north-west angle, and extends 224 feet under the Via Dolorosa. We may add that the above is the frequent use of ἐσωθεν in the Septuagint. In Ex. xxxix. 19 (Sept. xxxvi. 27) we are told that the two golden rings were to be put on "the top of the hinder part of the ephod within;" τῆς ἐπωμίδος ἔσωθεν, not the inner ephod, as if there were two ephods, but the inside of the ephod. So Le. xiv. 41, "he shall cause the house to be scraped *within*" (ἐσωθεν), not as if there were two houses, but "the inner part of the house." Antonia was so much altered and improved by Herod, that he calls it his work in one place (J. W. v. 5, 8), though in another he speaks of it as merely repaired by him, ἐπεσκεύασε (J. W. i. 21, 1), and named Antonia in honour of Antony. It was quadrangular and rose at the north-west angle of the temple, connected with both the northern and western porches, yet not (originally at least) forming part of the great area, but projecting from it and overlooking all its courts (Lightfoot's Temple, ch. vii.) It was near *Bezetha* (not *Akra*, according to Mr. Fergusson's plan), perched on a small spur of it, yet separated from it by a valley, dug, or at least deepened, in order to make it more impregnable on the north, and inaccessible from Bezetha (J. W. v. 4, 2). Its height was fifty cubits of rock and forty of building. (See 1 Mac. xiii. 52; Lamy de Tabernaculo, p. 650; Biel's Thesaurus, sub voce Βαρις). (2.) *Psephinus.* This was on the extreme north-west of the city, at the

[1] There was another fort upon Akra, which the Asamonæans demolished, levelling the hill also on which it stood, a work of three years (Jos. Ant. xiii. 6, 6). The Zion fort Josephus calls φρούριον: the Akra fort, Ἄκρα: the temple fort, Βαρις, afterwards Antonia.

corner of the third or Agrippean wall, hard by which Titus first encamped when descending from Scopus to commence the siege (J. W. v. 4, 3). Psephinus = Tsephinus = צְפוֹן, north, or perhaps צְפִיָּה, Zephah = Scopus = the "watch-tower," as Scopus was the "watch-hill." Mr. Lewin's conjecture that Psephinus is from *ψῆφος*, a calculus or pebble, because hastily run up of "rubble-work" and irregularly hewn-stones, has no historical foundation (Jerusalem, p. 174). It was seventy cubits (about 120 feet high), and commanded a view of Arabia on the east and the limits of Palestine on the west, towards the Mediterranean. Josephus does not exactly say that that sea was visible, but the "extreme boundaries" of the Hebrew territory, "which stretch to the sea" (J. W. v. 4, 3). Yet his words almost imply this; and as the site of Psephinus was high—only some fifty feet lower than the hills around Nebi-Samuel, *from which the Mediterranean is visible* (though a haze obstructed our view once when we climbed them to see it)—and as the tower itself was upwards of a hundred feet high, it is not unlikely, notwithstanding Dr. Robinson's decided statement (vol. i. p. 310), that "the great sea" was visible from Psephinus; and in this case might be used as a beacon or signal-tower to the sea coast, which in a direct line is not thirty miles distant from Jerusalem. (3.) *Hippicus.* It was built by Herod, and named in honour of his friend. It was "opposite" (*ἀντικρυς*) Psephinus; they looked each other in the face on the *opposite* sides of the Tyropœon, and were probably not very far from each other; for Psephinus is said to be at the *north-west* corner, and Hippicus at the *north* of the city, where the old wall began, *κατὰ βορρᾶν* (J. W. v. 4, 2); and the historian *could not possibly* have intended *north* to mean the present Jaffa gate, while he intended *north-west* to mean the neighbourhood of the tombs of the kings—the one nearly a mile from the other! If "north-west" with him means "north-west" in reference to the *whole* city, as we know it does, "north" must have a similar reference, and cannot mean merely north of *Zion*, which the necessities of some topographical theories require it to do, thereby making north mean one thing in one page of Josephus and another in another.[1] Hippicus must have stood a little way south of Psephinus; not so far however as to prevent its being called *north* of the city. (4.) *Phasaelus;* called so from Herod's brother, was ninety cubits high, and stood, as we understand Josephus, a little way south (not east) of Hippicus, and was meant as a defence of the *western* part of the old wall; for that part of the city wall running north and south *from Psephinus to the present Jaffa gate*, which Dr. Robinson and others make part of the *third* wall, and leave unprotected by towers (just where most protection was needed), we understand to be part of the *old* wall, defended by the towers described by Josephus. (5.) *Mariamne;* so called from his queen, whom in jealousy he caused to be murdered. It was quadrangular, fifty cubits high, and in inner adornment more magnificent than the rest. It stood, as we understand the historian, still farther south in the western segment of the old wall, perhaps not far from the angle where the ruins of the Kalat-el-Jalûd now are. (6.) *The women's towers.* They must have stood somewhere in the northern stretch of the third wall; for Josephus mentions that when Titus was riding down from Scopus towards the city, in the direction of Psephinus, the Jews rushed down from the "women's towers," at the gate opposite the tomb of Helena (J. W. v. 2, 2). Josephus' name for these towers is *γυναικεῖοι πύργοι*; but whether he is giving the exact name or attempting the translation of a Hebrew word we cannot say. (7.) *John's tower.* This was built by John in his conflict with Simon, over the gates that led to the Xystus, at the western porch of the temple (J. W. vi. 3, 2). (8.) *The tower of the corner.* This must have been at the north-east angle of Agrippa's wall, a little eastward of the tombs of the kings, and hard by the fuller's monument; above the valley of the Kedron (J. W. v. 4, 2).

These are the great towers mentioned by Josephus. Of smaller and unnamed ones he mentions many, which however were rather turreted battlements or fortified elevations of the wall than towers; not unlike perhaps what we see in the walls at this day.[2] The third wall had ninety of these, the middle wall forty, and the old wall sixty. In modern Jerusalem the only tower is that at the Jaffa gate, which we have already noticed. There are projections, some broader and some narrower, in all the walls; there are towers at the gates, rising a little above the walls; and there are domes, minarets, and low spires, in every quarter of the city; but that is all. There is nothing left to indicate the turreted magnificence of Jerusalem in the days of Herod and Agrippa.

Jerusalem in its last days had three walls, as we have already seen. The first or old wall was for the defence of Zion, curving irregularly round the south of that hill, along the ridge that overlooks its southern and south-western valleys; but on the north of it running almost straight from north-west to south-east, from Hippicus to the temple. The second wall was for the defence of Akra, on which stood "the city"—Salem, Jebus, Jerusalem—as distinguished from the citadel or Zion, and took a pretty wide curve round the north, from the Gennath-gate on the north-west to the tower Antonia on the south-east, thereby completely compassing the northern part of the old wall, and thus forming a double line of defence to "the upper city."[3] The third was for the defence of "the new city," a great part of which lay farther north, and was built upon the hill Bezetha. It began, like the old wall, at Hippicus; first went north to the tower Psephinus; then bent north-east; then right eastward to the Kedron, and then it turned south, and "joined to the old wall at the valley of Kedron (J. W. v. 4, 2), though at which part of the valley the junction was effected the historian does not specify. Probably it swept round the *east* side of the temple, and united with the old wall somewhere in the neighbourhood of Siloam.

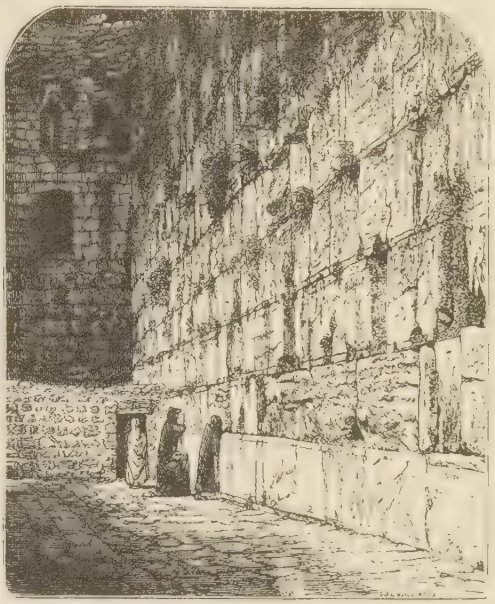
It would appear that a large part of the walls (that round Zion) was built by David, 2 Sa. v. 9; 1 Ch. xi. 8, another part (that round Akra) by Solomon. Sub-

[1] Dr. Robinson says, "The tower of Hippicus must be sought at the north-west of *Zion!*" (vol. i. 280). The words of Josephus evidently imply that Hippicus lay to the north of the city which was in existence when this tower was built; *i.e. to the north of both the upper and lower city*, which he describes as forming "one body." Dr. Robinson's statement seems to us a contradiction of and not a quotation from Josephus.

[2] "He that counteth the towers" (Is. xxxiii. 18), was probably the captain who had charge of the towers and telling off the troops for manning them.

[3] "The way of the gate between the two walls which was by the king's garden" (Je. lii. 7), seems to have been the street or way between the Zion wall and the western temple wall, down the Tyropœon to Siloam.

sequent kings added to and strengthened the walls. In consequence of attacks from besiegers or neglect, "breaches" were made in the walls of "the city of David," Is. xxii. 9, which were repaired in the days of Hezekiah, and for the repair of which the houses in the neighbourhood were pulled down, Is. xxii. 10. It was at this time that the ditch (or reservoir, מִקְוֵה, *mikvah* = place of gathering) was made between the two walls (or double wall—the Hebrew *dual*) for the waters of the old pool, Is. xxii. 11. Whether this established a connection between the present Birket-el-Mamilla and the Tyropœon is not easily determined. Certainly the sound of underground water has been heard at the Damascus gate, which implies the existence of some invisible conduit. The walls which Nehemiah rebuilt were probably the second wall (round Akra) and the irregular curve round the south of Zion, and the old wall running down the Tyropœon, from Hippicus to the temple. The walls standing in the days of our Lord were only the first and second; though the city had by that time crept northward beyond its walls. Herod began the third wall about the year 45, but it was Agrippa who completed, or almost completed it; for Josephus intimates that it was not wholly finished, affirming that had it been so, not all the power of Rome could have taken the city. Titus destroyed the greater part of the wall, leaving only a part of the western wall with some of its towers as monuments of its strength and greatness. The spoiler left not "a stone upon a stone" (λιθος ἐπι λιθον) which has not been "displaced" (καταλυθήσεται, loosened, displaced), Mat. xxiv. 2. All parts of the *temple* and of the *city* too, as was predicted, Lu. xix. 44, have been levelled, —"laid even with the ground" (ἐδαφιοῦσι σε); and the remarkable thing about the present walls, specially of the temple, is that in many places two distinct portions can be traced, one more ancient, the lower tiers which were on a level with the soil; another more modern, which has been erected on the old foundations. This upper portion is manifestly of a later date, of a different character; containing here and there the remains of ancient masonry—the original materials, which have been worked into the modern walls. Every portion of the walls that rose above the level of the interior platform has been thrown down into the valley, where perhaps some of the largest stones now lie buried; while the lower parts or tiers, which were merely built for retaining the soil and furnishing a platform, have remained almost untouched, save in one or two places where the breaches (made perhaps by the Romans) have been large and deep. "The most *ancient* part of these constructions" writes an able observer, "according to Mr. Wigley, but only the *best preserved* according to M. Salzmann, is the western wall—Heit-el-Morharby—under the shadow of which the Jews bewail the fall of Zion. It is an enormous mass of wall, about thirty yards in length, and perfectly preserved. The aspect of the construction is the strangest that eye has ever seen. The stones are nine, twelve, and fifteen feet long—sometimes more. The surfaces are perfectly smooth, exhibiting no trace of the chisel, and are inclosed within a border. Nowhere has the author ever seen stones of such dimensions, forming an exterior inclosure and retaining wall, worked with so much care, and so perfect. Neither Rome nor Greece has left us any like, except at Jebail, a Phœnician city, whence the workmen employed by Solomon came. Quoting the book of Kings, which says, 'And the foundation was of costly stones, even great stones,



[370.] The Jews' Wailing-place, western wall.—From a photograph.

stones of ten cubits, and stones of eight cubits,' M. Salzmann concludes that the stones of the place of wailing are those described in the text. Stones of like dimensions and character may be seen scattered about and worked into the outside wall of the close. Towards the south, the wall is screened from view by modern buildings and plantations, but beyond them it appears quite changed in character, and romanized, except at the basement. Farther on, about fifteen yards from the south-western angle, is the bridge discovered by Dr. Robinson, which is considered by Mr. Fergusson undoubtedly to belong to the Herodian era, but to which both M. de Saulcy and M. Salzmann assign an earlier date" (Letter in the Times, 1857).

10. *The gates of the city.*—In describing an eastern city, specially such a city as Jerusalem, it is of some moment to specify its gates; much of its history, both in grandeur and ruin, being connected with these. Here we find kings, judges, merchants, beggars, lepers; the siege, the triumph, the tumult, the funeral procession, the royal proclamation, the shout, the song, the weeping. The "gates of Ekron," 1 Sa. xvii. 52, the "gate of Bathrabbim," Ca. vii. 4, the "gate of Samaria," 1 Ki. xxii. 10, may be passed by, but the "gates of Zion," Ps. lxxxvii. 2, the "gates of the daughter of Zion," Ps. ix. 14, the "gates of Jerusalem," Je. xvii. 19, the "gates of righteousness," Ps. cxviii. 19, the "gate of Jehovah," Ps. cxviii. 20, once glorious, soon "desolate," La. i. 4, "burned," Ne. i. 3, "consumed," Ne. ii. 3, "sunk into the ground," La. ii. 9, are not to be so forgotten.[1] It is not

[1] The *gate* (whether janua or porta, πύλη or θύρα) is equally noted in classical as in sacred story or poetry. Virgil's claustra ingentia portarum—porta bipatens—portæ sacræ—porta eburna —portæ sublimes—the porta ærata of Ovid—the porta ahena and cornea of Statius—will suggest themselves (along with the story of the hundred-gated Thebes) to the readers of the history of

easy to fix their localities; but let us enumerate them. The Bible-gates were in the first and second walls; some of the Josephan gates of course in the third. Let us take them according to Nehemiah's order in ch. iii. and xii. (1.) *The Sheep-gate*, Ne. iii. 1; Jn. v. 2, a little way north of the temple, and not far from the pool of Bethesda, which, notwithstanding the objections of Dr. Robinson, is probably identical with the modern Birket-es-Serain, near St. Stephen's gate. (2.) *Fish-gate*, 2 Ch. xxxiii. 14. Following the curve of the second wall, we come to the tower of Meah, then to that of Hananeel, and then, probably round the bend, we have the fish-gate, by which the Mediterranean traffic found its way into the city; "porta piscium quæ est porta de parte Joppen" (Jerome, Quæst. Hebr.); for it was not from Jordan that the city was supplied with fish, as some suggest (Museum of Cl. Antiq. vol. ii. p. 413), but from the sea-coast. It was "the men of Tyre" who "brought fish and all manner of ware," Ne. xiii. 16. (3.) *Old-gate*, ver. 6. Here the Sept. gives Ἰασανά, as a proper name, instead of translating the Hebrew הַיְשָׁנָה ("the old"). This was a little farther south or south-west than the fish-gate.[1] (4.) *The gate of Ephraim*. This was a little farther south, 400 cubits from "the corner-gate," 2 Ki. xiv. 13, a little north perhaps of the present Damascus gate. Jerome thinks that the Ephraim gate and the valley-gate were the same (Quæst. Hebr.) (5.) *The corner-gate*. Nehemiah does not mention this; but it must have been in this part of his line of wall, at some angle, 2 Ch. xxv. 23. It was probably not far from the valley-gate, 2 Ch. xxvi. 9. (6.) *The valley-gate*, ver. 13. We have elsewhere indicated that this is likely to have been identical with the *Gennath-gate* of Josephus; the gate opening from the upper city down into *the* great valley of Jerusalem, viz. Hinnom (the Tyropœon), at its north-west extremity. (7.) *The dung-gate*, ver. 14; ch. ii. 13. This was 1000 cubits from the valley-gate. But in which direction? This is the difficulty. The able writer in the *Mus. of Classical Antiquities* gives it as south, nearly opposite the present *Birket-es-Sultan* (p. 414 and map). If he be correct, then there is no notice of the Tyropœon part of the *old* wall by Nehemiah. This puzzles us, and leads us to ask, May not Nehemiah be taking the course of the old wall, down the Tyropœon south-east, towards the west wall of the temple? May not the dung-gate be somewhere in the direction of the modern dung-gate, or Bab-el-Mogharibeh, only farther up, on the west of the mosque? If (as may be) the ancient gateway inside the Damascus gate, mentioned and sketched by Barclay (p. 132), be the remains of the valley-gate (Gennath-gate), then 1000 cubits or about 1600 feet from the above gateway, in that south-easterly direction in which we think the Tyropœon must have gone, would bring us more than half-way down the west side of the mosque, not far from the southern extremity of El-Wad, about the *Es-Shefah* bath and fountain, which name, Es-Shefah, is curiously like Nehemiah's for the dung-gate, viz. *Ashphoth*. (For an account of Es-Shefah, see Williams, ii. 457; Barclay, 328; Whitty, p. 93). (8.) *The fountain-gate*, ver. 15; ch. ii. 14. There is but one *fountain* mentioned in connection with Jerusalem—En-rogel, the fountain of Rogel, which we believe to be the modern *Um-ed-Deraj*, the "fountain of the virgin," already noticed. *Siloam* is never called a fountain, but a pool. Of pools there are many around and in the city; of tanks, a large number in all directions, specially to the north; of wells, there are one or two that deserve that name; but *En-rogel* is the only *En* or *fountain;* and it has been known from the days of Joshua. *The fountain-gate*, then, must have been in connection with this, though not necessarily close by it; opening out on some path that led immediately to it; and if so, on the south-east of the city. Nehemiah now (following the old wall) takes us first south and then west. Adjoining the fountain-gate was "the wall of the pool of Siloah," or more properly "Shelach;" then "the king's garden," ver. 15; then "the stairs that go down from the city of David" (ib.); then "the place over against the sepulchres of David," ver. 16; then "the pool that was made," the modern Birket-es-Sultan; then the "house of the mighty," perhaps the modern castle at the Jaffa gate; then "the piece over against the going up to the armoury," ver. 19; then "the turning of the wall"[2] (ib.) (9.) *The water-gate*, ver. 26; ch. xii. 37. We are unable to fix the places specified in ver. 20–23; but our conjecture is, that having taken us to the fountain-gate and city of David, and led us round to the point in the *west* wall where he left off, that is, having completely swept round Zion, he turns back to where he stopped on the *south-east*, at Ophel, where we have both "the turning of the wall, and the corner;" and it is at this very point that we find, to this day, such numerous zigzags in the wall. The water-gate was somewhere south of the temple; the city water-gate and the temple water-gate being perhaps in the same neighbourhood, though distinct from each other (Lightfoot's Temple, p. 150). The "place over against the water-gate, toward the east," is also mentioned as connected with the Nethinims and with Ophel, which gives us some further idea of the locality of this gate. (10.) *The horse-gate*, ver. 28; Je. xxxi. 40. This is said to be "by the king's house," 2 Ch. xxiii. 15, which was hard by the temple, on the west (Jos. J. W. ii. 3, 1), and is the same as Josephus mentions (Ant. ix. 7, 3), as "the gate of the king's mules," which led out into the valley of the Kedron. Solomon's stables were south of the temple (Benjamin of Tudela, Asher's ed. vol. i. p. 70), if not under the southern part of its area. Thus the "king's house," the "king's stables," and the "horse-gate," were close to each other. Josephus speaks of the

Jerusalem's gates, whether in Scripture, or the Maccabees, or Josephus.

[1] Is this the Josephan "gate of the *Essenes?*" And was he confounding the Hebrew *Yeshanah* (old) with the name of the "Essenian" sect? It is very unlikely that a gate of Jerusalem should get its name from that sect of Jewish stoics, (1) because it was the smallest and least known of all the sects (Leusden's *Philologus Hebræo-mixtus*, p. 138); (2) because that sect did not come into notice till the time of the Maccabees (Hottinger, *Thes. Phil.* p. 39; see Beer's *Hist. of Jewish Sects* in *Hebr. Review*, vol. iii. p. 123); (3) because the "Essen-gate" must have been in the *old* wall, which was in existence long before the Essenes were known. Besides all this, the fact of there having been, for ages, a gate in the old wall, called *Yeshanah*, just about the place where the *Essen*-gate of Josephus must have been, leads us to suspect that the two names are identical.

[2] The writer in the *Museum of Classical Antiq.* maintains (after Psalmanazer, *Univ. Anc. Hist.* iv. 221) that מִקְצֹעַ means an internal or re-entrant angle (p. 417). But the fact of one of its cognates meaning a carving-tool, shows that the word may signify any *angle*—anything made, as it were, by "cutting off." The *miksoah* of the wall may refer either to the projecting or receding angle, so that the word determines nothing. There was an armoury in the temple (2 Ch. xxiii. 9; Jos. Ant. ix. 7, 2), but there was also "the tower of David, builded for an armoury" (Ca. iv. 4).

hippodrome as on the south side of the temple (J. W. ii. 3, 1). (11.) *The east-gate,* ver. 29. Probably the same as in Je. xix. 2 is translated east-gate, and in the margin sun-gate; though by others potter's-gate (Jerome on Jer.; Spohn on the Sept. version of Jer. p. 293). It led into Hinnom, as the passage shows. (12.) *The gate Miphkad,* ver. 31. This was the gate of judgment, somewhere near that part of the temple where the Sanhedrim sat; perhaps not far from where the modern *Mekhemeh* or Moslem judgment-hall is. (13.) *The prison-gate,* ch. xii. 39. Apparently not far from the sheep-gate, near the king's high house, ch. iii. 25; perhaps at the spot referred to in Je. xxxii. 2, where the prophet was "shut up in the court of the prison which was in the king of Judah's house."

There are some other gates, not in Nehemiah's circuit, which we merely name, as it is not easy to assign their places, nor to say how far some of them may not be different names for the same gate, or not city-gates at all, but temple-gates. (1.) The king's-gate eastward, 1 Ch. ix. 18. (2.) The higher-gate, 2 Ki. xv. 35. (3.) The gate of Joshua, the governor of the city, 2 Ki. xxiii. 8. (4.) The gate between the two walls, 2 Ki. xxv. 4; Je. xxxix. 4. (5.) The high-gate, 2 Ch. xxiii. 20. (6.) The gate of the Lord's house, 2 Ch. xxiv. 8; Je. vii. 2. (7.) The high-gate of the Lord's house, 2 Ch. xxvii. 3; Ps. cxviii. 20. (8.) The city-gate, 2 Ch. xxxii. 6. (9.) The gate of Benjamin, Je. xxxvii. 13; xxxviii. 7. (10.) The high-gate of Benjamin, Je. xx. 2. (11.) The new-gate, Je. xxvi. 10; xxxvi. 10. (12.) The middle-gate, Je. xxxix. 3. (13.) The first-gate, Zec. xiv. 10.

Of the temple-gates we do not speak, referring the reader to Lightfoot's *Temple,* and Lamy *De Tabernaculo,* or to TEMPLE in this Dictionary. In the New Testament the gates of the city are not mentioned; and Josephus does not give us much information regarding them. He mentions a "secret" or obscure (ἀφανῆς) gate near Hippicus, out of which the Jews sallied (J. W. v. 6, 5); a gate opposite the monuments of Helena, near Psephinus (J. W. v. 2, 2); the gate of the Essenes, which we have already noticed (J. W. v. 4, 2). In the fourth century the French pilgrim mentions the Nablus gate, and gives us the impression that it and the rest of the city were very much as they were in Hadrian's time and as they are now. Arculf in the seventh century has given us (as we have seen) both a map and a description of the city; from which we gather that on the north were two gates—St. Stephen's, towards the west, and Benjamin, towards the east. In the east wall we find the "little gate," by which they went down into the valley of Jehoshaphat, and the Tekoite gate, farther south.[1] On the south are no gates. On the west, the gate of David, southward, and the gate of the fuller, northward (see Van de Velde's Planography of Jerusalem). During the middle ages there were some changes in the gates, which we have not room to specify, but which the reader will find in Van de Velde. There have been some alterations in the traditional localities, such as the Via Dolorosa; but in general these have remained much the same from the fourth century, in spite of the sieges and desolations to which the city has been subjected. The tenacious memory of traditionalism, even in the absence of history, has proved itself wonderfully faithful and consistent.

10. *Pools and tanks.*—The pools and tanks of ancient Jerusalem were very abundant; and each house being provided with what we may call a bottle-necked cistern for rain-water, drought within the city was rare; and history shows us that it was the besiegers, not the besieged, that generally suffered from want of water (Gul. Tyr. b. viii. p. 7; De Waha, Labores Godfredi, p. 421), though occasionally this was reversed (Jos. J. W. v. 9, 4). Yet neither in ancient nor modern times could the neighbourhood of Jerusalem be called "waterless," as Strabo describes it (Geogr. b. xvi. 2, 36). In summer the fields and hills around are verdureless and gray, scorched with months of drought; yet, within a radius of seven miles, there are some thirty or forty natural springs (Barclay's City of the Great King, p. 295). Consul Finn informed us that this is rather *under* the truth. The artificial provision for supply of water in Jerusalem in ancient times, was perhaps the completest and most extensive ever undertaken for a city. Till lately this was not fully credited; but Barclay's, and more recently Whitty's and Pierotti's, subterraneous investigations have proved that Tacitus was not exaggerating when he said of its supplies: "fons perennis aquæ, cavati sub terra montes; et piscinæ cisternæque servandis imbribus" (Hist. v. 12). The aqueduct of Solomon (winding along for twelve miles and a quarter), pours the waters of the three immense pools into the enormous temple wells, cut out like caverns in the rock (see woodcut, No. 174, under CISTERN); and the pools, which surround the city in all directions, supply to a great extent the want of a river or a lake (Traill's Josephus, vol. i.; App. p. 57, 60).

The ancient pools were: (1.) The upper pool, 2 Ki. xviii. 17. (2.) The king's pool, Ne. ii. 14. (3.) The pool of Siloah, Ne. iii. 15. (4.) The pool that was made, Ne. iii. 16. (5.) The lower pool, Is. xxii. 9. (6.) The old pool, Is. xxii. 4. (7.) The pool of Bethesda, Jn. v. 2. (8.) The pool of Siloam,[2] Jn. ix. 7. The chief modern pools are: (1.) *Silwân,* at the mouth of the Tyropœon, with its ante-chamber which receives the waters from *Um-Deraj,* through the rocky conduit, and its large square reservoir, at the east end, once a pool (perhaps the king's pool), now filled up with soil, and cultivated as part of a fig-yard. (2.) *Birket-es-Sultân,* to the south of the city, along the side of which the Bethlehem road runs, and which perhaps corresponds to the "pool that was made," Ne. iii. 16. (3.) *Birket-el-Mamilla,* to the west of the present Jaffa gate, which may perhaps represent the waters of the upper pool, from which Hezekiah made a conduit, and led the water into the heart of the city, down the Tyropœon. May not Mamilla (the etymology of which is so obscure) be a relic of Millo? 2 Sa. v. 9; 1 Ki. ix. 15, 24; xi. 27; 2 Ki. xii. 20; 1 Ch. xi. 8; 2 Ch. xxxii. 5; *i.e.*

[1] For the discussion as to the age and architecture of the golden gate, see Tipping, Traill, Robinson, and Fergusson.

[2] Whether the Siloah of Isaiah and the Siloam of John are the same as the Siloah (properly *Shelach* = fleece-pool, as the Sept. gives it) of Nehemiah, is perhaps doubtful; but we strongly incline to believe in their distinctness. That the Silla connected with Bethmillo (2 Ki. xii. 20) is Siloam, is unlikely on etymological grounds; though otherwise there is nothing improbable in their identification. Nehemiah's *Shelach* may be the subsequent Bethesda. Dr. Whitty rather resolutely affirms that the modern Siloam and Virgin's fount were temple-cesspools! The conduit which has recently been traced from the Bîr Aruach, under the mosque rock to the latter, may be considerable evidence that it (Virgin's fount) had been *converted* to such a purpose. But we still are of the belief that it was originally a fountain; perhaps perverted from its original use by Solomon, when he obtained sufficient water-supply from other sources, as many a good well has been turned into a soil-pit when no longer needed. It is curious that the last mention of En-rogel (which we believe it to be) is in David's history.

the pool of Millo or Bethmillo (Babilla, as Mamillo is sometimes called). This Millo was a fortress of Zion, Jebusite in its origin, rebuilt by David, enlarged by Solomon, and strengthened by Hezekiah; perhaps the present castle. (4.) *The Birket-Hammam-el-Batrak,* within the city walls, called traditionally the pool of Hezekiah. (5.) *The Birket-es-Serain,* or *Birket-Israel,* as it is called, near the modern St. Stephen's gate, which very probably represents Bethesda; Dr. Robinson's conjecture of its being the trench of Antonia being without proof; though it might possibly have served this double purpose.

There have been pools also in former ages, and these not small in size, which have disappeared. The French pilgrim speaks of two "large pools," one on the right and another on the left of the temple (p. 277); and inside the city two twin-pools, "piscinæ gemellares," which Eusebius calls λίμναι διδύμοι, with fine porches, and called Bethesda (Onomast. art. Bethesda). This may be the present Birket-Israel. Jerome, speaking of Tophet as being in "the suburbs of Ælia," and retaining its name in his day, describes it as "juxta piscinam fullonis et Acheldama" (De Loc. Hebr.), which indicates a pool farther down the Kedron hollow than Siloam.

These pools and wells are not kept in very good repair, and seldom contain much or good water. Some of them are frequently empty. The four handsome Saracenic drinking fountains (beautifully photographed by Salzmann) are dry. The *Um-ed-Deraj* (literally

[371.] Fountain of the Virgin (*Um-ed-Deraj*).—Barclay.

"Mother of Steps," which is the traditional "fountain of the Virgin,") is always filled and flowing, supplying water to the inhabitants of Jerusalem, but especially to those of the village Silwân, a rude cluster of filthy huts, on the opposite side of the Kedron.[1] It has peculiar risings and fallings, which some, with little, either of reverence for Scripture or attention to facts, have tried to identify with the troubling of the water by the angel, Jn. v. 4. This phenomenon was noticed in the early centuries; and we have allusions to it even in Chrysostom (Hom. in Joann. lvii.) The subsequent allusions are frequent. Some have accounted for it by the existence of some natural siphon in the rocks; but the numerous conduits which have been discovered by Barclay, Whitty, and Pierotti, terminating here, through which the surplusage of the city and mosque wells and pools gets outlet, and the *waste water from the public baths* discharges itself, sufficiently account both for the sudden swelling and the *peculiar taste* of the water (see Whitty, p. 100).

It is to tanks or pools that Jerusalem has to look for its water-supply; and since its annual rainfall is twice as much as that of England, there ought not to be any lack. Perhaps deep wells, like Bir-Eyub, might be sunk in some places; not in the bed of the Kedron, certainly, where the water would percolate through deposits of filth and decomposed human bodies; but farther north, between Scopus and the city. Dr. Whitty pronounces artesian wells an impossibility, from the want of the underlying and overlying impervious strata, with the water-bearing deposit between; but the conclusion seems hasty; especially that part of it which founds upon the chasm of the Kedron growing deeper and deeper as it moves toward the Dead Sea, thereby fracturing the side of the basin. Now we were informed by parties on the spot that there is some mistake about the Kedron channel, at least that part of it which is supposed to pass down by St. Saba to the Dead Sea. We were told that less than a mile below Jerusalem, there is a remarkable elevation in the bed of the torrent, which cuts it off from the wady which is usually reckoned its continuation; so that the rugged gulley which cuts its way down to the Dead Sea past the rocky battlements of St. Saba is not the Kedron. Whatever may be the geological unfitness of the ground, however, for artesian wells, surface-springs exist in the neighbourhood, and the steep hill-sides fronting each other with a narrow line of valley between, offer great facilities for the construction of ponds and tanks (Whitty, p. 193).

11. *Mosques—Dome of the Rock.*—One of the most remarkable sights in Jerusalem is the rock over which the great dome of the mosque is built. It rises 17 feet above the level of the Harâm or great area; and is perhaps the old top of Moriah spared by Solomon when levelling the rest of the hill, 40 feet by 60; a rugged mass of limestone, which no tool has ever touched; save at the one end, where there has been a rough cleavage, which Moslems ascribe to the crusaders (Jalal-Addin, p. 247). This "rock," or "*sakhrah,*" is accounted sacred by all sects, the Mahometans holding it the holiest spot in the world, and associating with it the most marvellous traditions in their Prophet's history. It seems to be the "lapis pertusus" alluded to by the Bourdeaux traveller, which the Jews used to visit annually and anoint with wailing and rending of garments; probably before they were driven out by the erection of a church or mosque, and obliged to betake themselves to the outside of the Harâm, to the west wall of which they come every Friday at three o'clock, the time of the evening sacrifice, with lamentations over their ruined and polluted shrine.[2]

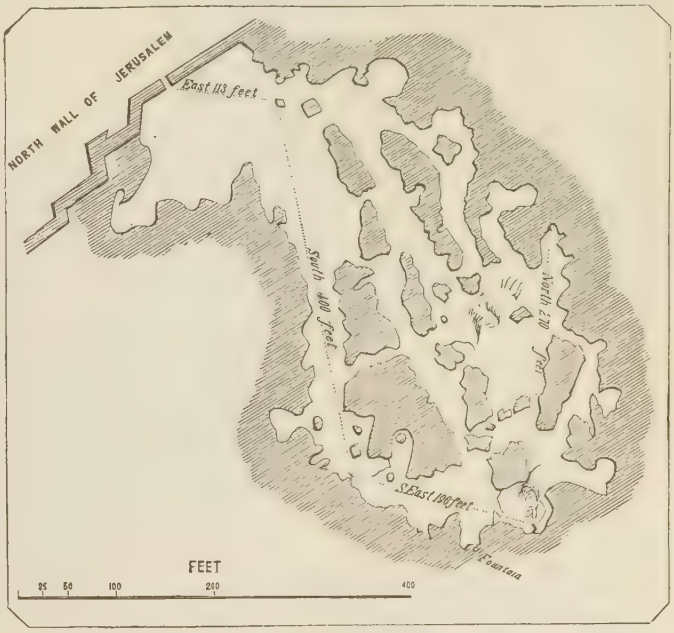
[1] Whether it is to the village of Silwân, or to the rocky tombs of Akeldama. that the Moslem writer of the twelfth century (quoted by Barclay, p. 366) refers as inhabited by "pious cœnobites," does not appear.

[2] They reverenced it as Jacob's stone-pillow; as the thrashing-floor of Araunah the Jebusite (Bernardino, *Trattato de Sacri Edifizzi.* p. 47); as the site of the brazen altar (Barclay, p. 497). In the cave under it there is a well or conduit, which is said to lead down to the Kedron. The Jews certainly could not have reckoned it the sepulchre of Christ. The cave, according to a

This large rock, as we have noticed already, has no appearance of having been a tomb. The cave below, at the south-east corner, is evidently a natural hollow. About the centre of the floor of this cave, there is a deep shaft, or narrow pit, carefully covered over with a limestone slab, called Bîr-Aruach, "the well of souls." It is now ascertained to communicate with the Kedron; and probably was the conduit down which the blood of the sacrifices was conveyed away. If it be an old Jewish name, its reference may be to the blood being the life or soul, Le. xvii. 11. Some years ago, when the pasha invited all sects in Jerusalem to enter the mosque to pray for rain, the Jews declined, on the ground that they were ceremonially unclean, and also because their law was buried under the temple. In a dry shaft (perhaps the same described above) a skin of a roll of the Pentateuch was found, and is now in the possession of Dr. Tregelles. It runs from Ge. xxii. 1, to the middle of the 24th verse; and is written in three columns. How did it come there? For a description and drawing of the duct between the Bîr-Aruach and the Kedron, see Whitty, p. 110. How Mr. Fergusson's theory can be made to assort with this duct, it is not easy to see. A great part of the pavement of the Harâm, especially in the north-western quarter, is the bare surface of the levelled hill; and in walking over this singular floor of 34 acres, which is not entirely level; or gazing down into some of the thirty-two well-mouths that pierce it all over; or descending into that most singular of all rock-cut reservoirs, supposed to be the royal cistern, formerly fed by an aqueduct of twelve miles long, out of Solomon's pools, and capable of containing two millions of gallons, and 736 feet in circuit; or visiting the vast arched substructions at the south-east angle, which formed, in all likelihood, the stables of the Jewish kings—one feels brought into direct contact with the handiwork of Solomon's builders and Hiram's stone-squarers.

This rock is one of the hidden treasures of Moslemism. We have seen it more than once, though by Mohamedan law it is death for any Jew or Christian to approach it. Surrounded with a screen, and shone upon only through the peculiar light of coloured windows, in the very centre of the great mosque, it is an imposing object. It has a sombre and venerable aspect, which the simplicity of a mosque, and the grandeur of the lofty dome, greatly heighten. There are none of the mockeries of idolatry about it to offend; and you can believe or not as you please that the Prophet's horse left a hoof-mark on it, as it sprang with its rider up to heaven. Its colour is a dingy gray. Its surface is uneven, though in a measure level; and when lighted up with the glare of five hundred coloured lamps, with added gleams from the variegated dome above, it must look wild and grand.

The mosque takes its name from the rock, and is known in Jerusalem, not as the Mosque of Omar, but as the Kubbet-es-Sakhrah—the dome of the rock. This is the most splendid of the Jerusalem shrines; though the mosque El-Aksa, a little south of it, is the most venerable. The dome of the rock is the Moslem substitute for the temple of Solomon; and, seen as it is from far in all directions, it gives some idea of what that temple must have been, as an object of wonder and attraction, to every one approaching Jerusalem. A full description of its exterior and interior is quite beyond our limits. The reader must consult the numerous writers who have entered into details respecting it. From Barclay we extract a single paragraph: "This superb edifice is situated rather below the middle of the platform—being nearest the western, and farthest from the northern. It is about 170 feet in diameter, and the same in height. The lower story or main body of the building is a true octagon of 67 feet on a side: but the central and elevated portion is circular. A more graceful and symmetrical dome is perhaps nowhere to be found; and the lofty bronze crescent that surmounts the whole gives a pleasing architectural finish. The dome appears to be covered with copper; but *laterally* with porcelain tiles of richest colour; except the lower half of the octagonal sides, which are encased with rich marble of various colours and devices. A very 'dim religious light' is shed through sixteen windows of the richest stained glass, with which the circular body of the building is pierced. The lower story is 46 feet high, and has seven windows of stained glass; fifty-six in all. Just above the windows, numerous extracts from the Koran, in very large Turkish letters, run all round the building. There are four doors, and as many porches, each facing a cardinal point, the southern one affording the main entrance"



[372.] Plan of Quarries under the City.—Stewart's Tent and Khan.

Moslem writer of the twelfth century, is "ten cubits in length, five in width, and more than a fathom in height" (Barclay, p. 365).

(p. 495-6). This splendid structure is from its height and its elegance the most striking object about the city. The Castle of David and the Church of the Sepulchre are next in visibility. And these three are all the representatives of the princely fabrics that once adorned Jerusalem. From that city Judaism has perished; altar and temple are gone. Christianity, the only true representative of the altar and the mercy-seat, is here odiously distorted. The mosque has supplanted temple and church. The crescent surmounts the cross. (1 Ki. v. 18; Josephus, Ant. viii. 2, 9; Barclay, 525; Une visite au temple de Jerusalem; par le Dr. E. Isambert, 1860; Extrait du bulletin, de la Société de Géographie.)

Connected with these structures are the immense underground quarries, *on* which, as well as *out of* which, the city may be said to be built. From them have been hewn, in past ages, the massive limestone blocks which appear in the walls and elsewhere. In these dark chambers one may, with the help of torches, wander for hours, scrambling over mounds of rubbish; now climbing into one chamber, now descending into another, noting the various cuttings, grooves, cleavages and hammer-marks; and wondering at the different shapes—bars here, slices there, boulders there, thrown up together in utter confusion. Only in one corner do we find a few drippings of water, and a tiny spring; for these singular excavations, like the great limestone cave at *Khureitun* (beyond Bethlehem, probably Adullam), are entirely free from damp; and though the only bit of intercourse with the upper air is by the small twenty-inch hole at the Damascus gate, through which the enterprising traveller wriggles into them like a serpent, yet the air is fresh and somewhat warm (Dr. Stewart's Tent and Khan, p. 263-266). These are no doubt the subterranean retreats referred to by Josephus as occupied by the despairing Jews in the last days of Jerusalem (J. W. vi. 7, 3; vi. 8, 4); and to which Tasso alludes when relating the wizard's promise to conduct the "Soldan" through Godfrey's leaguer, into the heart of the city (Gerus. Liber. x. 29). The native name for the quarries is *Maghâret-el-Kotton*, the Cotton Cave. Whether it was ever used as a place of stowage for goods, and had any connection with the Cotton Bazaar, we cannot say. The conjecture of Lewin and Pierotti, that it was "the royal caverns" mentioned by Josephus, is, for many reasons, untenable.

The south-east angle of the Harâm wall is remarkable for the size of its stones; several of them being about eighteen feet by four. Not far from this point, in the south wall, is the half arch of an old and beautiful gateway (supposed to be the gate of Huldah), which may have once been an entrance to the temple. Rounding the south-west angle (where the stones are even more colossal than the south-east), we find the remains of an arch, probably that which connected the temple with Mount Zion; three massive tiers of stone, one of the most genuine fragments of antiquity about the city. It is thirty-nine feet from the south-west angle of the Harâm wall. "It was 51½ feet in width, and extended at least 350 feet in length, from abutment to abutment, across the Tyropœon. The radius of the arch is 20 feet 6 inches; the span was therefore 41 feet.

[373.] Harâm Wall, south front, east corner.
From a view by Tipping.

From the top of the pier where the arch springs to the corresponding level on the opposite side, is but little more than 300 feet, though it is about 360 from the level of the Harâm yard above to the corresponding level on the opposite cliff of Zion. There were probably five or six arches across the Tyropœon. One of the

[374.] Remains of an Ancient Arch near the south-west angle of the Harâm Wall.
From a drawing by Archibald Campbell, Esq.

blocks in the remaining portion of the bridge measures 21 feet, and another 25 by 5¾ in breadth"[1] (Barclay, p. 492, 493; Robinson, i. 287, 606): The *western* abutment of the bridge has, we believe, been discovered very recently.

[1] As this arch crossed the Tyropœon, it gives us the *direction* of that valley up to a certain point (near the middle of the west Harâm wall); and in so doing shows it to be almost impossible that it could have commenced at the present Jaffa gate, as Robinson and others maintain. Beginning about the Damascus

This and the gateway discovered by Barclay, about 700 feet from the south-west angle, are discoveries of great importance in tracing out the ancient topography of Jerusalem (Barclay, p. 489). We ought to mention, however, that Pierotti denies that this arch is the fragment of the Solomonian bridge (which he places farther north). He ascribes it to Justinian (vol. i. p. 70).

The number of mosques in Jerusalem is eleven; and the number of minarets above this, as the great mosque has four minarets. The different churches, convents, and hospitals, with their spires and domes, need not be enumerated or named. Barclay gives the fullest statement as to these (p. 437-454). There are three divisions or "quarters" of the city—(1.) The Jewish, *Haret Yehudi;* (2.) The Christian, *Haret En-Nassaraneh;* (3.) The Mohamedan, *Haret el-Musselmin.* To these some add a fourth, the Armenian quarter, *Haret el-Armen.* Near the Zion gate, Bab-en-Nebi-Daüd, close under the wall, is a small row of leper huts, the tenants of which, though separated in their dwellings from the community, generally during the day take their seat upon some hillock or rubbish-mound at the Jaffa gate, to beg from the passers-by; stretching out their discoloured or corroded limbs, and uttering piteously the unwearied cry of "Buckshish." As to *Baths,* Barclay gives full information[1] (p. 448, 478, 542). For the tanks and canals, see Robinson (vol. iii. 249); and for consulates, prisons, minarets, wells, streets, markets, bazaars, see Barclay, who gives a great deal of local information, such as only a resident can.

The sewerage of Jerusalem is only beginning to be understood; and it would appear that under the Jewish kings great attention had been paid to this. Sewers have been discovered in various parts of the city, large and well built, in some places cut out of the rock, in others constructed of masonry, and well cemented. It is not in all cases easy to say what has been a sewer and what a water conduit (see Whitty's work). We give the latest piece of intelligence in reference to the conduit which was discovered in the year 1840, on the south, not far from the castle, but not explored till recently. The mouth of it, which is in the incumbent's house, had been covered for fear of accident for twenty-one years; but by the courtesy of the Rev. Mr. Barclay it was uncovered for Mr. Lewin's gratification. A party of eight made the descent of the shaft by means of a rope ladder. Lighted by candles they traced the course of the conduit eastwards, and found it about high and wide enough to admit of them passing along in single file, with a roof covered with flat stones, having openings in it at intervals, as if for buckets. The stalactites formed by the drip through the limestone soil were soft, and crumbled at the touch. After proceeding some 200 or 300 feet, their progress was blocked up by a disruption of the soil, when they faced about and groped their way westward for some 160 feet. The sides generally had been cemented; but in one place the cutting was ascertained to be through solid rock. A low and narrow passage brought them to a sharp turn in the conduit, which, at a little distance in advance, was blocked up by a wall built across it.

12. *Particular tombs.*—The tombs round about Jerusalem are numerous, and need not be further specified than has been done at the outset. But there are one or two which deserve a separate notice—(1.) *The tombs of the Kings—Kubr-Moluk,* quite to the north, about half a mile from the modern Damascus gate, near the northern bend of the Kedron, as you descend from Scopus; not far from the line of the third wall (Jewish Wars, v. 4, 2). There is no reason for doubting the identity of Josephus' "royal caves" and the present tombs of the kings; and the arguments by which Robinson and others have tried to identify these latter with the monuments of Helena are very unsatisfactory. Helena's monuments were evidently some structure above ground (*μνημεῖα*); the royal tombs were excavations (*σπήλαια*), just as at this day; and they are mentioned as being at some little distance the one from the other. Besides a *foreign* queen would not think of excavating a sepulchre of *twenty niches* for

[375.] Interior of the Tomb of David (Nebi Daüd), Mount Zion. Barclay's City of the Great King.

herself, whatever a *native* prince might do. To set aside the statement of Josephus, and the unbroken tradition, both native and ecclesiastical, on the mere ground of a slight architectural peculiarity in the construction of the door, supposed to be alluded to in a vague statement of Pausanias, is to admit a principle which would set afloat all authentic history. The tombs are evidently not the royal tombs of the house of David (as De Saulcy maintains); but as several kings were buried in their own gardens, and others in later ages were buried in different places, there is no difficulty in finding kings for the tenants of this splendid burying-place, whose front alone (apart from the inner cells, all hewn out of the solid rock) is a noble and truly royal relic of Jewish sculpture. (See woodcuts Nos. 146, 147, under BURIAL.) (2.) *Kubr Nebi Daüd*—the tomb of the prophet David. To the extreme south of the city, outside the walls, on the height above the Birket-es-Sultân. There seems no sufficient reason for doubting the correctness of the tradition and the name. This is, like

gate, the Tyropœon would run south-east, with nearly a straight course, down past the temple to Siloam; but if beginning at the Jaffa gate, it would require to take a very peculiar bend at an acute angle in order to get under the arch.

[1] The mention of baths reminds us of what may turn out to be a valuable discovery. Two or three years ago, Mrs. Finn, in carrying on her benevolent work at Artass, came upon a place in the garden of Solomon, called Liyet-el-Hummam, the "point of Hummam;" and in digging came upon marble baths of all kinds. It struck her that this might be Emmaus, which is equivalent to Hummam. It is precisely the scriptural distance of Emmaus from Jerusalem. It occurs to ask here, May it not merely be Emmaus, but also "the habitation of *Chimham*" (Greek Χαμαάμ), which we know must have been near this? (2 Sa. xix. 37, 38; Je. xli. 17).

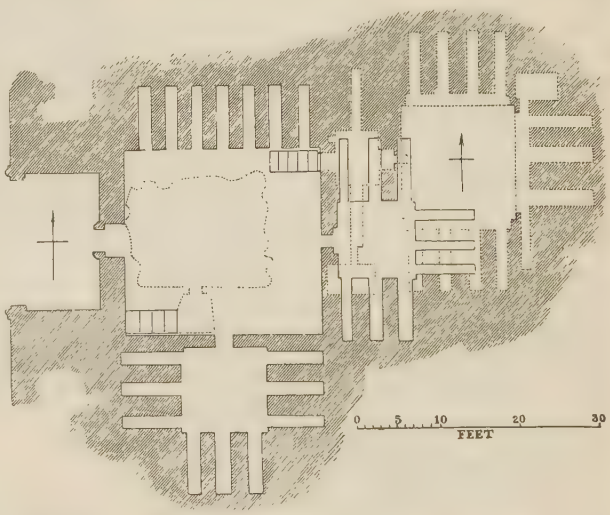
the cave of Machpelah, a very inaccessible shrine on account of its supposed sanctity in Moslem eyes. Benjamin of Tudela refers to it (vol. i. p. 72, 73, Asher's ed.) Barclay describes it (p. 208-214); and his daughter, in her little work *Hadji in Syria*, relates her visit (p. 180. See Stanley's Appendix to his Sermons in the East, p. 148-150) Pierotti describes it more fully, and also narrates his descent into the cave beneath (vol. i. p. 210, 215).

(3.) *Kubr-el-Kodha*—the tombs of the Judges, west of the tombs of the kings, and north-west of the city.

[376.] Tombs of the Judges.—From a photograph by Salzmann.

These are probably the sepulchres of the Nasi-Beth-Dîn, the heads of the Sanhedrim; a noble specimen of sepulchral excavation (nearly as ornate as the tombs of the kings), containing no less than sixty niches or shelves for the dead. The carving on the outside and the hewing in the inside are carefully executed and in admirable preservation (De Saulcy, ii. 243; William's Holy City, ii. 151; Salzmann has given us a splendid photograph of the entrance, in his Jerusalem, Paris, 1856). The tombs of the prophets on the Mount of Olives and others in the neighbourhood we have already named. They are all fine specimens of that rock-architecture which the East, both for tombs and temples, seems always to have delighted in. Unhewn rock-tombs no doubt we have, such as Machpelah; but it was the object of ambition with kings and rich men to hew out costly sepulchres for themselves and their children.[1] If they found a natural cave, they carved and adorned it; if they did not, they made one, grudging no cost. It is with this ambition that the proud "treasurer" or "favourite" is reproached, Is. xxii. 16:—

> What hast thou here? (in Jerusalem)
> Or whom hast thou here?
> That thou hast here hewn thee out a tomb,
> As one hewing on high his sepulchre,
> Carving in the rock a dwelling for himself?



[377.] Ground Plan of the Tombs of the Judges.

13. *Convents, hospices, and schools.*—The convents and hospices of Jerusalem have always been celebrated; They were in former times the only hotels for the traveller; and they are still so to some extent, though for several years past Jerusalem has been provided with excellent accommodation for travellers. There is the Prussian hospice, the Austrian hospice not far from the Damascus gate, the Jewish hospice near the end of the Bethlehem road, erected a few years ago by Sir Moses Montefiore; and the ground to the west of the city has (1864) been largely bought up by Russia for similar erections,[2] each nation and each church striving to make as large an investment as possible in Israel's land. The Greeks and Latins have excellent

[1] "Corpora condere quam cremare, e more Ægyptio."—Tacitus, *Hist.* v. 5.

[2] Whitty maps out this Russian establishment in his recent plan of Jerusalem. It is on the Jaffa road, not far from the Kalat Jalûd, and right west of the Damascus gate. A Russian journal, some short time ago, gave the following statement regarding it:—"An inclosure of 16,000 square yards has been made, with houses and four tanks completed. The Cathedral of the Holy Trinity is ready to receive its cupolas, and a large house for the mission nearly completed, a large hospital progressing, and the foundations of an extensive asylum for male pilgrims excavated. In carrying out some works belonging to

schools, which educate some three or four hundred children in each. Of the present thirst for education among all sects and classes in the East, these churches are availing themselves; gathering round them the youth of Jerusalem, and seizing the education of Egypt and Syria. The governments of Russia, France, and Austria seem fully alive to the importance of the position, contributing energetic and substantial support both of money and influence to such institutions. There are also Protestant schools on a smaller scale. (For missionary operations, see "Jewish Intelligence;" and Barclay, 580, 594.)

14. *Population.*—The population of Jerusalem, three centuries before Christ, was reckoned 120,000. In the days of Agrippa it is given as 600,000. But taking Josephus' circumference of thirty-three stadia, and the very densest rate of population in London, eleven square yards to each individual, there could not have been much above 200,000 inhabitants in ordinary times. Josephus states that at passover times more than 2,000,000 have been crowded into it. These are exaggerations; but it must be considered that, living as they do, so much *sub dio*, orientals pack their houses more densely than westerns do; and when one sees the crowds of pilgrims filling Jerusalem in the months of March or April, there will be less incredulity as to some of these numbers than has sometimes been indicated.[1] The present population has been variously estimated—from 10,000 to 26,000. Eastern statistics are uncertain and conflicting; but after examining details, one is disposed to reckon the population as certainly not under 18,000. Dr. Barclay is very minute in regard to the Christian sects, and his details show that Robinson greatly under-estimated them when he gave their number as 3500. Barclay shows them to be in all 4518 (p. 588). His details are worth abridging. "*Greeks:*—1 patriarch, 1 archimandrite, 6 bishops, 150 priests, 90 nuns, 100 boys training for the priesthood, 1 theological, 3 common schools, 12 convents with 12 churches attached, 1 dispensary; total membership, 225. *Latins:*—1 patriarch, 100 priests, 10 nuns, 2 churches, 2 convents, 2 hospitals, 1 almshouse, 1 house of hospitality, 1 printing establishment, 1 theological seminary, 2 common schools, superiors, vicars, procurators, &c.; total members, 1350. *Armenians:*—1 patriarch, 2 bishops, 32 priests, 10 deacons, 51 subdeacons, 25 nuns, 1 printing establishment, 2 schools, 3 convents with churches; total, 464. *Copts:*—3 priests, 1 convent with church; total, 100. *Greek Catholics:*—1 bishop, 2 priests, 1 nun, 1 convent and church; total, 20. *Syrian Jacobites:*—1 bishop, 2 priests, 1 nun, 1 convent and church; total, 4. *Protestants:*—1 bishop, 2 priests, 5 missionaries; total membership, 250."

The latest estimate of the population is that of Dr. Pierotti, who gives the entire sum as 20,330; subdivided as follows:—Christian sects, 5068; Moslems (Arabs and Turks), 7556; Jews, 7706. The extent of the present city within the walls is 1,032,148 square yards, or 213¼ acres, giving 50¾ square yards to each person. The number of square yards within the walls of the city in the days of Josephus was 2,319,850.

Jerusalem is one of the four cities in Palestine where Jews dwell; the other three being Hebron, Tiberias, and Safed. In the day of Israel's splendour there were said to be 460 synagogues in the Holy City;[2] now there are but six or seven, belonging to the three sects, the *Sephardim* or Spanish Jews, the *Ashkenazim* or European Jews, and the *Caraites*, a very small body, whose peculiarity is their anti-Talmudism, or adherence to the Scriptures, without tradition or gloss. The synagogues are poor, but some of them tolerably large.

Consulates from numerous nations, far and near, have been established in Jerusalem of late years. Up till 1843 there were only vice-consuls. All the great Gentile nations are now represented in the Holy City. The Jew alone has no national defender of his rights. He crouches for protection beneath some Gentile wing. On some gala-day may be seen the flags of the nations, Britain, France, Austria, Russia, Prussia, Italy (formerly Sardinia), floating here and there, amid the crescents that surmount mosque and minaret. But the Jew has no banner here. Not suffered to enter mosque or church (save the Protestant), nor even to cross the outer threshold of his own temple, he wanders about, poor and idle, with timid step, hollow cheek, and the one dark ringlet falling down from under his white tarboosh, with none save a few Protestants to show him favour. The Jew alone is a stranger in Jerusalem.

Strangers in their own metropolis; gates and towers in the keeping of the Gentile; not an inch of soil belonging to a Jew save that which Sir Moses Montefiore has purchased on the Bethlehem road; they yet have one peculiar right to Jerusalem, the origin of which we know not. At the death of each sultan they claim the keys of the city. As this fact is not generally known, and is not a little curious, we give the account of the matter from a private letter to ourselves, dated Jerusalem, July 5, 1861. "On the 3d of July we heard of the death of the sultan, and the accession of his brother Abd-el-Aziz, who is a great fanatic and very much dreaded and disliked by all Jews. So soon as the Jews of Jerusalem heard of the sultan's death they went to the pasha and demanded the keys of the city; saying that they had a firman which gave them a right to claim and keep the keys for a few hours at the death of every sultan. When they get

the Russian consulate within the city, ground near the Holy Sepulchre was excavated to a depth of 35 feet, when the remains of pillars and porticoes which formed part of the principal entrance to the Holy Sepulchre in Constantine's time were come upon. The pasha's engineer, Signor Pierotti, has done much to enlighten us upon the subterranean topography of Jerusalem. He has discovered that, built upon successive layers, so to say, of ruins, the modern city rests upon 'deeply bevelled and enormous stones,' which he attributes to the age of Solomon; that above it, to the age of Zorobabel; that following, to Herod's time. Superimposed upon this the remnants of the city of Justinian come, to be hidden in turn by those from that of the Saracens and crusaders. He traced a series of conduits or sewers leading from the 'dome of the rock,' a mosque on the site of the altar of sacrifice, in the temple, to the Valley of Jehoshaphat, by means of which the priests were able to flush the whole temple area with water, and so carry off the blood and offal of the sacrifices to the brook Kedron."

[1] Dr. Barclay estimates these at 8000, which is too low; Fuad Pasha at 60,000, which is too high. "The pilgrims in 1852, Mr. Finn writes to us, when I made exact inquiries from the convents, amounted to 15,000 and upwards; but this was an unusually full year, as was also 1857."

[2] The rabbis say that in every town of Israel there was a *school* and a *synagogue;* and in Jerusalem above 400 of these, some say 460. Probably all the edifices which the translator of the Targum calls synagogæ, ædes, concionatoriæ, scholæ, are included. It is interesting to find this point referred to by Bishop Jewel, in his controversy with Harding, *Parker's Soc. Ed.* vol. ii. p. 679.

them they take a bottle of new oil and go through a ceremony of anointing the new sultan as their king, after which they pour the oil back into the bottle, set it away with the law, and leave it till the judgment-day. Strict and fanatical as Surraya Pasha is, he gave them the keys, which they carried to the chief rabbi and kept for some time." The origin of the claim is unknown, and the meaning of the oil-ceremony is unexplained, and its details are kept a profound secret. But the facts are too curious to be left unnoticed in a sketch of Jerusalem.

15. *View from the city.*—The view from Jerusalem is not extensive on any side. The farthest is that toward the east, where in spite of Olivet and its fellow heights, the great wall of the Moab mountains is visible; and the many-coloured glare on its wild peaks at sunset is beyond measure and beyond description grand. To the *south*, Bethlehem is hidden by the rising ground at Mar-Elias, about three miles from Jerusalem; the undulating *western* heights narrow it in that direction; Scopus and the hills of Benjamin greatly confine it on the *north*, which one notices the more, because from the more northern parts of that range Mount Hermon is distinctly visible, and but for these hills would be seen from Jerusalem itself; so far the eye can easily reach in that dry clear air.[1]

16. *Climate.*[2]—The winds in Jerusalem, as in Palestine generally, are very variable; the rainy wind being still the west wind, Lu. xii. 54; and the withering blast, the sirocco or south wind, Lu. xii. 55. We remember a severe blast once when climbing some of the heights around the city, reminding us of more northern breezes; and Josephus records a strong and vehement storm of wind which in the days of Hyrcanus destroyed the fruits of the whole country (Ant. xiv. 2, 2). Dews and fogs are not unfrequent; and the air is often quite black with low clouds. The rainy season is between November and March, the early rain beginning in the first of these months, the latter rain in the second. It is at intervals, during this season, specially in February or March, that the copious showers descend, and the Kedron assumes for a few weeks the appearance of a river; the soil is saturated, and the springs fill *Bîr-Eyub*. All Jerusalem then comes out for a holiday to the banks of the torrent and the slopes of Olivet. The winter months of Jerusalem are humid enough, and verdure shows itself on Olivet or the fields of Kedron; but for seven or eight months all is aridity. Yet, according to Beardmore's hydraulic tables, the average rainfall of England is only one-half, and in some parts one-third, that of Jerusalem; the former being about 24 inches, the latter 65. It is not under the want of rain that Palestine groans (though it has its dry seasons), but under the want of proper means for its preservation and distribution, as in the Sinaitic desert. Snow falls with some severity in the neighbourhood of the city, though it does not lie, and the Mount of Olives is sometimes covered with it. Josephus mentions a snow-storm which blocked up the roads throughout the country in the days of Simon the Maccabee (Ant. xiii. 6, 5; see 1 Mac. xiii. 22), but in what month of the year is not said. Summer-snow and harvest-rain, Pr. xxvi. 1, were reckoned incongruities if not impossibilities. But cold as the weather may be, there is no fire-place in Jerusalem; stoves are confined to a few "Franks;" and the natives, when cold, sit round a clay crucible or furnace, not much above a foot in diameter, where some embers of charcoal which had been used in cooking are dying out. The average temperature of the different months, as founded on the observations of five years, was (omitting fractions)—

Jan. . 49°	April 61°	July 79°	Oct. 74°
Feb. . 54°	May 73°	Aug. 79°	Nov. 63°
March 55°	June 75°	Sept. 77°	Dec. 54°

The lowest temperature registered by Barclay was 28° in Jan.; the highest 92° in the shade, and 143° in the sun in August.

17. *Plants and flowers.*—There are very few plants or flowers peculiar to Jerusalem and its neighbourhood, as contrasted with the rest of Palestine. There are plants of the bulbous kind, all round it, especially in the valley of Kedron; also such flowers as the "common cyclamen" (*Cyclamen europœum*), with its drooping wheel-shaped corolla; the "star of Bethlehem" (*Ornithogalum umbellatum*); the common anemone, which with its crimson petals sprinkles so beautifully the neighbourhood of Gethsemane; the wild mignonette, and a few others; but these are to be found in most parts of the land. Those which are more peculiar (though not exclusively so) to Jerusalem are the adianthum, with delicate stem and serrated leaf; the *Oporanthus luteus*, with yellow long flowers; the *Hypecoum erectum*, which is found in mosque grounds. (See Osburn's Plants of the Holy Land; also his Palestine, Past and Present; Bochart's Hierozoicon; Clusius, Hieroboticon; Scheuchzer's Physica Sacra; and Callcot's Scripture Herbal.) Of trees around the city, olives are the most common; but terebinths, sycamores, &c., are scattered here and there. The prickly pear is abundant; and part of Mount Zion is occupied with "gardens of herbs," in which our common lentiles and vegetables flourish, particularly the cauliflower, which grows to an enormous size both in the king's gardens, and in the cultivated patches of ground immediately under the south and western walls, beneath the shadow of the ruined arch which once spanned the Tyropœon. Thorny shrubs and plants grow in considerable numbers all around; one or two we recognized as natives of the Sinaitic desert, growing there very luxuriantly. Here also is found the mandrake, Ca. vii. 31, or *Mandragora atropa*, called by the Arabs tufach-esh-Sheitân, Satan's apple (Osburn; Rosenmüller on Genesis; Hasselquist, Itiner. Terr. Sanctæ; Dr.

[1] We may notice here two dissertations of the last century, little known, but of much value in eastern topography. The first is by D. C. B. Michaelis, and is entitled, *Dissertatio Chorogr. Phil. de Locorum Differentia Ratione Anticæ, Posticæ, Dextræ, Sinistræ.* It is to show that, in Hebrew orientation, the person is always supposed to be looking *eastward* (not northward, as with us); so that before = east; behind = west; left = north; right = south (see vol. v. of Pott's *Sylloge Commentationum Theologicarum*, p. 80-141). The second is by A. G. Baumgarten, and is entitled, *Diss. Chorogr. Notiones Superi et Inferi, Evolvens*, &c. The object is to show the exact significations of up and down, above and beneath, in sacred geography (see *Commentationes Theol.* editæ a J. C. Velthusen, &c. vol. v. p. 397-474).

[2] As to the weather in Jerusalem (and Palestine generally), see Carpenter's *Calendarium Palestinæ*, a sort of almanac, which is chiefly compiled from Buhle's *Calendarium Palestinæ Œconomicum;* also the *Kalendarium Judaicum* in Lamy's *Apparatus Biblicus*, i. ch. 5. In several rabbinical works these calendars are to be found. The oldest is said to be *Megilloth Taanath*, the "Volume of Affliction," in which (as in the records of no other nation) the anniversaries of Jewish defeats and humiliations and sorrows are recorded. Of late years the barometer, thermometer, and rain-gauge have been in requisition by many of the European residents; and the results of observations have been published from time to time. But there is no complete work upon this subject, giving the results of recent meteorological observations during the last twenty or thirty years.

Stewart's Tent and Khan, p. 355). The roses are few; and "Syria's land of roses" is no longer what it was in this respect. Other flowers have, if not died out, at least become scanty; still there are enough to feed "the wild bees of Palestine;" though one wonders sometimes how, with such poor gardens and such very scanty verdure everywhere, bees either wild or tame can subsist here at all. Yet they do.

Of wild beasts, the jackal and hyena prowl round the Mount of Olives; and of birds, while the sparrow flutters about from wall to wall, and the turtle-dove utters its moan in the olives of Gethsemane, the gier-eagle hovers over the hill, attracted perhaps by the offal flung from time to time into the Kedron gulley.

More than once have earthquakes shaken the city; in the days of Uzziah, Am. i. 1; in the days of our Lord; more than once in subsequent ages; and within our own times there was the memorable earthquake of 1838, so fully described in the journals of the missionary Nicolayson. Yet it is not the earthquake that has laid the city waste, but the hand of the spoiler.

18. *Evidences of interest felt in Jerusalem during past ages.*—Jerusalem has been a city of wide interest to the world. Its name, and the name of the nation whose metropolis it was, have gone over many lands, and have been wondered at, not merely in Babylon and Nineveh, but in Athens and Rome, by not a few to whom Judaism was a superstition, Christianity a fable. Not the hopes and faiths of the world alone have gravitated towards it, but its enmities and its mockeries as well. Homer does not name it, though he speaks of Sidon and its war-contingent at the siege of Troy. Herodotus (B.C. 480) refers to Palestine, but does not specify Jerusalem; the name *Kadytis* (b. ii. 159; b. iii. 5), which some identify with Jerusalem, being more probably identical with Kadesh-Naphtali (Mus. of Cl. Lit. vol. ii. p. 93, 97).[1] Lysimachus (B.C. 400) names it; and Manethon (B.C. 280). Cicero (B.C. 70) speaks of it and of its capture by Pompey (Pro Flacco); and of the Jews as a nation "nata servituti." Strabo gives it a place in his geography, and Diodorus in his history. Tacitus praises and sneers. Other heathen writers both before and after Christ refer to it, but very briefly. Still Jerusalem was a name which had gone through heathendom.

Very early after apostolic times it resumed the magnetic power which persecution had interrupted; and in the third century Christian men from other lands visited the holy city. Helena, mother of Constantine, comes next (A.D. 326); and then "the Christian traveller from Bourdeaux," as Hakluyt calls him. Eusebius mentions generally the fact of such pilgrimages being made both in and before his time (Demonstr. Evang. vi. 16; vii. 4). But Jerome is more minute, and mentions not only Christians from *Gaul*, but from *Britain*, as flocking to Jerusalem (Marcellæ Epitaphium). After this we have the Placentine Itinerary (which Dempster, in his *Notes to Accoltius de Bello pro Christi Sepulchro*, claims as the work of a Scotchman), about 550; the French Arculf in 697; Willibald from Eichstadt in 765; Bernhard the Wise in 870; Swanus, son of Earl Godwin, in 1052; Alured, Bishop of Worcester, in 1058; Ingulphus, abbot of Croiland, in 1064; with very many others in the middle ages, who have left no itineraries to posterity.

[In 1418 De Caumont travelled in Palestine, and has left a work, which was reprinted a few years ago in Paris, *Voyage d'outremer en Jherusalem*. In 1484 Felix Fabri went on an eastern pilgrimage, and has left behind him a work, which, with all its traditionalism, is one of the best, completest, and most learned works ever published on Palestine; it has recently been printed in three 8vo vols. at Stuttgard, and edited by Hassler. In 1496 Von Harff travelled through the East, and has given us his narrative, lately published at Cöln, and edited by Von Groote, *Die Pilgerfahrt des Ritters Arnold von Harff*. The literature of pilgrimages and travels after this time becomes so extensive that we can only mention one or two of the chief works, which will be found useful in studying the topography of Jerusalem:—Jalal-Addîn's *History of the Temple of Jerusalem; Itinerarium Terræ Sanctæ per Bartholomœum a Saligniaco, 1525; The Chronicles of Joseph the Sphardi, 1530;* Reisner's *Jerusalem* (Frankfort), 1563—a folio of 700 pages—one of the most minute and curious books on Jerusalem ever published; Radzivil's *Peregrinatio*, a Latin folio of 300 pages (Antwerp, 1613); Adrichomius' *Theatrum Terræ Sanctæ, 1589;* Villamont, *Voyages, 1607;* Besold's *Historia urbis et regni Hierosolymitani, 1636; El devoto Peregrino*, por el M. R. Padre F. Antonio del Castillo, 1654, full of plates and maps; Witsius' *Historia Hierosolymæ*. We need not repeat the titles of those quoted in the course of this article; nor do more than refer to the names of Kortens, Plessing, Williams, Schaffter, Tobler, Schwarz, Zimpel, Zunz, Stanley, Thrupp, Van de Velde, Robinson, Thomson, Stewart, Buchanan, Fergusson, Lewin, Whitty, and Pierotti.] [H. B.]

JESHA'NAH [ישׁנה, *old*]. A city of Benjamin, and therefore claimed as part of the kingdom of Judah. It was evidently a place of some importance; both from the mention of its dependent towns or villages, and from the fact that its capture by Abijah is recorded as one of the fruits of his remarkable victory over Jeroboam, which enabled him to recover his proper frontier, 2 Ch. xiii. 19. Its juxtaposition with Bethel and Ephraim (or Ophrah) leaves no doubt as to its identity with the *'Ain Sînia* of modern Palestine, described by Dr. Robinson as a well-watered village, surrounded by vineyards, fruit-trees, and gardens (Bib. Res. iii. 80). Its position, about three miles north of Beitîn, near the main route between Jerusalem and Shechem, explains its importance to Abijah, inasmuch as it commanded the principal approach to his capital. The name has undergone little alteration, beyond the usual omission of the initial *yod* (as Jericho, now Rîha), and the still more common change of final *ah* to *a* (as Hoglah, now Hajla). [E. W.]

JESHI'MON [הַיְשִׁימוֹן, *the desert or waste*]. This word, derived from a root signifying "to be desolate," is a much stronger one than מִדְבָּר (*midbâr*, "wilderness"), and always comes after it in a poetical parallelism, De. xxxii. 10; Ps. lxxviii. 40; cvi. 14; cvii. 4; Is. xliii. 19, 20). It, in fact, answers completely to our idea of a *desert;* whereas *midbâr* is more analogous to our *common*. With the article prefixed, it is distinctively applied to the desolate region which skirts the north and north-west shores of the Dead Sea, between the mouth of the Jordan (near to which Beth-jeshimoth appears to have been situated) and the neighbourhood of 'Ain Jidy (Engedi). This is described by Dr. Robinson as "a horrible desert," consisting partly of "cliffs of chalky friable limestone, without a trace of herbage," and partly of "a dead level, covered with a thin smooth nitrous crust, through which the feet of men and horses broke and sank, as in ashes, up to the ankles. All traces of

[1] Dr. Giles gives as his reason for identifying it with Jerusalem, the similarity of the modern name El-Kuds (*Heathen Records*, p. 9), a singular *anachronism* in nomenclature; Meier makes it Gaza (*Judaica*, p. 1), and in this he is followed by Rawlinson in his *Herodotus* (vol. ii. p 246, 399). We incline to Kadesh (Naphtali), from a consideration both of the narrative of Herodotus and of the sacred writer (2 Ch. xxxv. 20).

vegetation ceased, except occasionally a lone sprig of the *hubeibeh* or alkaline plant. The tract continued of this character, with a few gentle swells, until we reached the banks of the Jordan" (Bib. Res. ii. 244, 254). That these were the limits of the Jeshimon, strictly so called, would appear, (1.) From Nu. xxi. 20; xxiii. 28, which represent it as opposite Pisgah and Peor, both of which must have been at or near the northern end of the Dead Sea. (2.) From 1 Sa. xxiii. 19, which speaks of "the hill of Hachilah," in the wilderness of Ziph or Maon, as "*south* of Jeshimon;" thus explaining the more general term "before" or "opposite Jeshimon," used in 1 Sa. xxvi. 1, 3. (3.) From 1 Sa. xxiii. 24, where reference is made to "the plain (*hâ-'arâbâh*) on the *south* of Jeshimon;" which shows that the name ceases to apply to the mountains when they begin to recede from the shore, and leave a space of level ground far down at their foot. (4.) From the statement of Eusebius, who places Jeshimon ten miles south of Jericho near the Dead Sea. This again limits it to about the latitude of Engedi. The remainder of this wild district, from Engedi southwards, being more or less adapted to pastoral purposes, was known as "the wilderness (*midbâr*) of Judah, Jos. xv. 61, 62, with its local subdivisions, taken from the neighbouring towns of Maon, Engedi, Ziph, Tekoa, Bethlehem, &c.

Any notice of Jeshimon would be incomplete without special allusion to a spot which, as we have seen, materially assists in fixing its locality. The topographical references to the "Hill of Hachilah" exemplify so remarkably that combination of fulness and precision which distinguishes the sacred writers above all others, that they demand more than a passing tribute. The six points incidentally brought out in the course of the narrative conclusively demonstrate the accuracy of Calmet's happy conjecture, that it represents the rocky fastness (now called Sebbeh) which was the scene of the last act in the bloody drama of the Jewish war of independence. (1.) The word "strongholds" (*metsâdôth*), 1 Sa. xxiii. 19, is simply the plural form of the very name (Masada) by which it is designated in the pages of Josephus. (2.) The term rendered "wood" (*chôresh*) in the same verse, is not the one generally used to express what we understand by a wood or forest (*yaar*), but imports "a dense and intricate *thicket*," the identical word which every traveller along the shores of the Dead Sea instinctively employs to describe the luxuriant vegetation of the deltas formed by the impetuous winter-torrents, and which has given its name to a ravine closely adjoining Masada (Wady Seiyâl, "Valley of Acacias"). It is only used once more in the historical books, viz. 1 Ch. xxvii. 4, where (being plural) it is erroneously translated "forests." The present passage enables us to locate Jotham's "castles and towers" in the principal oases of the Judæan Ghôr, and thus an unexpected light is thrown on the numerous traces of pre-Roman fortifications which are still found at 'Ain Feshkhah, 'Ain Jidy, Wady Mubughîk, &c. (3.) The original for "hill" (*gibâ'h*) denotes just such an isolated eminence as Masada; not with a pointed nor yet a rounded summit—for each of which the Hebrew has its appropriate term—but a truncated cone or pyramid, with a level summit of sufficient area to afford a site for a town or fortress. (4.) The appellative "Hachilah" signifies a "dark red colour," as of wine or blood (compare Ge. xlix. 12, "darker than wine," with La. iv. 7; and see Pr. xxiii. 29). Wolcott, the first explorer of Sebbeh, was struck with its "*rich reddish-brown colour*" (Bib. Cab. xliii. 308); and Lieut. Lynch says, "There was that *peculiar purple hue* of its weather-worn rock, *a tint so like that of coagulated blood*, that it forced the mind back upon its early history, and summoned images of the fearful immolation of Eleazar and the 967 Sicarii, the blood of whose self-slaughter seemed to have tinged the indestructible cliff for ever" (Exp. to the Dead Sea, p. 302). (5.) We have already referred to "the *plain* on the south of Jeshimon," 1 Sa. xxiii. 24. The Hebrew (*'arâbâh*), when preceded, as here, by the article, is exclusively applied to the depressed valley of the Jordan and its lakes; there is the strictest propriety, therefore, in employing it here to describe the strip of land at the base of the mountains, which, beginning at Engedi, expands at Sebbeh into a plain "of more than two miles in width" (Lynch). (6.) David, who had here taken refuge, at Saul's approach "went down the cliff" (*selah*) into the wilderness of Maon; by which is most vividly depicted the perilous feat involved in threading the two paths which alone (Josephus tells us) led up and down its precipitous sides (B. J. vii. 8, 3). Lynch observes, "It is a *perpendicular cliff*, 1200 to 1500 feet high, with a deep ravine breaking down on each side, so as to leave it isolated." In such a spot, David was secure against a sudden attack: but when once surrounded by such a force as Saul had at his command, escape would have been impossible. [E. W.]

JESH'UA. A Hebrew contraction for JEHOSHUA. It occurs only in the later books of Scripture; in the earlier Joshua is used. Of the son of Nun it occurs once, Ne. viii. 17; and not unfrequently of others, 1 Ch. xxiv. 11; 2 Ch. xxxi. 15; Ezr. ii. 40; iii. 9, &c The only person of note, in later times, bearing the name, was the son of Jozadak. (*See under* JOSHUA.)

JESH'UA. We find a city of this name mentioned in the enumeration of places occupied by the children of Judah, on their return from Babylon, Ne. xi. 26. The list is not drawn up topographically (*see* KABZEEL), so that no clue is thereby afforded to its actual position. All that we can infer from it is, that it was situated in the territory of Judah, not Benjamin. Its absence from the catalogue of Judæan cities in Jos. xv. would lead to the supposition that it was not an aboriginal settlement, but was founded by the Israelites themselves; and the meaning of the word (either "deliverance" or "Joshua," of which it is a later form, Ne. viii. 17) implies a design to commemorate some extraordinary interposition of the Divine Being on their behalf. The most remarkable event of this nature (which has the additional merit of satisfying both significations of Jeshua) was the battle of the five kings at Gibeon, when, in answer to the prayer of Joshua, the daylight was supernaturally prolonged, "and it came to pass as they fled before Israel, that the Lord cast down great stones from heaven upon them unto Azekah," Jos. x. 11. Now it is interesting to note that, midway between the lower Beth-horon (Beit-'ûr et-tahta) and Shochoh (Shuweikeh), which was certainly near Azekah—and thus in the very line of retreat, nay, perhaps on the very spot where Joshua's memorable words were uttered—stands at this moment a large village called Yeshû'a, "with well-tilled fields and many fruit-trees around it" (Robinson's Later Bib. Res. p. 155). The name has undergone no change, and may well be supposed to signalize a day which is thus emphatically characterized by the inspired writer—"And there was no day like

that, before it or after it, that the Lord hearkened unto the voice of a man; for the Lord fought for Israel," Jos. x. 14. [E. W.]

JESHU'RUN [dimin. of *yâshâr, upright*], applied poetically on some occasions to Israel, De. xxxii. 15; xxxiii. 5, 26; Is. xliv. 2. Some have thought it a dimin. of Israel, and Gesenius took that view at one time, but latterly abandoned it for the other, and undoubtedly correct one —according to which it is as much as *rectulus, justulus*, the dear, good people. The ancient translators took this view of it, and render, Sept. *ἠγαπημένος*, Vulg. *rectissimus, dilectus*. By such a designation the Lord reminded Israel at once of what should form their peculiar character, and of what, if possessed, would make them peculiarly dear to himself.

JESSE [Heb. *Yishai*, יִשַׁי, *manly*], the son of Obed, of the tribe of Judah, and the father of David—consequently, the immediate progenitor of the kings of Judah. It is singular that while so distinguished in his posterity, his name never appears again. The line to which Jesse belonged was descended from Pharez, through Hezron his eldest son; and being himself the grandson of Boaz, who was one of the wealthiest persons in the south of Judah, the family might be regarded as occupying a respectable place amid a rural population. Bethlehem was the home of Jesse, as formerly of Boaz; and he is hence called "Jesse the Bethlemite," 1 Sa. xvi. 1; once, the Ephrathite of Bethlehem-Judah, 1 Sa. xvii. 12. Nothing is heard of him till the memorable period when Samuel was instructed to go and anoint one of his sons to be king over Israel in the room of Saul; and he is then spoken of as an old man, having no fewer than eight sons, most of them in full manhood. The name of his wife is never mentioned; but that she lived to a considerable age appears from the notice in 1 Sa. xxii. 3, which mentions the provision made by David for the safety of his father and mother, by placing them under the protection of the king of Moab. We never hear of them again; and the tradition among the Jews was, that the king of Moab betrayed his trust, and put them and some of the other members of the family to death. Of this, however, there is no intimation in Scripture. The grand honour and distinction of the family was that it gave birth to David, who rose to be the most gifted member and the noblest representative of the old covenant.

JESUS, in the New Testament the corresponding term to Joshua in the Old; but with only two exceptions it is there used only of our Lord. The chief exception is in Heb. iv. 8, where the English Bible retains Jesus for the usual Joshua; but in Col. iv. 11, mention is also made of a Jesus called Justus. In the Apocrypha Jesus is often employed. (*See* CHRIST JESUS.)

JETHER [*abundance, excellence*]. It appears to be much the same as Jethro; and in one of the first passages in which the father-in-law of Moses is named, Jether is the word employed in the Hebrew, and this is given in the margin of the English Bible. But as his common name was Jethro, notice will be taken of him under that form of the name.

1. JETHER. The first-born of Gideon's sons, who is only noticed in connection with Zebah and Zalmunna, whom his father commanded him to put to death; but in the modesty of comparative youth he shrunk from the task, Ju. viii. 20. He perished with nearly all the rest of his father's family by the cruel hand of Abimelech. 2. JETHER, the father of Amasa, as given in 1 Ch. ii. 17; but the more common form of the name was ITHRA (which see). 3. JETHER, a son of Ezra, 1 Ch. iv. 17; occurring, however, somewhat strangely in the midst of a genealogical table belonging to Judah. 4. JETHER, a son of Jada, of the family of Hezron, who died childless, 1 Ch. ii. 32. 5. JETHER, a chief in the line of Asher, 1 Ch. vii. 38.

JETHRO, the same as JETHER; the name of the father-in-law of Moses, Ex. iv. 18; xviii. 1, who is also called HOBAB, Nu. x. 31; Ju. iv. 11. In the first notice of the family, Reuel or Raguel (for these are properly but one name), is said to have been the head of it, whose daughter Moses married, Ex. ii. 18. But by *father* there appears to be meant *grandfather*, as in Nu. x. 29, Hobab is expressly called his son. (*See* RAGUEL.) With this also accord Jewish and Mohamedan traditions.

JEW, contraction for JEHUDI, or *those of Judah;* the Greek is *Ἰουδαῖος*. It occurs first in 2 Ki. xvi. 6, where the king of Syria is spoken of as driving the *Jehudim*, Jews, from Elath. In Jeremiah we frequently meet with it; and, from the time of the Babylonish captivity, as the members of the tribe of Judah formed by far the larger portion of the remnant of the covenant-people, Jew became the common appellation of the whole body, and as such is found both in the New Testament and among classical writers. In the gospel of John the term occurs much more frequently than in the other gospels; while in these scribes and pharisees form the usual designation of our Lord's opponents, in his gospel it is Jews; for by the time he wrote, the Jews as a people had taken up an attitude of determined antagonism to the cause of Jesus; and in the earlier opposition of the scribes and pharisees the apostle saw the spirit of the people generally reflected.

JEWRY, the land of Judea, strictly so called; that is, the territory lying around Jerusalem, or the southern portions of Palestine. It is only twice so used, Lu. xxiii. 5; Jn. vii. 1, and in each case with a marked distinction between that part of the country and the regions, such as Galilee, which stood less closely connected with the capital. (*See* JUDEA.)

JEZE'BEL [probably, *free from carnal intercourse, chaste*], in the Greek *Iezabel*—the daughter of Ethbaal king of the Zidonians, and wife of Ahab king of Israel. Her father had proved himself to be a person of much mental vigour and capacity for rule—having, after a period of anarchy and disorder, succeeded in making himself master of Tyre, which again attained under him to a settled and prosperous condition; and his daughter inherited not a little of his energetic spirit and resolute character. Unfortunately it was all turned in a wrong direction. Not only was Jezebel a heathen, and as such given to the worship of idols, but she was a devoted worshipper of Baal and Astarte or Ashtoreth, the Syrian deities whose service was in a peculiar manner offensive to the mind of Jehovah; and she came to Israel apparently with the determination of supplanting his worship by theirs. Ahab's alliance with her consequently proved a most disastrous step, both for his own and his people's welfare. That he entered into the alliance with his eyes open to the religious change it was likely to draw after it, seems plain from the statement made concerning it. "It came to pass, as if it had been a light thing for

him to walk in the sins of Jeroboam the son of Nebat, that he took to wife Jezebel, the daughter of Ethbaal king of the Zidonians, and went and served Baal, and worshipped him," 1 Ki. xvi. 31. Presently the worship of Ashtoreth followed; and the king of Israel and his house went formally over to the service of false gods. Then came the fearful struggle between truth and error—the faithful remnant of Jehovah's worshippers and the zealots of the new faith—in which Elijah acted the leading part on the one side, and Jezebel on the other. Viewed in a worldly respect the contest was altogether unequal: for with her there were all the external resources of the kingdom, and these wielded by an imperious temper and a mind that could bring to its aid whatever deceit, malice, or revenge might be required to accomplish its ends; while her adversary was a poor unfriended man, strong only in the name and faith of Jehovah. No wonder that she thought she could easily stand her ground against such an opponent. But the result proved otherwise. At Elijah's word the land was smitten with a grievous dearth, while he was himself wrapt in secresy, and could nowhere be found. Then, at Mount Carmel, after the decisive trial by fire, all Baal's followers were slain at the word of this same prophet, and in the very presence of Ahab, the husband and tool of Jezebel. So far from being, like him, humbled and awed by such a catastrophe, Jezebel was only roused to fresh indignation and fury, and vowed by her gods to have Elijah's life taken before another day had elapsed, 1 Ki. xix. 2; but again, by his flight to Horeb, he eluded her grasp. She next reappears as the instigator of Ahab in regard to the seizure of Naboth's vineyard in Samaria; and was herself the plotter of the stratagem by which Naboth's life was sacrificed, and his possession forfeited to the crown. The dreadful rebuke and threatening of future vengeance which Elijah announced to Ahab when meeting him on the fatal spot, 1 Ki. xxi. 20-22, and in which Jezebel also was included, probably had some effect in softening her mind for a time, as it certainly had with Ahab; and the death of Ahab, bringing a partial fulfilment of the word, which followed at no great distance, might tend still further to subdue her spirit. The efficient power was at all events gone from her; and though Elijah for years afterwards continued to prosecute his peaceful mission within the bounds of Israel, attended by Elisha and the sons of the prophets, no fresh attempts on the part of Jezebel and her accomplices appear to have been made on his life. Yet, while she ceased to act, as she had done, the part of a persecutor, she persisted not the less in her idolatrous and seductive courses; and when the final hour of retribution came to the house of Ahab by the hand of Jehu, the stroke fell with peculiar marks of horror and severity on Jezebel, as being still fully set on her whoredoms and witchcrafts, 2 Ki. ix. 22, 32-37. The previous warnings and judgments had utterly failed to wean her from the worship of her Syrian idols, and the foul abominations connected with it; and from what followed it would appear that the priests of Baal were as many as they had been at the beginning of her course.

Jezebel has the reputation among the Jews of having been nearly as noted for her sorceries or witchcrafts as for her idolatries; and this charge is countenanced in Scripture. The crimination of Jehu just referred to clearly implies that she was given to practices of that description, and probably plied them more in the latter part of her life, when she found she could accomplish less by open acts of violence. The same also is implied in the symbolic use that is made of the name of Jezebel in Rev. ii. 20, where a party in the church of Thyatira, which stood much in the same relation to the governing power, that Jezebel had done to Ahab ("sufferest *thy wife* Jezebel," so the correct reading is, not "that woman Jezebel," as in the Eng. Bible), is accused of allowing the party in question, under a pretence of prophetical gifts, to teach and seduce the members of the church to commit fornication and to eat things sacrificed to idols—that is, to prove unfaithful to Christ by entering into improper compliances with the world. No pretensions, no arts of such a kind should have been listened to for a moment, by those who had the charge of maintaining order in the house of God, when the object toward which they were directed was so plainly contrary to the mind of Christ; and to do so was virtually to repeat over again the guilt and folly of Ahab, who gave himself a tool, when he should have done the part of a firm reprover and a righteous judge. But it by no means follows from the designation of the offending party as the angel's wife, that the angel was a single person, and that the seducer was actually his spouse. This were to confound symbol and reality. One might as well maintain that Jezebel also was to be taken literally, and that by implication the seat of authority was filled by an Ahab. The proper and only warrantable inference is (as in the case of Babylon and Euphrates, which see), that in the church of Thyatira there were parties standing to each other in similar relations to those of Jezebel and Ahab, and in spirit enacting the old iniquities over again.

JEZ'REEL, CITY OF [Heb. יִזְרְעֶאל, *God has sown;* in Sept. Ἰεζράελ, in Josephus Ἰεσράηλα, or Ἰζάρα, in Judith, ch. i. 8 and iv. 6, Ἐσδρήλων or Ἐσδρηλωμ, in Eusebius and Jerome Ἐσδράηλα, and in Latin *Stradela*], a city of Lower Galilee, clearly identified by Dr. Robinson with the modern village of Zerin, which lies at the base of Gilboa, ten miles south by east of Nazareth. The true site was known to the crusaders, but has since been lost sight of and confused with Jenin, the ancient Engannim. Jerome and Eusebius rightly place it between Legio and Scythopolis.

Jezreel is first mentioned as belonging to Issachar, Jos. xix. 18. It was part of the kingdom of Ishbosheth, though the fact of the name occurring in a list, not of towns, but of tracts of country, renders it probable that the plain, not the town of Jezreel, is intended, 2 Sa. ii. 9. But its chief importance arises from its having been the royal residence during the reigns of Ahab, Ahaziah, and Jehoram, 1 Ki. xviii. 46; 2 Ki. ix. 15, though Samaria seems still to have been the capital of the country, 1 Ki. xxi. 1; xxii. 10; xxxviii. 51; 2 Ki. x. 1, 17. The royal palace seems to have been on the eastern side of the city, looking down the valley towards the Jordan, and probably contained the ivory house of Ahab, 1 Ki. xxii. 39, and the watchman's tower, 2 Ki. ix. 17. Near to the palace was the vineyard of Naboth the Jezreelite, from its situation convenient as a garden of herbs to Ahab, and therefore coveted and seized by him, 1 Ki. xxi. There are however two passages which might lead us to suppose that the vineyard of Naboth was at Samaria, not Jezreel. In the first of these, 1 Ki. xxi. 18, the word Samaria would seem to be put for the whole country, not for the capital city. In the other passage, 1 Ki.

xxii. 38, we read one washed the chariot in the pool of *Samaria* and the dogs licked up his blood, whereas the prophecy of Elijah was, "In the place where dogs licked the blood of Naboth, shall dogs lick thy blood, even thine," 1 Ki. xxi. 19. This may be explained either by supposing Naboth to have been taken to Samaria for his trial and execution, or by adopting the reading of Josephus (Ant. xviii. 35), "When they had washed his chariot in the fountain of *Jezreel*, which was bloody with the dead body of the king, they acknowledged that the prophecy of Elijah was true, for the dogs licked his blood." By this fountain of Jezreel the army of Israel pitched before the fatal battle of Gilboa, 1 Sa. xxix. 1, and it was probably near the vineyard of Naboth, for it is now to be seen on the northern base of Mount Gilboa, about a mile east of Zerin. Dr. Robinson (B. R. ii. 323, 2d ed.) thus describes it, "A very large fountain flowing out from under a sort of cavern in the wall of conglomerate rock which here forms the base of Gilboa. There is every reason to regard this as the ancient fountain of Jezreel."

The modern village of Zerin contains about twenty houses, and a square tower, which may be seen from a great distance, and its immediate neighbourhood has still a park-like appearance. Of its situation Dr. Robinson writes (B. R. vol. ii. 321), "Zerin itself lies comparatively high, and commands a wide and noble view, extending down the broad low valley on the east to Beisan and to the mountains beyond the Jordan, while towards the west it includes the whole great plain quite to the long ridge of Carmel. It is a most magnificent site for a city, which being thus a conspicuous object in every part would naturally give its name to the whole region." Dr. Stanley (Syria and Pal. p. 341) writes as follows, "We see how up the valley from the Jordan Jehu's troop might be seen advancing—how in Naboth's field the two sovereigns met the relentless soldiers—how whilst Joram died on the spot, Ahaziah drove down the westward plain towards the mountain pass by the beautiful village of Engannim (translated in Eng. version *garden-house*), but was overtaken in the ascent and died of his wounds at Megiddo; how in the open place which, as usual in eastern towns, lay before the gates of Jezreel, the body of the queen was trampled under the hoofs of Jehu's horses—how the dogs gathered round it, as even to this day in the wretched village now seated on the ruins of the once splendid city of Jezreel, they prowl on the mounds without the walls for the offal and carrion thrown out to them to consume." [C. T. M.]

JEZ'REEL, VALLEY OF, properly signifies the branch of the plain of Esdraelon between Gilboa and El Duhy, or the Little Hermon. It is a broad deep plain about three miles across, and runs from Jezreel in an E.S.E. direction to the plain of Jordan at Beisan. It was the scene of Saul's defeat and Gideon's victory (see below), and of Jehu's encounter with Jehoram (see last article). But probably in Ho. i. 5, and certainly under its Greek form Esdraelon in the book of Judith, and in modern times, this name is given to the great plain of central Palestine, which is called by Josephus *τὸ πέδιον μέγα*, and by the Arabs Merj ibn Amir, and extends from Jenin (Heb. Engannim) on the south to the hills of Nazareth on the north, and from Gilboa on the east to Carmel on the west. Its form is well described by Mr. Porter (Handbook to Syria, vol. ii. p. 357), "The main body of the plain is an irregular triangle, its base to the east extending from Jenin to the foot of the mountains below Nazareth, about fifteen miles, one side formed by the hills of Galilee, about twelve miles, the other some eighteen miles, running along the north foot of the Samarian range. The apex is a narrow pass not more than half a mile wide, opening into the plain of Akka. The vast expanse is open and undulating; in spring all green with corn where cultivated, and weeds and grass where neglected, dotted with a few low gray tells, and towards the sides with olive-groves. It is the ancient plain of Megiddo, ... the Armageddon of Re. xvi. 16. The river Kishon, 'that ancient river,' so fatal to the army of Sisera, drains it, and flows off through the pass westward to the plain of Akka and the Mediterranean. But from the base of this triangular plain three branches stretch out eastward like fingers from a hand, divided by two bleak gray ridges, one bearing the familiar name of Mount Gilboa, where Saul and Jonathan fell, the other called by the Franks Little Hermon, but by the natives Jebel ed Duhy." The traveller who approaches the plain from southern Palestine is struck at once with its richness, after the gray hills of Judah and the rocky mountains of Ephraim. The grass is green and luxuriant, and the crops of grain in the few spots where it is cultivated are magnificent. But amid all this fertility there is an air of extreme desolation. In the main portion of the plain there is not a single inhabited village, and not more than a sixth of its soil is in cultivation, but it is ever a prey to the incursions of Bedouins from the Jordan valley, who often reap the crops which the fellahin of the plain have sown. This insecurity has always been its chief feature. It was invaded by the Canaanites, Ju. iv. 3-7, by the Midianites, Ju. vi. 3, 4, by the Philistines, 1 Sa. xxix. 1; xxxi. 10, by the Syrians, 1 Ki. xx. 26; 2 Ki. xiii. 17. In the distribution of the land under Joshua the plain became the frontier of Zebulun, De. xxxiii. 18, but was the main portion of Issachar's inheritance, Jos. xix. 17; Ge. xlix. 15. But its chief importance in history arises from its having been the great battle-field of the Israelites, not indeed in their original conquest of the country, but in repelling the hosts of invaders who at various times were raised up against them. These battles are fully described by Stanley (Sinai and Palestine, p. 330, seq.), and can only be enumerated here. 1. Between Sisera and Barak in the south-west of the plain, Ju. iv. v. 2. Between Gideon and the Midianites, in the valley of Jezreel, Ju. vii. 3. Between Saul and the Philistines at Gilboa, 1 Sa. xxix. xxxi. 4. Between Josiah and Pharaoh-Necho at Megiddo, 2 Ki. xxiii. 29; 2 Ch. xxxv. 20, 22. The villages on the borders of the plain, Shunem, Taanach, Megiddo, Nain, Endor, together with the river Kishon, are separately noticed. [C. T. M.]

JIPH'TAH [*it* or *he opens*]. A city in the "Low country" or maritime plain of Judah, Jos. xv. 43. Although mentioned but once, we are not without materials for approximating to its real position. (1.) Its meaning implies that it was situated at or near some "opening" or "defile." This, of course, precludes our looking for it on the plain, strictly so called; but points rather to the swelling uplands into which the Shephelah breaks as it approaches the great central range, and through which access is given to the proper "Hill country," (*i.e.* mountains) of Judah. (2.) The same result is obtained by observing its juxtaposition with Ashnah (strong), Nezib (garrison), Keilah (fortress), and Mareshah

(that which is at the head, viz. of the ravine of Zephathah, 2 Ch. xiv. 9, 10); all equally suggestive of spots which commanded the several passes leading from the plain to the mountains, and therefore clearly belonging to the former as its natural protection. It has recently been asserted that the group of cities in which the name of Jiphtah occurs, Jos. xv. 42-44, are, so far as they have been ascertained, really situated on the mountains, and not in the Lowland, to which they are here assigned. The error, however, lies not with the sacred writer, but with those who would impugn his accuracy. At Nezib (Beit-Nusîb), *the most easterly* city of this group which has been identified with certainty, Dr. Robinson writes, "Thus far to-day our journey (from el-Burj) has been through the region of hills, between the mountains and the plain, approaching the former. . . . . *At Beit-Nusîb we were very near the steep ascent of the mountains*" (Bib. Res. iii. 13). (3.) When this district shall have been thoroughly explored, it will probably be found that Jiphtah answers to the modern *Baṭîhah*, a ruined site of which Dr. Robinson heard, somewhere in the province of Gaza.[1] In this case, there will have been the usual loss of the initial *yod*, together with the equally common interchange of the labials *pe* and *beth*, and of the linguals *thau* and *teth*.[2] [E. W.]

JIPH'THAH-EL [*God opens*]. The name of a gorge or ravine (not valley, as the Authorized Version renders), and probably (from the analogy of the preceding word), of a city also, on the confines of Zebulon and Asher; for it is mentioned in the specification of the boundaries of both these tribes, Jos. xix. 14, 27. The meaning of the word ("the opening of God," *i.e.* the great or important opening) gives additional weight to the conjecture that Wady 'Abilîn is the locality here indicated. This fine pass, which connects the rich plain el-Buṭṭauf on the east with the yet more fertile plain of Acre on the west, is described by the Scottish Deputation as "inclosed with steep wooded hills; sometimes *it narrows almost to the straitness of a defile*. . . . . The valley is long, and declines very gently towards the west; the hills on either side are often finely wooded, sometimes rocky and picturesque. The road is one of the best in Palestine, and was no doubt much frequented in ancient days" (p. 309, 310). Thus we see that the Wady 'Abilîn possesses in itself peculiar claims to be regarded as the modern representative of "the Ravine of Jiphthah-el," independently of its supposed relation to the recently discovered site of *Jotapata* (now *Jefât*), which first led Dr. Robinson to throw out the suggestion. There can be little doubt that this latter place, so well known as the scene of a most protracted and determined struggle between the Jews, under their great historian Josephus, and the Romans under Vespasian, is identical with the ancient city which derived its name from the important pass now under consideration. The etymological affinity of the several forms, Jiphthah, Jotapata, Jefât, is itself all but decisive; and to this must be added the position of Jefât, at the head of Wady 'Abilîn, and the terms (doubtless exaggerated) in which Josephus speaks of Jotapata, as nearly "surrounded by *ravines* of such extreme depth, that in looking down, the sight fails before it can fathom them" (B. J. iii. 7, 7). While the name thus survives at the eastern outlet of Wady 'Abilîn, it is not a little curious that there is a similar trace of it where the valley "opens out" upon the fruitful plain of Acre. There we find a site still bearing the suggestive name *Ethphahâneh*.[3] Midway between the two extremities of the wady, and near its southern bank, is a third site, called 'Ain *Sebulon*, which represents, with more probability than 'Abilîn, the *city* of Zebulon, referred to in immediate connection with Jiphthah-el (Jos. xix. 27), and twice mentioned by Josephus (B. J. ii. 18, 9; iii. 3, 1). There is a peculiar propriety in this lingering association of the very name of the tribe with the most striking of its physical characteristics; especially when we place side by side the prophetic utterance of Moses with the graphic narrative of the sacred topographer. "And of Zebulon he said, Rejoice, Zebulon, in thy *going out*," De. xxxiii. 18. "And the *outgoings* thereof are in the valley of Jiphthah el," Jos. xix. 14. [E. W.]

JOAB [*Jah-father*], the son of Zeruiah, the sister of David. Probably, from this relationship, he and his brothers, Abishai and Asahel, early espoused the cause of David, and shared his perils and persecutions from the hand of Saul, 1 Sa. xxvi. 6. Indeed, a regard to their own safety would in a manner oblige them to cast in their lot with David, 1 Sa. xxii. 3, 4; and their history, so far as it is recorded, is throughout closely intertwined with that of their royal kinsman. Of the three brothers, who were all of "David's mighties," Joab was the most distinguished, 1 Sa. xxvi. 6; 2 Sa. ii. 22. Unhappily, his distinction did not arise from his moral or religious worth, but from his native power and his martial exploits. Though not devoid of those sentiments and dispositions, which sometimes made him moderate and generous and even magnanimous in victory, as well as always bold and resolute in fight, he was ambitious and crafty, jealous and revengeful, without check or control. All this stands out conspicuously, and with little relief, in his conduct as "captain of the host" in the successive wars which disquieted David's reign.

The passages already referred to clearly imply, that over the host Joab stood next in command to David himself during the struggles of his earlier life; but it was at Jebus—the ancient Jerusalem—and shortly after David's accession to the kingdom, that Joab properly acquired a right to the military command which he held through life. On David's going thither, the Jebusites, an idolatrous remnant of the old inhabitants of Canaan, refused their submission. To stimulate the courage and enterprise of his soldiers, he promised that the man who should first go up and subdue them "should be chief and captain," when Joab, more ambitious than deserving of the distinction, went up first and won it. The city, thus subdued, was from this time called the "city of David," with whom Joab laboured to build and repair it, thus laying the foundation of the future Jerusalem, alway beautiful for situation, and for ages the "excellency and praise of the whole earth," 1 Ch. xi. 4-8. It was apparently, however, some time previous to this that the encounter

[1] Append. 117. In the same list occur 'Attârah, almost identical with Ether (עֶתֶר), another city of this group, and Beit-Jibrîn (Eleutheropolis), near which the site and name of Mareshah still survive.

[2] Of these modifications we have examples in Jezreel (now Zer'în). Jericho (Rîha), Zephath (Sebâta), Thebez (Tûbâs), Tophel (Tufîleh), Tirzah (Tullûza).

[3] See Zimmermann's map. We may compare this modification of the word with what appears to be the present form of Joktheel (Keiṭulâneh).

took place between Joab and Abner, captain of Saul's host, who had made Ishbosheth, Saul's son, king over the tribes that refused submission to David. These rival chiefs met at Gibeon, a few miles north from Jerusalem, on a challenge given by Abner, in terms which read as if nothing more serious had been intended than a game at fence. Twelve young heroes on either side joined in fierce and deadly combat, each of them burying his weapon in the bowels of his adversary. This, as might be supposed, proved the provocation and prelude to a general battle, in which Abner was beaten, and fled before the servants of David. Asahel, urged by his ambition to slay the leader of the rebellion against his master, pursued after Abner, and, being "swift as a roe," quickly came up with him, and persisting in his attempt despite of warning and entreaty, Abner, who was much his superior in strength or skill, smote him dead with his spear. While many stood still to look on his dead body, Joab and Abishai, probably not apprised of their brother's death, continued the pursuit till the going down of the sun. On the morrow, when Joab would have renewed the battle, Abner stood on a hill over against, and pleaded powerfully for peace. "Shall the sword devour for ever? Knowest thou not that it will be bitterness in the end? How long shall it be ere thou bid the people return from following their brethren?" 2 Sa. ii. 26. Though this appeal was made by the man who had caused and commenced the slaughter which he affected to deplore, Joab generously yielded to it. It might have been otherwise had he known that Asahel had fallen by Abner's hand; but, satisfied to throw back the blame of yesterday's battle upon Abner's challenge, and wisely unwilling to create any unnecessary exasperation among the dissentient tribes, he forbore to push his advantage against them, and led back his victorious army to Hebron. When next they met, Joab failed to exhibit the same moderation. Abner had then quarrelled with Ishbosheth and deserted him, and had gone to Hebron to offer to David the submission and allegiance of all Israel. This offer was more than welcomed, and Abner was treated with highest consideration and respect. When Joab, who was absent at the time from Hebron, heard on his return of Abner's errand and reception, he was filled with sudden fury, which vented itself in vehement and insolent invective both against David and against Abner; and, sending messengers to recall him (for Abner seems to have left Hebron as Joab returned to it), he waited for him at the gate of the city, and, taking him aside with a deceitful show of friendship, he treacherously slew him. Nothing can be alleged to extenuate this deed of blood. The "blood of Asahel," as was alleged, might have embittered or whetted Joab's enmity against Abner; but this sudden deadly hate can only be accounted for by his envy of the man whose signal service had ingratiated him with the king, and by burning jealousy of him as his future and dreaded rival for royal favour and official honours. This atrocious deed, as impolitic as wicked, David deeply mourned over; and, in token of his grief and abhorrence, commanded a national mourning, which Joab himself was enjoined to observe. But this censure and humiliation was all the punishment he suffered. So necessary were these sons of Zeruiah to David, or so formidable their enmity, that he did not dare to inflict upon them the desert of their wickedness.

In David's war with the Ammonites, when he now reigned over all Israel, and Joab was over all the host, he was sent to avenge the indignity which Hanun had offered to David in the persons of his ambassadors. On this occasion Joab conducted himself with distinguished wisdom and valour. On leading his army to battle, he said, "Be of good courage, and let us play the men for our people and for the cities of our God, and the Lord do as seemeth him good," 2 Sa. x. 12. There could be no finer model of a martial speech. It is worthy of the patriot and the soldier and the man of God. Doubtless in this view it misrepresents Joab's true character; yet it might truly express the feelings of the moment, now deeply stirred by a sense of imminent danger. And to this public recognition of God may reasonably be ascribed the victory which crowned the fight, just as the feigned humiliation of Ahab, as homage paid to God before his people, led to the deferring of the evil threatened against his idolatrous house. This victory, however, did not terminate the war; and on the return of the year Joab went forth to renew it, and sat down in siege against Rabbah, the chief city of the Ammonites. While so engaged, David, who remained at home, had fallen into sin with Bathsheba, the wife of Uriah, a brave soldier and a loyal subject. Having committed this sin, he must hide it, especially from Uriah; and having failed in several sinful efforts, he wrote a letter to Joab, and made Uriah the bearer of it, saying, "Set ye Uriah in the front of the hottest battle, and retire ye from him, that he may be smitten and die." The devout heart quails as it reads this perfidious and blood-guilty proposal coming from David. How manifest is it that the Holy Spirit, grieved by his sin, had now departed from him! Joab lent himself to the execution of the mournful proposal, and, under show of assigning to Uriah the post of honour, he set him in the place, which proved, as it was intended, the post of death. He thus made himself partaker of David's crime. His subserviency cannot be ascribed to mistaken loyalty; for he showed in his conduct to Abner that he did not scruple to resist the king's will and sacrifice the king's interest when he had his own passions to gratify or his own interests to serve; and his present compliance must, therefore, have proceeded from some selfish end, possibly the better to secure himself against David's revenge upon him for the blood of Abner, not unwilling that the conscience of David should thus have upon it the blood of Uriah.

When the fall of Rabbah seemed at hand, and indeed had partially taken place, Joab sent for David, who was still at home, that he might repair thither and appropriate the honour of the conquest. This recognition and transference of the spoils and honours of victory, after the toils and sufferings of the siege, may claim the credit of rare, if not unrivalled magnanimity. He certainly appears in favourable contrast to David, who, in consenting to appropriate what was due to his captain, exhibits the symptoms of a degenerate spirit. We cannot but be slow to impute aught that is generous or noble to Joab; but the worst of men not seldom exhibit these better impulses when they do not interfere with their ruling passions.

The part acted by Joab in the affair of Absalom is the next circumstance of any moment that meets us in his history. Having slain his brother Amnon in revenge for the dishonour done to his sister, Absalom fled to

Geshur, the residence of his grandfather; and David, from undue paternal indulgence, or it may be from consciousness of his own similar offence, ceased to pursue him. Joab, who was quick to discern in David that longing for the restoration of his favourite son which yet he was ashamed or afraid to express, set his wits at work to devise the means of effecting it. By pandering to the pride and passions of Absalom, and by working on the weakness of his too indulgent father, he by and by succeeded; but the means of his success betray too plainly the crafty policy designed to ingratiate himself at once with the king and the heir of his throne. Absalom, whose professed improvement was all a pretence, was not long re-admitted to his father's presence when he abused his indulgence to excite disaffection and organize conspiracy and rebellion against his father's rule. It is doubtful what part Joab took in the beginning of this affair. It is said that "Absalom made Amasa captain of the host instead of Joab," 2 Sa. xvii. 25. This seems to imply that both were at his call, and that Amasa was preferred. If so, it explains both why Joab was now found on the side of David, and why he was so relentless a foe to Absalom. On sending out his army to oppose and to suppress this unnatural rebellion, David gave them charge to deal gently with the young man Absalom for his sake. Notwithstanding, when he was found in his flight before David's servants, caught and suspended amid the boughs of an oak, Joab hasted to plunge the deadly arrow into his heart, and when dead, sternly denied him the rites of burial. David's sorrow for his death was so excessive, that Joab hotly resented it as a censure of the service for which he and his soldiers should have been approved, and with a dreadful oath threatened him, if he ceased not from his weeping, with the desertion of all his people. This severity, if not resented at the time, was not forgotten; and soon after, on the revolt of the ten tribes under Sheba, David manifested his alienation from Joab by appointing Amasa "first and chief" of the army. Amasa was David's nephew, son of another sister, and had been Absalom's general in the late rebellion. From some cause he was dilatory in acting upon his commission. Joab and Abishai had taken the field before him; and on his coming to take the command, Joab, impelled by his jealousy and revenge, perpetrated the same deed of treachery and murder which he had done to Abner, meeting Amasa with the kiss of friendship, and then smiting him dead with one violent stroke. These things may possibly have made him the ideal of "the bloody and deceitful man," from whom David so often prayed to be delivered. It marks a demoralized people, in which a man so deeply stained with crime could hold up his head, and even maintain an exalted place, yet Joab immediately assuming the command, pursued after Sheba to Abel-Maachah, where he sought and found refuge; and having laid siege to the city, in a manner which the Benjamites felt they could not long withstand (*see under* FORT)—they threw the head of Sheba over the wall, on which Joab raised the siege, and returned to Jerusalem, expecting—nor was he mistaken in his expectation—"with Sheba's head to pay the price of Amasa's blood." So great was this man, and so necessary to David and his people, that they connived at the wickedness which they could not but in their hearts abhor, and still deferred the punishment which by divine and human law he deserved to suffer.

The next service to which Joab was appointed was in numbering the people. This procedure, as conducted by David, was sorely displeasing to God. The offence was not in itself; for once and again it had been done by God's own command, Nu. xxvi. 4, but in the spirit of pride and vainglory, which moved him to it, and the tendency to measure his power by the thousands of Israel, rather than by the presence and support of Israel's God. The word of the king in this matter was abominable to Joab, and he remonstrated against it with great address, and on true religious grounds. "The Lord make the people," said he to David, "a hundred times many more than they be; but my lord the king, are they not all thy servants? Why then doth my lord require this thing? why will he be a cause of trespass to Israel?" The strain and tone of this remonstrance might have led us to hope that in the interval he had become another man—so spiritual seems his denouncement of the sin of David's course, and so just his apprehension of the danger which would result from it, and so tender and earnest his anxiety to avert these evils, both from his king and nation; and if good deeds were always more than good words the proof of the new nature, this impression might be confirmed by the fact recorded of him, that he dedicated his spoils to maintain the house of the Lord. But, alas! it soon proved to be nothing better than one of those fitful moods, which sometimes, under the light and power of natural conscience, visit the sternest and most ruthless souls—for soon again he appears in his lifelong character. In the last days of David, Adonijah, his eldest son after Absalom, conspired to reign upon the throne of the kingdom, and Joab and Abiathar the high-priest were the chief instigators and supporters of the unnatural attempt.

This desertion of his kinsman and king in his old age, which deprives him of almost his only semblance of virtue, was the immediate forerunner of his fall. The conspiracy of Adonijah came to nought, and Solomon reigned. David, who had long been alienated in heart from Joab, now, delivered from his fear and irritated by his perfidy, charged Solomon to visit upon him the crimes which he had been too timid and too tardy to avenge. Solomon showed himself resolved to execute his father's dying charge, and Joab, foreseeing his coming doom, fled to the tabernacle of the Lord, and caught hold of the horns of the altar. Though intended as a refuge for the penitent, the altar afforded no asylum for the wicked. Thus is it written in the law of Moses, "If a man come presumptuously upon his neighbour, to slay him with guile; thou shalt take him from mine altar, that he may die," Ex. xxi. 14. Wherefore Solomon sent Benaiah, who went up, and fell upon him, and slew him; thus returning in tardy but righteous recompense, "his blood upon his own head, who fell upon two men more righteous than he, and slew them with the sword, to wit, Abner, the son of Ner, captain of the host of Israel, and Amasa, the son of Jether, captain of the host of Judah." [J. He.]

JOAN'NA, the original of the modern JOAN, the wife of CHUZA, the steward of Herod Antipas, Lu. viii. 3, xxiv. 10. She is mentioned only by St. Luke; but from the notices given by him she appears to have been a devoted follower of Jesus, having a place among the women who ministered to him of their substance, and who had prepared spices to anoint his body in the tomb.

JO'ASH [contracted for JEHO'ASH, *Jehovah-gifted*]. 1. The father of Gideon, who appears to have been a man of wealth and consideration among the Abiezrites. That he was by no means free from the prevailing idolatry of the time, is clear from there being idols of Baal and Asherah on his property; but his subsequent conduct in defending his son, who broke them down, shows that he was not wedded to it, Ju. vi.

2. JOASH. A king of Judah, son of Ahaziah, and the only one of his children who escaped the murderous policy of Athaliah. It would seem that this child, whom the pity and affection of a pious aunt had preserved (Jehoshabeath) was the only surviving male representative of the line of Solomon. Jehoram, his grandfather, who married Athaliah, in order to strengthen his position on the throne, slew all his brethren, 2 Ch. xxi. 4; and all his own sons were slain in an incursion by the Arabians, except Ahaziah, the youngest, who succeeded him, 2 Ch. xxii. 1; while, on the death of Ahaziah, his wicked mother Athaliah "arose and destroyed all the seed royal of the house of Judah," 2 Ch. xxii. 10—excepting the little child Joash, who was rescued from her grasp. So that the unholy alliances formed by the descendants of Solomon, and the manifold disorders thence accruing, had reduced everything to the verge of ruin. Measures were concerted by Jehoiada, the high-priest, for getting rid of Athaliah, and placing Joash on the throne, after he had attained to the age of seven (*see* JEHOIADA); and having in his youth the wise and the faithful around his throne, the earlier part of the reign of Joash was in accordance with the great principles of the theocracy. The Lord's house was repaired and set in order, while the temple and idols of Baal were thrown down. But after Jehoiada's death persons of a different stamp got about him; and notwithstanding the great and laudable zeal which he had shown for the proper restoration of God's house and worship, a return was made to idolatry to such an extent as to draw forth severe denunciations from Zechariah the son of Jehoiada. Even this was not the worst; for the faithfulness of Zechariah was repaid with violence; he was even stoned to death, and this, it is said, at the express command of the king, 2 Ch. xxiv. 21. The martyred priest uttered, as he expired, "The Lord look upon it and require it;" and it *was* required as in a whirlwind of wrath. For, a Syrian host under Hazael made an incursion into Judea, and both carried off much treasure, and executed summary judgment on many in Jerusalem—not excepting Joash himself, whom they left in an enfeebled state, and who was shortly afterwards fallen upon and slain by his servants. Such was the unhappy termination of a career, which began with much promise of good; and the cloud under which he died even followed him to the tomb; for while he was buried in the city of David, it was not in the sepulchres of the kings of Judah. He reigned forty years, from B.C. 878 to 838.

3. JOASH, king of Israel, son and successor of Jehoahaz. He was for a short period cotemporary with Joash king of Judah, reigning from B.C. 840 to 825, about sixteen years. The kingdom of Israel was in a very reduced and enfeebled state at the time of his ascension to the throne, especially from the severe devastations made on it by Hazael, and the repeated conquests gained by him. Joash, however, proved himself to be a person of energy, and, though he still clave to the sins of Jeroboam, one may infer from the respect he paid to Elisha, that he was not so far gone from the way of holiness, as either his father on the one side, or his son on the other. Elisha was in extreme old age, and on his death-bed, at the time he received a visit from Joash; but the visit appears to have been marked by sincere respect on the part of the king, and to have been duly reciprocated by the prophet. A promise was given that he should smite Syria, and when, after arrows had been put into his hand to smite, and he smote only thrice, Elisha was displeased that the smiting was not more frequent, as there might then have been the assurance of greater successes over Syria, 2 Ki. xiii. 14-19. But as it was, Joash was enabled to turn the tide against Syria; and not only so, but in a conflict, which he was not the first to provoke, with Amaziah king of Judah, he gained a complete victory—took Amaziah prisoner—went to Jerusalem, and carried off immense treasure, as well as broke down 400 cubits of the wall, leaving the city in a reduced and defenceless condition. (*See* AMAZIAH.) Joash seems to have died in peace, and was buried in the sepulchre of his fathers.

4. JOASH. The name of several persons, of whom little more is known than their genealogy—a son of Ahab, 2 Ch. xviii. 25—a descendant of Shelah, 1 Ch. iv. 22—a hero of Benjamin, son of Shemaah, 1 Ch. xii. 3—another Benjamite, son of Becher, 1 Ch. vii. 8—an officer in David's household, 1 Ch. xxvii. 28.

JOB, BOOK OF. 1. *The problem of the book.*—The canonical Scriptures have been divided into three sections, the Law, the Prophets, and the Kethubim, that is writings, or beyond the limits of the Jewish church, Hagiographa.—A principle far from artificial underruns this division. There is a fine correspondence between it and the various phases of the human spirit, which it is the object of Scripture to reach or to create. The *Law*, starting from the sad consciousness that the human spirit has not preserved its original fine equipoise of powers, or its normal attitude towards its God and Creator, comes, announcing this mournful deflection, lays down rules to regulate the spirit's intercourse with God, and exhorts to the keeping of these rules by promises of rich rewards to obedience and threatenings of fearful evils on neglect. *Prophecy*, again, of which prediction forms the least and no essential part, embraces all that activity of God's messengers, by which they sought to vivify the seeds of the divine law in the human consciousness of the people, and turn it into principles of conduct and religious life. The history of the Jewish people, being itself as it rolled itself out evolution after evolution, a grand divine phenomenon, specially contrived and specially directed, afforded opportunities far more numerous and fitting than ordinary history for linking on great moral teachings to; and it was the business of the prophet, as the peaceful stream of events moved slowly past, or lifted itself up into the menacing attitude of a national crisis, to take the public mind down with him into the midst of this stream, to make it conscious of the tendencies and currents of the time, and the far-distant point towards which they were struggling, to interpret to it the meaning of the forces which were wrestling with each other and thus acting out its history, and so impress deep religious convictions upon the hearts of his countrymen, awakening in them the strong consciousness of the divinity of their history, and greater longing for fuller manifestations of the Messianic redemption.

The law lifts into prominence only one mind, that of the Lawgiver, prophecy only the minds and activities of a few men expresslyselected and deputed by God with his words to the people; we want still the *response* of the popular religious life to this complicated divine teaching. This we have in many of its phases in the books styled *Writings*. No doubt the prophets were often representative men, children of the people, deeply national in their sympathies, the poets and patriots of the land of Israel; and behind the loud wail of Jeremiah we may hear the stifled sob wrung from the universal heart of the people; and in the glorious visions of Isaiah may see the perfection of those dreams which haunted the sleeping and waking hours of a nation, all of whom, from their Messianic hopes, were seers; and in the unparalleled energy of Elias may discern the culmination of the activity of this nation of divinely strengthened workers. Yet the prophets, from their calling, were somewhat separated from the people, and raised above them, and were designed rather as teachers and models, than representatives of the precise thought and life of any given era. This position is occupied by the writers, many of them unknown, of the Hagiographa. And it is in a way fitting that those voices of the people, those sobs by the rivers of Babylon, those long low mournful monologues over the unatoned contradictions of man's destiny, that meet us in Job and elsewhere, should be borne to our ears anonymously; they belong not to any man; they are expressions of the griefs and the problems which were shaking the deep heart of a whole nation.

The Semitic nations never possessed a philosophy. The strength of their monotheism overpowered all the rising beginnings of philosophy or mythology. Such an abstraction as "nature" they could never create. Besides being destitute of a metaphysic, they never approached the idea of a science of ethics, or indeed the idea of any science. And apart, too, from the apparent incapacity of the Semitic mind for philosophizing even on morals, such attempts would be quite foreign to the genius and design of Scripture. The Bible occupies itself with that phase of the human mind which we usually name religious, and interferes with others only in so far as they arise out of this or contribute to its modification. Scripture will not discuss a moral problem nakedly and for its own sake; but if the perplexities of this problem tighten themselves around the heart, impeding its free action, Scripture will ease the pressure and loosen the ligatures so far as to allow the pulse of spiritual life to beat freely. Thus we should not expect any book of the Bible to be devoted to the discussion of any mere speculative question. A speculative question may be discussed, but it will be from a religious point of view; its discussion will be thrown as an element into the general current of some religious life, its effect upon which, for good or evil, will chiefly be exhibited. The book of Job, therefore, will not contain a theodicy or vindication of the ways of God to man, nor a philosophical proof of the doctrine of immortality (J. D. Michaelis; and in other connections, Ewald), much less a refutation of the so-called Mosaic doctrine of retributive justice (Hirzel, De Wette, u. s. w.); nor will its chief aim be to teach the truth that man dare not pry into the deep designs of Providence (Hupfeld, &c.), though this last strikes deeper into its essence than any other of the above views, all of which, though much too contracted, contain an element of truth. But the real problem of the book is the determination of the religious attitude of the patriarch, and all these problems come up merely as elements that tend to determine Job's mind in one way or other. That this is the correct view of the book may be seen from various things. First, what is chiefly exhibited in the poem is this state of Job's mind. In the prologue the writer draws our attention chiefly to Job's devotion and trust in God. After his first great loss, he points out how his devotion and submission remain unaltered. After his second affliction, he points out his steadfastness once more. During the discussion with the friends he exhibits to us the conflict in Job's mind; how it sometimes veered in the direction of infidelity, but ever again recovered itself and came back to steadfastness and trust. What raises such tides of agony in Job's soul is not that he has been stripped barer than the tree in winter; not that his friends misunderstood him; not even that his life and hopes were extinguished; it is that God has forsaken him; that he is cast out from his presence; and that he is so, all these calamities are proofs too surely conclusive. What restores him to peace and blessedness once more is not that any of his speculative difficulties have been removed, for they have not; it is that he has recovered the lost countenance of God, and before this light all the shadows flee away. Second, the final arbiter of the strife was not the friends, for Job had put them to silence; nor Elihu—though, under the deeper searching of his hand, Job was soberized and found no words more to reply—the final arbiter was God. And it is to Job exclusively in the first instance that he addresses himself. It is his attitude towards himself that he impugns. It is this attitude which he corrects by a sight of his glory. Only when all this perturbation in Job's religious condition is stilled, is any allusion made to the friends and the external dialectical problem in debate between them and Job. Third, the author of the book tells us that Job's afflictions were sent upon him as the trial of his faith. He was afflicted to discover whether his religion was selfish; whether, on getting nothing from God, he would renounce God.

Thus the book *exhibits* the trial of Job, and this trial is exhibited progressively in three particular temptations, the first two detailed briefly in the prologue, the third displayed very fully in the poem.

2. *Development of the idea of the poem.*—The problem of the book of Job is, *Does Job serve God for nought?* This problem, according to the view of the author, in debate between Satan and God, is naturally the question of human virtue; but as this cannot be tried abstractly but in a case, this case exhibits the temptation of Job, the trial of the righteous; which temptation, victoriously resisted, and the means of securing victory progressively and finally, displayed, illustrates the doctrine, *the just shall live by his faith.* The book chiefly exhibits Job's temptations and the progressive effect they exert on his heart; this progressive effect is the progressive solution of the problem between God and Satan, Does Job serve God for nought? and the progressive exhibition to us of the principle of all religious life, especially in trouble, the just shall live by faith in God.

(1.) The author, starting from the law lying as a necessity at the basis of all our thinking, the law that it is well with the righteous and ill with the wicked, brings before us a man who, having attained the summit

of virtue, reaches thereby the summit of happiness, in family felicity, in wealth, and worldly respect. The man knows his religious elevation, his friends know it, the mouth of God confesses it. All which does not mean that the man was sinless absolutely, for Job throughout the poem never claims this, but that he was sincerely pious. Having shown us this lovely scene of simple faith and human felicity, the author, with deep instinct of the connection of all parts of God's universe with all other parts, and how even the most lawless powers are in his hand, and how he is making good somehow the goal of ill, carries us elsewhere, and discloses to us a heavenly cabinet, angels and ministers of grace assembled, and among them the minister of wrath and grace disguised. And as the affairs of earth are passed in review, the virtue of Job is extolled by the Supreme, and for this and other reasons subjected to malevolent detraction by the Satan—Does Job serve God for nought? The question thus raised becomes one for the universe, and must be set at rest. Job is given into the hands of Satan; let his integrity be tried. Unlike us, for whom the author lifts the vail, Job knows nothing of the cause of his sorrows. He knows only that God afflicts; his simple religious faith teaches him that He afflicts in anger; he feels within him no cause for this sudden change in God's dealing with him; inexplicable utterly were his woes. But one or many things inexplicable will not shake his faith in God—*The Lord gave, and the Lord hath taken; blessed be the name of the Lord.* Job remains victorious over his temptation.

(2.) Meanwhile the heavenly cabinet again assembles, and Job becomes again the subject of God's approbation, and again of new and deeper detraction on the side of Satan, who insinuates now not merely irreligion but inhumanity. Job cared little for family or friend, be he well himself—*Touch his own bone and flesh and he will renounce thee to thy face.* Given again into the hand of Satan, and thrown down under a most loathsome disorder, Job still retains his integrity. He acknowledges God's right to deal as pleases him, not only with his but with him. Satan is foiled anew. Job, like a tree shaken by the wind, but wraps his roots closer around the Rock of Ages.

(3.) Now the conditions of the temptation somewhat alter. In the former temptations the author gave us no view of Job's mental struggles. He entered the shadow and came forth from it chastened, but strong. Now he will exhibit to us the whole mental panorama, in all its varying phases, from despair to triumphant and final trust. Three friends of Job having heard of his calamities, make an appointment to come and condole with him. And it is in the view taken by these men of his afflictions that Job's third and most bitter temptation consists. These friends were men of pious life and honest purpose, sincere in their efforts to console, but possessed of only superficial theories of the meaning and uses of adversity. Theirs was the simple creed that all suffering is for sin, all for the immediate sin of the immediate sufferer. The man who suffers grievously must have sinned heinously. And the application to Job of their principle was brief and inevitable; sadly afflicted, he has doubtless terribly sinned. This is their fundamental position on which all their exhortations are based; and it is this fundamental position, held too by Job himself previous to his afflictions, which he assails, and thus around it gather all the strife and conflict of the debate between the sufferer and his friends.

But we must not forget that this question of the meaning of Job's sufferings, or of suffering in general, by no means forms the problem of the book of Job. This outer problem between Job and the friends is merely a question, the discussion of which contributes to determine the state of Job's mind, and the determination of this state is the solution of the great problem—Does Job serve God for nought? If Job, driven to despair under the assaults of his friends, and out of antagonism to them and therefore to God, whose cause they so harshly plead, should finally declare that God is unjust in punishing, the prediction of the Satan shall come true; if he shall succeed in silencing the friends, or in separating between God's dealing with him and their interpretation of it, and so conclude that God is not unjust even in afflicting a man guilty of no heinous sins, then he shall retain his integrity and Satan be defeated. Thus looked at, two threads have to be followed—the one the thread of discussion of the mere speculative question of the meaning of suffering—the other thread the more important result this discussion produces on the mind of Job. This latter is the real subject of the book. The discussion of the question of suffering falls into three cycles, in each of which the faith of the friends assumes a somewhat different phase. In the first cycle, ch. iv.-xiv., the doctrine is put as generally and leniently as possible—God is righteous, who prospers the just and punishes the wicked; and Job is left to draw the conclusion for himself. To this theory Job opposes facts; himself, who, being just, is yet afflicted; the appearance man everywhere presents, the just oppressed and the wicked triumphant; even the lower creatures, suffering innocently under the rapacious cruelty of the stronger. And to complete the friends' discomfiture, Job charges their defence of God with dishonesty and sycophancy. They stood on God's side only because he was strong and Job was weak. In the second cycle, ch. xv.-xxi, the doctrine assumes this more direct form: It is the wicked who are afflicted; from which the conclusion to be drawn by Job is yet easier. With even greater ease and scorn Job crushes to the ground this feeble argument. Facts speak the contrary—*the wicked live, grow old, yea, become mighty in power;* not the most miserable, but often the most fortunate of men are transgressors. Thus the friends having failed to show the double-sidedness of their principle in the first cycle, and the validity of that side of it which involved Job in the second, have nothing left but assert Job's guilt without disguise, which Eliphaz proceeds to do in the third cycle in a series of mere distracted inventions. To this Job replies that the righteous are often oppressed, as already he had replied that the wicked were often triumphant, and thus routs both flanks of the enemy's array. He then proceeds to deny that the theory of providence advocated by the friends is true; to deny even that any theory is possible to man, whose wisdom consists not in knowing God's ways, but in doing his will; and ends with imprecating curses on himself, if guilty of the crimes laid to his charge, and with a bitter cry for God's appearance to justify him before the eyes of men. Thus Job is victor in the human strife.

More interesting still is it to follow the other thread, and watch the progressive effect of these conflicts with the friends on the religious condition of Job's mind.

In the first cycle he falls deepest into despondency and drifts furthest away from God. He had expected consolation from the friends, they rebuke him sharply. Bildad crushes into frenzy the father's heart by laying the death of Job's children at their own door, thus adding to their ruin here their ruin hereafter; and in answering him Job's words and bearing reach the climax of audacity. What has to be particularly observed is, that at the end of Job's answer to each speaker he falls into a monologue or remonstrance with God, and that this appeal to God reflects always the passion and the fury of the sufferer's conflicts with his friends. And thus it is that much of the temerity of Job's words is to be accounted for, and for this reason to be excused; and just here lay Job's danger of exceeding all religious limits and renouncing God finally.

At the close of the first cycle of debate, Job rises out of the necessity of thinking some other condition the goal of man than his present wretchedness, to the hope and the vision of a future of bliss and immortality, ch. xiv. 13. This hope is hardly able to sustain itself against the tide of troubles and misapprehensions of the present, yet it cannot be altogether overcome. Already Job had expressed his assurance that God knew his innocence, ch. x. 7; already he felt that if he could come before God his guiltlessness would display itself, ch. xiii. 18; speedily he rises to the certainty that God in heaven is watching and witnessing to his integrity, ch. xvi. 16; immediately, so sure is he of this secret sympathy of God's heart, that he ventures to appeal to him to be his surety, ch. xvi. 21; and at last all doubt subsides, and he utters his solemn belief, *I know* that my Redeemer liveth, ch. xix. 25. But even this assurance of the future cannot reconcile Job to the troubles of the present, and his cries for God's appearance become even more importunate than before, ch. xxiii. 3; and after sorrowfully describing man's inability to fathom the divine plans, ch. xxviii., and mournfully contrasting his present with the felicity of his former life, he ends with appealing again to God to unriddle the mystery of his sorrows, ch. xxxi. 35.

To a dispassionate listener it could not but appear that both Job and the three friends were guilty of error. Job asserted his own piety to the exclusion of God's justice; and the friends defended God's justice at the expense of Job's integrity. It could surely be shown that Job's piety being admitted, God, who inflicted suffering, was not unjust; and on the other side, that God's justice being admitted, Job, who was afflicted, need not be impious. Job must be shown to be in fault, because he *accounted himself more just than God;* and the friends to be in fault, because *they found no answer* to Job's assertions of innocence, *and yet condemned Job,* ch. xxii. 2. This is the task which Elihu, hitherto a listener to the debate, sets before him. But though Elihu enters upon the debate as an arbiter, yet true to the great idea of the poem, he directs his words chiefly to Job, because it is his religious attitude which has to be determined by them. Now, (1.) though there was deep need expressed in the cry of Job's heart and flesh for the living God, it had too much, even to the end, the nature of a demand, and a complaint that God was heedless of man's necessities and appeals. (2.) He had denied God's rectitude in his own sufferings, and in the world generally. (3.) Finally, he had subsided into the mournful conviction that the scheme of Providence was beyond the reach of man's endeavours. The speeches of Elihu are designed to meet these main positions of Job. To Job's first complaint of God's heedlessness, Elihu answers in his first section, ch. xxxii. xxxiii., that God speaks to man once, yea twice (often and in many ways), in dreams to instruct, in afflictions to chastise, ch. xxxiii. 14; leniently, and when that avails not, severely, to cover pride from man. To the patriarch's second charge of injustice on God's part, Elihu, in his second section, ch. xxxiv. xxxv., answers, that the mere existence of man and nature implies not selfishness but goodness on God's part; if he thought of himself alone, he would withdraw his Spirit, and all flesh would perish, ch. xxxiv. 13; further, that the idea of government rests on the idea of justice, and injustice in God would be dissolution of nature, ch. xxxiv. 17. To Job's third complaint, that God's providence is quite unsearchable, Elihu replies in his third section, ch. xxxvi. xxxvii., that its general tendency may be seen, suffering is educational, ch. xxxvi. 22. And while he is describing the storm-cloud, suddenly he is interrupted, and God speaks out of the cloud.

When God appears he addresses himself immediately to Job. Elihu had said so much on suffering and on sin that Job's conscience smote him into silence, and he answered nothing. His heart was prepared by a deeper knowledge of itself to meet God and know him. God came with no explanation of the general problem of sorrow; with no light on the question of Job's sorrows; with only a few words of upbraiding for Job's hard words regarding himself, and then he makes all his glory pass before Job's eyes, who, at every new sight of God's might and grace, is thrown lower down. "Now mine eye seeth thee, wherefore I abhor myself, and repent in dust and ashes."

Finally, true to the great law of retribution, Job, now doubly pious and firm in faith by his trial, is blessed with double happiness and wealth. And the friends, at his intercession, are pardoned; for, though both somewhat shallow and somewhat insincere in their defence of God's justice, they spoke according to their light and for the best.

3. *The integrity and authenticity of the book.*—Objections have been raised against the originality of the prologue from misunderstanding its integral connection with the poem. The opinion that the poem had originally no prologue cannot be reasonably maintained, the poem would thus have been unintelligible. The opinion that it had originally another prologue has no positive support, but is founded on the following objections to the present prologue. (1.) The prologue is in prose. But all narrative is usually in prose in Semitic books, and high-wrought sentiment in poetry. (2.) The names Eloah, El, Shaddai, are chiefly employed in the poem, while Jehovah occurs in the prologue. But the distinction is not uniformly kept up, and is explainable where it occurs by the design of the writer. He lays the scene of his work in the patriarchal time, before the name Jehovah had attained to extended currency. (3.) The alleged contradiction between what is said in the prologue, of Job's resignation and his demeanour in the poem. But his bearing under his first two temptations is quite reconcilable with his different bearing under the protracted torture of the third. The objection arises from misconception of the progressive character of the book. (4.) The alleged contradiction between the account of the death of Job's children in the prologue, and passages in the poem, such as ch. xix. 17,

where they are still alive. But the contradiction here is not between the prologue and the poem, but between one part of the poem and another. Ch. viii. 4 and xxix. 5 agree with the account in the prologue, and ch. xix. 17 is to be explained in accordance with this. (5.) The peculiar aspect of the doctrine of Satan. But there is nothing in the prologue that contradicts the teaching of other Scripture regarding Satan. Indeed, the prologue is now universally admitted to be an original and integral part of the book.

Difficulty has been experienced in reconciling the sentiments uttered by Job, ch. xxvii. 13, foll., with those expressed by him elsewhere. Hence some think this piece must be the lost third reply of Zophar, to whom only two speeches are assigned by the present arrangement of the book. Others attribute the change in Job's sentiments to forgetfulness and inconsequential writing on the part of the author. Others again fancy that Job wishes to modify the roundness of his former words, which were uttered in the heat of debate, and were felt by him to go too far, and not to represent fairly his calm convictions. None of these views fairly accounts for this peculiar passage. And Job is far enough from retracting any of his former statements. The true explanation no doubt will be found in considering the passage in question to be a kind of summary by Job of the views of the friends on Providence, which views he characterizes as הֶבֶל, ch. xxvii. 12, utter vanity, and quite insufficient to explain the facts. Having run over these views, ver. 13-23, he proceeds to controvert them. No theory of Providence can be formed. Men may discover all earthly things, but wisdom is beyond their reach. Man's wisdom is practical, not theoretical. The latter God has kept to himself; and to man he has said, The fear of the Lord, that is wisdom; and to depart from evil, that is understanding, ch. xxviii.

More difficult to meet are the objections urged against the originality of the speeches uttered by Elihu. Many critics regard these as the product of a maturer religious faith, and indicative of a deeper insight into the meaning of suffering than is shown by the other portions of the book, and hence to be attributed to an age considerably (perhaps a century) later than that which gave rise to the chief elements of the poem. These discourses certainly do exhibit a marked difference both in tone of thinking and colour of language from the other portions; but this difference may perhaps be explained on other grounds than those of a change of author and era. Among the less important objections to the authenticity of ch. xxxii.–xxxvii. are the following: (1.) Elihu does not appear in the prologue among the *dramatis personæ*. But the author does not enumerate the speakers and actors as such. He introduces them just at the time they are going to act. (2.) Elihu is not named in the epilogue. But there was nothing to say of him. So far as he agreed with God he has his reward in hearing his sentiments re-echoed from the divine lips; so far as he agreed with Job he is commended in his commendation, and if he shared in some degree the misapprehensions of the friends, he is corrected in their correction. The grand figure of the poem is Job; no more than is absolutely necessary to the progress of the drama, is related of the subordinate persons. (3.) Job makes no answer to Elihu. Because he had no answer to make. He felt smitten by Elihu's words. And immediately on Elihu's last utterances, Jehovah himself called to Job out of the storm-cloud.

Of greatly more consequence are the following objections: (1.) The speeches of Elihu interrupt the connection between the final cry of Job for the appearance of God and that appearance itself. But this interruption is grounded very deeply in the author's feeling of what is God-beseeming. That cry of Job, with all its overwhelming pathos, had something too much of a challenge in it. Let his heart be softened by the deeper words of Elihu; let him feel that God's appearance is not a thing of right but of grace, and God will then appear. (2.) These speeches of Elihu are said to forestall, by the sentiments they contain, the appearance and words of Jehovah. It is true that Elihu and God himself both wield the same arguments; but it is with very different effects. Elihu no more forestalls the work of God when he appears, than the preacher forestalls the influence of the Spirit when he comes. Elihu appeals to Job's conscience and reason and brings him to silence; Jehovah reveals himself and brings him to confession and peace by contact with the heart. (3.) The language of this portion of the book is said to betray a different authorship. But it is very precarious to rest much on this subjective ground. The chief peculiarity of these chapters lies in their very numerous Arameisms; but such Arameisms characterize all Hebrew poetry. And it may be supposed that they are more frequent in this portion of the book than in others, because Elihu was himself an Aramean, ch. xxxii. 2. And careful attention to the other parts of the poem will show that the author puts favourite expressions into the mouth of each speaker, and thus the strongly marked language of Elihu may be only in keeping with his otherwise very strongly marked character and functions. And if we compare the relations of this portion of the book to the other portions, we shall find many threads that run through the latter ending in this part (compare ch. vi. 25 with ch. xxxiii. 3; ch. ix. 32 with ch. xxxiii. 6); and on the other hand, the affinities between the other portions of Scripture, such as the Psalms and Proverbs, and these speeches are quite as close as those existing between such books and other parts of Job.

Objections have been urged by Ewald and others against some parts of the discourses put into the mouth of Jehovah, but they are frivolous; the portions of the book in question, as well as the epilogue, being considered by nearly all critics to be integral elements of the book.

4. *Historic truth, era, and authorship of the poem.*— On the historic character of the book various opinions have been entertained. (1.) Some, such as Spanheim, have held that the whole poem, both poetry and prose, is strictly historical, the events detailed occurred precisely as they are described, the speeches attributed to the different speakers were delivered precisely as they now appear. That this is possible, perhaps not many will deny; that it is credible, few indeed will admit. The book bears the impress of a single intellect upon it; and skilful as the oriental extemporisers are, we shall hardly attribute the sublimest poetry the world possesses to the efforts of a few Idumean improvisatori. Not only are the poetical elements poetry of the most exalted order, but plainly the prose parts are idealized and to some extent lifted above the sphere even of miraculous occurrences. (2.) Others, such as several Jewish doctors, and among modern critics Hengsten-

berg, deny the book to have any historic basis. It is purely allegorical, all its elements and characters being due to the imagination of its author. It would thus stand on a parallel with the parables of our Lord, intended to convey some great religious lessons, and clothing itself in the drapery of historic occurrences only the better to attract the eye and win the heart of the listener. But such elaborate allegories, so unlike the divine simplicity of the Master's parables, seem not only something foreign to the character of Scripture, but something quite beyond the reach of the Semitic genius. And the allusions to Job by Ezekiel and James, Eze. xiv. 14; Ja. v. 11, as a historic personage equally with other well-known historic personages, such as Noah and Daniel, seem to imply that the reality of the circumstances of his history was never questioned by the national mind. (3.) The opinion held by all moderate critics now, is no doubt correct, that there is both a historic and an ideal element in the book, and that both elements are fused together as well in the prose as in the poetic portions. The history is not all fact, much of it is poetry; the poetry is not all allegory, much of it is fact. To separate one element from another is obviously impracticable. Some doubt whether the miraculous at all had a place in the events of Job's history. It is probable from the age at which he lived, and from the renown to which he attained, that his afflictions were altogether of a peculiar kind, that they were even more than extraordinary. His history and sufferings were no doubt the centre around which some supernatural divine revelation was gathered, the light of which not only illuminated the men of his time and country, but sent far-darting rays over all the East, till many centuries later they were gathered into a focus by the author of our present book, from whose hands they now stream out to enlighten all lands with a divine effulgence.

As to the authorship of the book nothing is known with certainty. Some have attributed it to Job himself; some to Elihu; others to some unknown Arabic author, under the impression that the book has been translated into Hebrew. But no competent Hebrew scholar can doubt that the poem is an original Hebrew work. Others, following the Jewish tradition, have attributed the book to Moses; while some have discovered in the philosophic cast of the poem the hand of Solomon. Both the authorship and the era must ever remain involved in doubt. There is no reason to suppose the book very ancient, except that its scene is laid in patriarchal times. And there is no reason to consider it very modern, except the occurrence of many dark pictures of misery, which it is supposed must have been drawn from the dissolving scenes of the Jewish commonwealth. For arguments from the Aramean colouring and the impurities of language are very precarious, and indeed no longer insisted on by the wisest critics. From a comparison of Je. xx. 14–18 with Job iii., it appears that the book was known and much read, as was his habit, by that prophet. It is probable that Isaiah was acquainted with it, Is. xix. 5 with Job xiv. 11. Further, the book forms the chief element in the Hebrew *Chokmah* or Philosophy, and from the relation in which it stands to other fragments of this Wisdom, whose era is better known, its own date can be approximately determined. Several psalms, such as xxxvii. and lxxiii., discuss the same problem; but the solution which they reach is one less advanced than that given in the prologue to Job. It is therefore probable that the composition of these psalms was anterior to the appearance of Job. On the other hand, the state of development which the idea of the *divine wisdom* had reached when Pr. viii. was written, implies that the passage on wisdom, Job xxviii., preceded the composition of this part of the Proverbs. And in like manner the clearness with which Ecclesiastes grasps and sets forth the doctrine of a final judgment, shows a great advance over its position in our book, where it comes to be recognized by Job only after a protracted struggle. We cannot greatly err, therefore, if we place the composition of the book of Job at a period not long after the death of David.

No competent scholar can doubt that the work is the production of a native of Palestine, and perhaps nothing more particular can be said. Stickel, followed by Schlottmann, considers the author to have been a native of the south of Palestine, from some resemblances which he detects between his language and that of Amos. Hirzel thinks the work must have been written in Egypt, on account of the knowledge shown of the productions, living and dead, of that country. The more probable opinion is, that the author was a man of wide culture, who had observed diligently and travelled much, to whom all the traditions of antiquity had a deep significance, and all life, in the desert as well as in the centre of civilization, was strangely fascinating; and though one problem absorbed him most, and one tradition floated about him, with its terrible fragments, most tenaciously, yet, when he began to discuss that problem, his many-stored mind poured out its various treasures around it, and gave us almost unwittingly to the author the most magnificent production of eastern thought.

[Of the countless works on Job, in all languages, those that will be found most useful are the following:—Alb. Schultens *Liber Jobi* (Lugd. Batav. 1737); Stickel, *Das Buch Hiob* (Leip. 1842); Aug. Hahn, *Comm. über das Buch Hiob* (Berlin, 1850); Schlottmann, *Das Buch Hiob* (Berlin, 1851); Hirzel, *Hiob, Exegetisches Handbuch* (Leip. 1852); Ewald, *Das Buch Jjob* (Göttingen, 1854). Of English books, the commentary of Lee, *Book of Patriarch Job*, by Sam. Lee, D.D. (Lond. 1837), is worse than worthless; Carey's *Book of Job* (Lond. 1858) is a creditable performance; and Conant's *Book of Job* (Lond. 1859), is a model of scholarship and criticism, its only fault being that it is too condensed and epigrammatic for younger students; *The Book of Job*, by Dr. Croly (Lond 1863), adds nothing to the criticism or understanding of the book; *The Book of Job*—by H. H. Bernard (late of Cambridge), edited, with a translation and additional notes, by his friend and pupil Frank Chance, B.A., vol. i. (Lond. 1864)—is dull, prosaic, and retrograde—the translation, by the pretentious editor, in accuracy and precision falls immeasurably below that of Conant, the scholarly delicacy of which this pupil of a Jew seems unable to understand—both the author's notes and the editor's translation seek to drag the criticism of Job back into the rabbinical mire out of which it has been the unceasing effort for half a century of Biblical scholars to rescue it; *A Commentary on the Book of Job*, by Rev. A. B. Davidson, vol. i. (Lond. 1862); the work of Rénan, *Livre de Job* (Paris, 1859), is chiefly interesting for the preliminary Étude—the translation without notes is based on the Exegesis of Hirzel, and adds nothing to our knowledge,—it frequently is very prosaic, and altogether the book has been overpraised in this country. Valuable contributions to the general criticism of the book are, Delitzsch, art. "Hiob," in Herzog's *Real-Encyklopädie*, and another in the *Zeitsch. für Protest. u. Kirche* (Jahrgang 1851); De Wette, "Hiob," in Ersch and Gruber's *Encyklop.*; Gleiss, *Beiträge* (Hamb. 1845); an article, "The Book of Job," in *Brit. and For. Evang. Review*, July, 1857; Froude, *Book of Job*, reprinted from the *Westminster Review*; Hupfeld, "Die Stellung u. Bedeutung des B. Hiob u. s. w.," in the *Deutsche Zeits. für Christ. Wissenschaft u. Ch. Leben* (Jahrgang 1850, August and September.)] [A. B. D.]

JOCH'EBED [whose *glory* is *Jehovah*], the wife of Amram, and mother of Moses and Aaron, Ex. vi. 20. She is expressly said to have been the sister of Amram's father, his own aunt, and the relation was consequently of a kind which afterwards came within the forbidden degrees. The Sept., by a loose translation, instead of father's *sister* makes father's *cousin;* but this is quite unwarranted, and adopted no doubt to get rid of the apparent impropriety of the connection.

JO'EL [יוֹאֵל, *Jehovah God*, or *God is Jehovah*], the second of the twelve minor prophets, as they are arranged in our English Bible after the Hebrew; though in the Septuagint the order is, Hosea, Amos, Micah, Joel, &c. We read that he was the son of Pethuel, but, except this, we have no information as to his family, his native place, the time at which he flourished, and the events of his personal history. The tradition that he belonged to the tribe of Reuben, and to a town variously named Bethom, Theburan, and Bethomeron, is of late and uncertain authority; and the conjecture that he was a priest, because he has spoken so much of the temple and the sacrifices, may be dismissed without much consideration. A more reasonable conjecture is, that his ministry was exercised within the kingdom of Judah, on account of the very frequent references to Judah, Jerusalem, Zion, and the temple; while there is no reference to the ten tribes, unless possibly once, ch. iii. 2 (Hebrew, iv. 2), "My heritage *Israel*, whom they have scattered among the heathen, and parted my land"—a statement, however, which we interpret as referring to the whole twelve tribes.

The age in which he lived has furnished matter for great discussion, and very widely varying opinions have been put forward. Thus Bunsen conjectured that he wrote about fifteen or five and twenty years after the invasion of Judah by Shishak king of Egypt during the reign of Rehoboam; while, at the other extreme, J. D. Michaelis made him a contemporary of the Maccabees. But critics have chiefly leant to one of two opinions—either that he was a contemporary of Hosea and Amos, between whom he stands in the arrangement of the prophetical writings by the Jews —that is, in the reigns of Jeroboam II. of Israel and Uzziah of Judah; or else under the reign of Joash of Judah, about fifty or seventy years earlier. That he occupies a pretty early place is almost universally believed, because of the freshness of his style, which is pronounced to be easy, independent, and beautiful; whereas the marks of a somewhat later age in other prophets are awanting, especially the names of Assyria and Babylon—the great heathen empires which executed vengeance on God's apostate people. The earlier of the two dates above mentioned has been approved by the very highest of recent authorities, and these of the most thoroughly different theological tendencies; such as Credner, Hitzig, Ewald, Hofman, Delitzsch, Keil; and there have been very subtle arguments in favour of it from the contents of the book, chiefly—(1) because there is reference made directly to the Tyrians, Sidonians, and Philistines, as the enemies of Israel, ch. iii. 4 (Hebrew, iv. 4), whose enmity, however, came to be less prominent in succeeding ages, when attention was chiefly turned to the great worldly monarchies; (2) because no mention is made of the Syrians, who in the later days of Joash made a successful irruption into Judah, and were turned away from Jerusalem only by receiving a very heavy ransom, 2 Ki. xii. 17, 18 (Hebrew, 18, 19); 2 Ch. xxiv. 23-25; and (3) because "the valley of Jehoshaphat," in which is to take place the decisive contest with the enemies of God's people, points to the vivid recollection of the great victory granted to Jehoshaphat over the heathen, 2 Ch. xx., as of an event not yet far away from the prophet's time. This last argument is certainly very doubtful. The second argument loses much of its force, or all of it, when we consider that Syria was not an enemy of the kingdom of Judah in the way in which it was the enemy of the ten tribes; and that the inroad upon Joash was a solitary event, and expressly spoken of as somewhat incidental, and so it might leave little impression on the people at the distance of half a century, or something more. And as for the mention of the Tyrians, Sidonians, and Philistines, on which the first argument rests, it answers precisely to the mode of speaking in Amos, whom they refuse to call his contemporary. Ewald, indeed, and others after him, dwell upon the faith and piety of the early times in which Joel lived, very different from the degeneracy of the times of Hosea and Amos. But though a difference of character were established (which there has not been), it would furnish no criterion for the chronology, since we are not aware of any new causes of corruption among the people between the days of Joash and those of Uzziah; and in the time of the former king they were so powerful as to carry him away into openly idolatrous courses, along with his nobility. On the whole, as Umbreit says, there is no sufficient reason for throwing aside the old tradition which places Joel along with Hosea and Amos; and this appears to be still the prevailing opinion. Only, it is likely that Joel's prophecies preceded those of Amos, who as a herdsman in Tekoah may have had opportunities of hearing him, as it is almost certain that he borrows from him; compare Joel iii. 16 and Am. i. 2. Besides, there are very many passages which establish a close resemblance of sentiment and expression among those three prophets whom we consider contemporary. There is no reference in Joel to anything in the characters of the king and the princes of his time, whatever conclusion we may infer from this.

Another and more keenly conducted discussion among critics, has been as to the nature of the prophecy of Joel—whether the locusts of which he speaks at great length be literal or symbolical locusts. The symbolical interpretation was that which the ancient Jews and the Christian fathers adopted, with some inconsiderable exceptions; but since the Reformation the literal interpretation, which was adopted by Luther and Calvin, has been greatly more in favour, and is adopted by almost all the scholars of Germany in the present day. The decision indeed involves very great difficulties; so that Umbreit declares that he often wavered between the two opinions, and ended in thinking that the prophet meant to include both. We do not feel disposed to quarrel with this settlement of the question, if it is meant that the prophet started from the threatening by Moses of locusts, along with other evils, captivity itself among the rest, to be sent upon the disobedient people, De. xxviii. 38-42, as locusts and captivity are mentioned successively among the threatened evils by Solomon in his dedication prayer, 1 Ki. viii. 37, 46; and it is not unlikely that terrible sufferings from locusts may have given occasion to the form

of his description. But it is pre-eminently the symbolical locusts that are before him, as in the cognate passage, Re. ix. 1–12. For, if there be something strange in a sustained description of enemies under this figure, it is at least no less strange to have in the prophets such a lengthened description of a present or past evil that is merely of an external and transient nature. The imagery of locusts for enemies is familiar to very many of the subsequent prophets, beginning with Amos, who in ch. vii. 1, 4, has the same two emblems of these destructive swarms and of fire which we find in Joel. Nor do we feel the force of the exception taken to this reasoning, that these are in symbolical descriptions; because we regard the entire book of Joel as symbolical from end to end, and that on various grounds, which cannot be stated fully here. For instance —(1) In the description of the locusts there is nothing said of their flight, always a most remarkable feature in the real incursions of these creatures; their teeth are "the teeth of *lions*," ch. i. 6—a common and natural metaphor in reference to warlike hosts, but unsuitable to locusts proper; and their ravages are directed, not against fields, but against cities and men, who endeavour to meet them with swords or darts, ch. ii. 6-9. (2) The mischief is caused by fire as well as by locusts, ch. i. 19, 20; ii. 3, 5. (3) The blessings promised to the renovated land would be absurd, if taken otherwise than in a metaphorical sense, ch. iii. 18; and the same sense ought to be attached to the preceding miseries. (4) This is confirmed, ch. iii. 17, "So shall ye know that I am the Lord your God, dwelling in Zion, my holy mountain: then shall Jerusalem be holy, and *there shall no strangers pass through her any more.*" These strangers had been described as swarms of locusts, with whose destruction the miseries of Jerusalem were to close. This is plainer again in the original than in the authorized translation, at ch. iii. 2, "I will also gather all nations;" accurately it is, "all the nations," who ought therefore to be definitely known; and, if so, can only be the nations represented by these locusts. (5) The description of the perishing of the locusts, ch. ii. 20, is simple enough, if understood metaphorically; but it presents several serious difficulties to the literalist. For locusts are brought by the wind, and are carried away by it when it changes, as they have no power to resist it: yet there they are represented as being carried in three different directions—to the Mediterranean on the west, and the Dead Sea on the east, and "a land barren and desolate," apparently the desert, on the south. Especially they are called "the *northern* army," which well describes the nations who invaded Palestine, entering from the north, as they habitually did, and are described accordingly in a multitude of texts in Jeremiah and Ezekiel: whereas it is totally unsuitable for locusts, who come from the south or the east; but whose coming from the north, if not altogether incredible, would at least be so rare as to forbid the use of this word as a descriptive attribute. (6) The metaphor is discovered in the prayer which the priests are taught to use, ch. ii. 17, "Spare thy people, O Lord; and give not thine heritage to reproach, *that the heathen should rule over them.*" The marginal translation has indeed been adopted by recent writers, "that the heathen should take up a proverb against them." But all traditionary authority is against this, and so is the analogy of every other passage where the phrase occurs. And after all, it creates the difficulty, that one does not see why the people were to be reproached and made a proverb by the heathen, on account of their having endured the ravages of locusts; whereas the reproach is obvious enough, leading on to the question in reference to them, "Where is now their God?" if the heathen had been ruling over them, when they ought rather to have had rule over the heathen, according to the very words of the promise, De. xv. 6; which should be translated "rule," and not "reign," as in the authorized version.

A modification of the common opinion among the literal interpreters is, that the locusts were a present actual calamity; but that in them the prophet saw the harbingers or prognostics of a greater evil in the distance—the coming day of the Lord. This theory escapes from certain difficulties; but it introduces a formidable one peculiar to itself—namely this, that the prophet does not distinguish the day of the Lord from the visitation of the locusts; nay, he mixes them up as inseparable, ch. ii. 1-11, and speaks of their ravages as the last from which the people were to suffer before the time of glorious deliverance and of judgment on their enemies, ch. ii. 21, &c.

The arrangement of the prophecy on the symbolical principle of interpretation, is therefore of the following nature:—First, ch. i. 1–ii. 17, an announcement of desolating judgments on the backsliding people of God, under the form of four invasions of locusts, perhaps with reference to the four great worldly powers as set forth in Daniel and Zechariah; terminating in a call to thorough and universal repentance. Second, ch. ii. 18-29 (Hebrew, ii. 18–iii. 2), an announcement of salvation to the repentant people; restoring everything that they had lost, and giving them richer blessings. Third, ch. ii. 30–iii. 21 (Hebrew, iii. 2–iv. 21), the contrast between the utter destruction of the nations who had been instruments of vengeance in scattering Israel, and the restored people of God laden with inconceivable and everlasting blessings. The continuity of the prophecy has been interrupted by those who have taken ch. ii. 18, 19, or part of these verses, to be a historical parenthesis. And though they are grammatically right in taking the verbs in them as preterites, yet the English version gives the general force and impression of the passage perhaps more correctly to the reader; because it is an ideal preterite, but a real future in the continuous vision which is spread out before the prophet's eye, and expressed according to the peculiarity of the Hebrew consecution of tenses.

Joel has left his influence upon succeeding prophets; but there is little appearance of his being much indebted to the inspired writers who preceded him. There are, however, some references to the law of Moses, as in the descriptions of the graciousness of God, ch. ii. 13, from Ex. xxxiv. 6; xxxii. 14; the allusion to the heathen ruling over them noticed above, as also to the various curses denounced upon the disobedient in De. xxviii.; the promise of the Spirit to be poured out on all flesh, ch. ii. 28, according to the design of the covenant-people and the wish of Moses, Nu. xi. 29; and the cleansing of the land from its blood by its gracious God and Avenger, ch. iii. 19-21, compared with De. xxxii. 42, 43. Especially, the description of the locusts is so similar to that of the plague of locusts in Exodus, including the statement, ch. ii. 2, "There hath not been ever the like, neither shall be any more after it," as to force upon us the conviction that the writer of the one was

familiar with the other. We believe that Joel describes the sufferings of guilty Israel in language borrowed from the later and severer plagues of Egypt; but addressing to them an effectual call to repentance, he sees them saved from the final stroke, such as fell upon the impenitent king of Egypt, and which now falls upon the enemies of Israel; while he sees finally a plentiful rain of grace coming down on the oppressed and humbled covenant-people, who are brought triumphantly through something like their old experience in the wilderness, and so home to their land of rest, which is seen to be purified and glorified—a paradise restored. The conclusion of his prophecy has always been understood to be a promise of blessings to the church under Messiah's reign. And the very remarkable promise of the gift of the Spirit, ch. ii. 28, 29, was quoted and applied by the apostle Peter to the day of Pentecost, although we do not conceive that he confines its fulfilment to that day. Whether Joel uttered any specific prophecy of the person of Messiah will be answered in the affirmative or the negative, according as we adopt or reject the marginal translation in ch. ii. 23, "Be glad, then, ye children of Zion, and rejoice in the Lord your God; for he hath given you the Teacher of Righteousness," &c. This is the rendering of the ancient Jewish versions generally, except the Septuagint, and it is followed by the Vulgate; but it is abandoned by recent scholars with a few distinguished exceptions.

[Commentaries on Joel are of course to be found in commentaries on the Old Testament generally, or on the Prophets, or the minor Prophets, at least, in particular. Among recent works may be named those of Ewald, Umbreit, Hitzig, and Henderson. Two especial commentaries on this individual book may be mentioned; one by Pococke, prof. of Arabic at Oxford, who died in 1691; and one published in 1831, by Credner of Giessen, an able scholar, but a thorough rationalist. Hengstenberg discusses the age of Joel, defends the symbolical interpretation, and explains his view of the passages, ch. ii. 23, 28–32, at length, in his *Christologie*, vol. i. p. 331–403, maintaining the personal reference to the Teacher of Righteousness.] [G. C. M. D.]

JOGBE'HAH [*which shall be exalted*], a name mentioned twice in connection with transactions occurring on the east of the Jordan. From the contexts of the respective passages, it would appear that two different places are intended; nor is this to be wondered at, when it is considered that *Jogbehah* (which signifies "lofty") comes from the same root as the *Gebas* and *Gibeahs*, which are so numerous in Palestine proper.

1. It first occurs in an enumeration of cities rebuilt or fortified by the Gadites, after they (together with Reuben and half Manasseh) were allowed by Moses to occupy the conquered territories of Sihon and Og, but before the exact limits of each tribe were defined, Nu. xxxii. 35. As it is mentioned between Jazer and Beth-nimrah, neither of which was far from 'Ammân, it must also have been situated somewhere in that neighbourhood. Accordingly, we find "a ruined place, called *Jebeiha*," noticed by Burckhardt, as observed by him about four miles to the north of 'Ammân (Syr. p. 361; Bib. Res. App. p. 168); which, so far as our scanty knowledge of it extends, bears every mark of being the site in question. Except the usual loss of the feeble *yod*, the word has scarcely undergone any alteration.

2. We next meet with the name, Ju. viii. 11, in the account of Gideon's victory over the combined forces of the "Midianites, Amalekites, and children of the East." The direction which the panic-stricken host took in attempting to effect their escape, is laid down very minutely by the sacred historian. They are described as fleeing from the battle-field in the valley of Jezreel "unto Beth-shittah (now *Shuttah*) towards Zererah," which was near Bethshan, 1 Ki. iv. 12; and so onwards "to the brink of (the Jordan valley, where was situated) Abel-meholah," above (or rather, as several MSS. read, "unto) Tabbath." The meaning of Abel-meholah appears to be "the Meadow of the Whirlpool;"[1] and thus points to the ford near the falls of el-Buk'ah, whence there is still a direct route by et-*Taiyibeh* (Tabbath?) to the eastern wilderness. Assuming el-*Kerak*, midway between Tell 'Ashtereh (Ashtaroth) and Busrah (Bozrah) to be the Karkor of the narrative, the distance is such as may well be supposed to have inspired the fugitives with a sense of security. Great, therefore, must have been their surprise and consternation, when Gideon, by a rapid and circuitous march, suddenly attacked them on their exposed flank or rear; and thus, like a skilful general, reaped the full advantage of his victory. The line of his pursuit is given as minutely as that of the Midianitish flight: "And Gideon went up by the way of them that dwell in tents, on the east of Nobah and Jogbehah, and smote the host; for the host was secure." The mention of Nobah, a city of Manasseh, proves this to be a different Jogbehah from the one already referred to, and points in a direction north-east from Bethshan; where, up the valley of the Sheriat-el-Mandhûr, and thence by Fîk (Aphek), ran anciently, and still runs, the great road leading from central Palestine to Damascus. This route was followed by Burckhardt on one occasion, and his simple details strikingly yet unconsciously illustrate the several stages of Gideon's forced march. He informs us that the valley of the Mandhûr (or Yarmûk) is inhabited by an Arab tribe, "*who live under tents*, and remove from place to place, but without quitting the banks of the river. They sow wheat and barley, and cultivate pomegranates, lemons, grapes, and many kinds of fruit and vegetables, which

[1] The root signifies primarily, "to twist, writhe, turn round and round," and is applied by Jeremiah (ch. xxiii. 19; xxx. 23) to the action of a whirlwind, and by the Psalmist (Ps. lxxvii. 16) to the violent lashing of water occasioned by a mighty convulsion of nature, with evident allusion to the miraculous recoil of the Jordan stream at this very spot (Jos. iii. 16), which, like the kindred event at the Red Sea, appears to have been accompanied by earthquake and tempest (comp. Ps. cxiv. with Hab. iii.) It is not unlikely that the vast accumulation of pent-up waters, thus assisted, caused some change in the channels both of the Jordan and its important tributary the Yarmûk. See Robinson's *Later Bib. Res.* p. 316; *Lynch*, p. 249, and comp. Hab. iii. 9, "Thou didst cleave the rivers of the land," with the modern name of the whirlpool, el-Buk'ah, "the Cleft." The language in which Lynch refers to the probable site of Abel-meholah is the exact counterpart of that significant compound. The first part of the word is illustrated by the remark, that the district which skirted the western bank of the Jordan around el-Buk'ah was "an extensive plain, *luxuriant in vegetation*, and presenting to view, in uncultivated spots, a *richness of alluvial soil*, the produce of which, with proper agriculture, might nourish a vast population" (*Exp. to Dead Sea*, p. 182). We read, then, without surprise of Elisha, with his twelve yoke of oxen, being engaged in ploughing, when Elijah here encountered him on his way to the wilderness of Damascus (1 Ki. xix. 15-21). The second part (Meholah) admits also of a ready explanation from such expressions as these: "The river foamed over its rocky bed with the fury of a cataract" (p. 183); and again, "This rock was on the outer edge of the *whirlpool*, which, a caldron of foam, *swept round and round in circling eddies*" (p. 189). It would be strange indeed if so striking a scene as this did not give name to some neighbouring locality.

they sell in the villages of the Haurân and Jaulân" (Syr. 273, 274). Considerably beyond Fîk, he passed "*Tell Jâbieh* with a village," and shortly afterwards he came to *Nowa*, where he slept (p. 283). The latter has, with great probability, been identified by Hävernick and Ewald with Nobah (formerly Kenath), which was rebuilt by a Manassite of that name, Nu. xxxii. 42; but the former does not appear to have attracted the attention which it deserves. Its name, its proximity to Nowa, the Arabic prefix *Tell*, implying alike the existence of ruins and the elevation which is denoted by the Hebrew root—all go to prove that here we have the spot where stood the Jogbehah of Manasseh, as distinguished from that of Gad. This is still further confirmed by the fact, that at Nowa the Damascus road is joined by another from the south-east, by following which Gideon would arrive at the place which has been indicated as the probable site of Karkor.[1] [E. W.]

JOHAN'AN [contracted form of JEHOHANAN, *God's gift* or *favour*]. 1. The first who bears this abbreviated form of the name was a priest, son of Azariah, who belonged to the line of Zadok, and who appears to have been high-priest in the reign of Solomon, 1 Ki. iv. 2; 1 Ch. vi. 10. Johanan's time of office must have fallen either about the closing period of Solomon's reign, or in the days of Rehoboam. He was succeeded by a son of the name of Azariah.

2. JOHANAN, son of Kareah. He was one of the captains of Judah, at the time Jerusalem was finally taken and destroyed by the Chaldeans, and was among those who fled into the regions on the east of Jordan, the mountains of Moab and Ammon, where he waited till he should see what might be the issue of things for his unhappy country. When order was again re-established, and Gedaliah held the office of governor under the king of Babylon, Johanan repaired to Mizpeh to tender his allegiance, and seems to have been actuated by an honest desire to preserve what was now established, as the best in the circumstances. As soon, therefore, as he learned the purpose of Ishmael to murder Gedaliah, he gave notice of it, but unfortunately his warning was slighted, and the dreaded catastrophe took place. Johanan was justly filled with indignation at the perpetration of this crime, and pursued after Ishmael for the purpose of avenging it. In this, however, he failed, though he recovered the captives whom Ishmael carried away with him; and now, dreading the fury of the Chaldeans on account of Gedaliah's murder, he refused to follow the advice of Jeremiah to abide in the land of Judah, but fled with a considerable company to Egypt, carrying Jeremiah along with him. In this timid policy he, of course, erred, especially when it was pursued in direct disobedience of a divine word, and we can scarcely doubt he lived to repent of it. But we lose sight both of him and of the company who went with him, shortly after they entered the land of Egypt.

3. Various persons of this name are mentioned in the genealogies, but without any specific historical notices—a son of Elioenai, in the line of Zerubbabel, 1 Ch. iii. 24—eldest son of Josiah, who probably died before his father or with him, 1 Ch. iii. 15—a Benjamite, one of David's captains, 1 Ch. xii. 4—a hero of Gad, who joined himself to David, 1 Ch. xii. 12—an Ephraimite, father of Azariah, in the time of Ahaz, 2 Ch. xxviii. 12—a Levite, son of Eliashib, and a returned captive, Ezr. x. 6—another returned captive, son of Hakkatan, Ezr. viii. 12—the son of Tobiah the Ammonite, Ne. vi. 18.

JOHN [the New Testament form of JOHANAN]. This name is found in the New Testament of four different persons—but once of a person, who is only incidentally mentioned, as a relative of the high-priest, and of whom nothing further is certainly known; and again also only once of the evangelist Mark—"John, whose surname was Mark," Ac. xii. 12—John being the original, the Jewish name, while that of Mark, which had somehow come to him from the Latin, became his common and prevailing designation (*see* MARK). There remain only two who bore the name of John, and who under that name have been known to the church as occupying a place of distinguished honour—*John the Baptist* and *John the Apostle*.

JOHN THE BAPTIST. He was the son of Zecharias and Elisabeth, who were both of the house of Aaron, Lu. i. 5, and both distinguished for their God-fearing disposition and upright character, "walking in the commandments and ordinances of the Lord blameless." They were well advanced in life before they appear on the stage of gospel history, though not in the ordinary sense old; for, ministering as Zecharias did in the priest's office at the golden altar, he must still have been in the full possession of his faculties. But in addition to the advanced age of both parents, Elisabeth was barren; so that if any child was now to proceed from them, it could only be as a wonder accomplished by the special grace and interposition of God. What was needed, however, in this respect, was not to be withheld; for while Zecharias was engaged in the presentation of incense, in the temple, the angel Gabriel appeared, and announced to him, that his wife should bear a son, and that they should call his name John. (For the angelic appearance and message on this occasion, see under GABRIEL; and for the relation in which Zecharias stood to it, and his procedure under it, see ZACHARIAS.) The proper ground and reason of the procedure lay in the divine purpose to be accomplished by this offspring of Zecharias, since in him was to be found the commencement of a new era in God's dispensations, and one that should at once fulfil and antiquate the old. But this new era was to be pre-eminently the day of grace, for which the people of God had been waiting in hopeful expectation—grace rising above nature, and with its God-empowered, redemptive agencies working out the good, which nature was altogether unable to accomplish. Hence, as here all was to be, in a manner, wonderful, and in the centre of the whole there was to appear the greatest of all wonders—the incarnation of the Son of God—a divine wonder fitly opened the series, in the birth of him, who was to herald the new era, the son of a barren mother, and of parents both already stricken in years. In this respect he was emphatically a John—Johanan, *Jehovah's gift*, or favour—in his very birth the sign and token of divine goodness, showing that God had now again begun to visit his people with the peculiar gifts of his grace, and was setting in operation the agencies which were to bring the higher designs of his covenant into effect.

[1] It is necessary to add, that this view of Gideon's route is incompatible with the position usually assigned to the Jabbok, and requires that river to be identified with the Yarmûk, whose claims to be so regarded are, in the writer's opinion, much stronger than those of the Zurka. This, of course, gives Succoth and Penuel also a more northerly position; a result which the scriptural notices encourage rather than forbid.

The fitness of the name, however, appointed to be borne by this divine messenger becomes more apparent, when we look at the account given of the mission to which he was destined. Pointing back to the prediction contained in the concluding verses of Malachi, the angel said to Zecharias, "Many of the children of Israel shall he turn to the Lord their God; and he shall go before him in the spirit and power of Elias, to turn the hearts of the fathers to the children, and the disobedient to the wisdom of the just; to make ready a people prepared for the Lord," Lu. i. 16, 17. The man who should do such a work as this, must have been in the highest sense a gift of grace from the Lord; the more so, as his work was not to stand alone, but to be the prelude and harbinger of something peculiarly great —the immediate presence of the Lord himself. It was John's singular honour to have been made ages before his birth the subject of prophecy, and in respect to the purpose for which he was announced, placed in such close juxta-position with the Lord of glory. But the reverse of honour was implied in that purpose, as regards the generation for which and among which he was to appear; since it betokened their general and deep-rooted alienation from God. His relation to Elias should have put this beyond a doubt, and made it patent to all; for Elias was the great prophet-reformer, whose whole striving was directed to the object of reclaiming a backslidden people to the worship and service of Jehovah. They had become degenerate plants of a strange vine, or unworthy descendants of a godly ancestry; and he would at the very hazard of his life have them brought back to the right spiritual condition, lest Jehovah, as the God of the covenant, should come near and consume them. This was most impressively exhibited in his prayer on Mount Carmel, when, addressing Jehovah as the God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob (the recognized fathers of the covenant-people) he besought the answer of fire from heaven on his sacrifice, in proof that he was accepted, and that the Lord was now turning the hearts of the people back again, 1 Ki. xviii. 36, 37—back, namely, to Jehovah himself, in the first instance, as the grand centre of life and blessing; and secondarily, to their righteous fathers; from both alike they were alienated, and the return to the one should necessarily involve also the return to the other. Such, precisely, was the work to which the son of Zecharias was destined; the hearts of the people, amid all their outward respect for the name and worship of God, were again in a state of alienation; and this new prophet-reformer was to have it for the main object of his striving to "turn them back to the Lord their God." In doing this he should also of necessity turn the hearts of fathers and children toward each other, so that the godly fathers should again, as it were, embrace their degenerate offspring; which is all one with saying, what, indeed, is said in the explanatory clause, that he should bring "the disobedient to the wisdom of the just;" *i.e.* should make the disobedient children become like their just or righteous parentage. In a word, both should again become—so far as the work was really accomplished—of one heart and mind, having the God of the covenant for the common object of their homage and affection.

With this high promise of future service and glory, the expected child was in due time born to Zecharias, and according to the divine command was named John. From the day of his circumcision till the period of his entering on the discharge of his reforming agency, we hear nothing of him, except that "he grew, and waxed strong in spirit, and was in the deserts," Lu. i. 80. *There*, doubtless, in those wild solitudes, which lay around his native region in the hill country of Judea, he nursed his soul to holy contemplation on the state of things among his countrymen, and the high calling in respect to them, which the divine word had marked out for him. But that he did not join himself, as has sometimes been supposed, to the Essenes, who had settlements in certain parts of the wilderness on the south of Judea, is manifest from the far deeper insight he afterwards displayed into the divine economy than they possessed, and from his entering on a course of public procedure, which was entirely alien to their quiescent spirit and rigid ceremonialism. (*See* ESSENES.) While still in the wilderness, the Spirit of the Lord began to move him to his enterprise; there "the word of God came to him," Lu. iii. 2; and he gave forth at once what he received, but in doing so naturally advanced toward the edge of the wilderness till he approached the banks of the Jordan, as thus only could he get a sufficient audience to listen to his proclamation. Even when moving thither, however, he did not altogether quit his connection with the desert; he wished, and no doubt acted so as to appear, still in some sense a sojourner in it; for when the authorities of Jerusalem were startled by the excitement he was raising, and sent to inquire what he said of himself, he gave answer in the words of Isaiah, "I am the voice of one crying in the wilderness, Prepare ye the way of the Lord," &c. His appearance in such a place was itself a sign—the *natural* wilderness being intended to serve as a symbol of the *moral* condition of the people, with whom all, in a manner, lay desert, no spiritual highways for the Lord to move up and down in, no fields of righteousness from which he might receive the fruit he desired to reap. It was Heaven's voice, indeed, that cried in him, but it cried as in a waste howling wilderness; therefore, cried in loud and earnest peals, that men would repent, and prepare to meet their God. With this, also, corresponded his dress, which was made of camel's hair, and girt about with a leathern girdle—the coarsest attire, the garb of penitents, 1 Ki. xxi. 27; and his food locusts and wild honey (see under the words)—the spontaneous products of waste or uncultivated places—the diet of one who was keeping, as far as possible, a continual fast, Mat. iii. 4. As John's earnest cry was a call to repent, so his appearance and mode of life were a kind of personified repentance; and if the people had understood aright, and responded to his mission, they would have conformed themselves to the type and pattern which they saw in him. This, however, was what few comparatively did, and even they in a very imperfect manner.

One can easily conceive how the singularity of John's appearance, the earnestness of his manner, and above all, the solemn announcement he made, that the kingdom of heaven was at hand, would strike an awe into men's minds, and raise a deep wave of religious feeling through the community. Such evidently was the case; and as men's acquaintance with John grew, and they saw more distinctly into the nature of his aims and operations, their interest and concern would be the more profoundly awakened. For, they could not but perceive a terrible energy in his words; what he spake must have rung almost like the knell of doom in their

ears; the time, he said, was gone for fair pretexts and hypocritical observances; now, all must be matter of stern reality, since the Lord himself was presently to appear, with supreme authority and prompt decision, to deal with all according to their real state, and either draw them to himself in love, or cast them from him as refuse. In further proof of his sincerity, and as indicative of the greatness of the crisis that had arrived, John came not only preaching these stirring doctrines, but sealing them by an appropriate ordinance, the baptism of repentance. (*See* BAPTISM.) The result was that people's hearts were everywhere moved; and from all parts of Judea, including Jerusalem, they flocked to Jordan, and were baptized confessing their sins. Sadducees were shaken from their worldliness, and Pharisees made for the moment to feel the insufficiency of their outward observances; so that John himself seemed astonished at the anxiety that was evinced, and the kinds of persons who applied to him, Mat. iii. 7. Nor did he leave them in doubt as to the thoroughly practical nature of the reformation which was needed; the heart generally must be turned toward God, and the sins which more easily and commonly beset particular classes of men must be forsaken, that each might be found walking in his uprightness, Lu. iii. 10-14. While he and his disciples practised fasting, and seem to have adhered generally to the traditions of the elders, as to the form of godliness maintained by them, there is nothing in John's recorded utterances to imply that he laid stress upon such things by themselves, or even counted them anything apart from the feelings and principles of a sincere piety. Beside the introduction of baptism, he attempted no change in existing usages, but sought merely to have the life, which these ought to have expressed, formed in men's souls, and everything in practice inconsistent therewith abandoned.

The temporary success which attended John's mission produced no undue elation in his own mind; like a divinely taught man he kept steadfastly to his proper place and work. When the people began to doubt whether he might not be himself the long-expected Messiah, and the authorities at Jerusalem sent a formal message of inquiry to learn who he was, he announced in the most explicit manner, that he was but a servant and forerunner of Him who was to come, unworthy even to loose, or to bear his shoes. When Jesus presented himself at Jordan for baptism, John, with a becoming consciousness of his own inferiority, though still without any certain assurance of the proper Sonship of Jesus, sought, as unworthy, to be excused from the service, Jn. i. 31; Mat. iii. 14. And when, after having received such assurance, and publicly pointed out Jesus to his followers as the coming Saviour, he heard that the multitudes were by and by crowding to Jesus rather than to himself, he meekly acquiesced in the result, and even expressed his joy on account of it, as seeing therein the great end of his mission reaching its accomplishment, Jn. iii. 26-36. By the time this circumstance had occurred—the circumstance which drew forth the last recorded testimony of John respecting Jesus—he had moved considerably upwards from the region where he commenced his ministry, and was probably either within the bounds of Galilee, or in the immediate neighbourhood. He is said to have been at Ænon, near to Salem or Salim; the exact position of which, however, is uncertain. But that his ministry actually extended to the precincts of Galilee, if not within Galilee itself, and that some of his more regular disciples were gathered thence, we know from the account in St. John's gospel, ch. i. 29-43; and also from the fact of his imprisonment by Herod Antipas, which implied his having come within the bounds of Herod's jurisdiction. He must, therefore, have ultimately extended his labours into Galilee, or have passed into Peræa, on the farther side of Jordan, near the southern extremity of the Lake of Galilee. The evangelical narratives are too indefinite to enable us to determine his course more precisely; nor do they enter into the details of his connection with Herod. In all of them the fact of his imprisonment is mentioned; and in the gospel of Matthew, ch. iv. 12, it is even represented as the starting point of our Lord's more public career, and in part also the reason of Galilee being chosen for the more peculiar theatre of its operations: when the herald was silenced, the Master himself took up the word, and carried it onward to the higher stages of development. But John must previously have laboured for some time in Galilee or its neighbourhood, and produced there also a deep wave of religious feeling; otherwise, he could never have gained the estimation in which he was there held, and the profound respect entertained toward him by such a man as Herod. For we are told that "Herod feared John, knowing that he was a just man, and an holy, and observed him; and when he heard him, he did many things, and heard him gladly." He would not, however, do the one thing, which John doubtless pressed upon him as most especially requiring to be done, if Herod would attain to the character and position of a true penitent—namely, dissolve his adulterous connection with Herodias, his brother Philip's wife. But to press this was to touch upon the tender point, which Herod and his guilty partner could not bear to be named; and John presently found, that as he was the new Elias, so he had to confront a new Ahab and Jezebel, who would seek to do with him as they might list. Accordingly, he was cast into prison—the deed of Herod, though probably done at the instigation of Herodias; who was not even satisfied with this measure of violence, but watched her opportunity to consummate the matter by getting Herod in an unguarded moment committed to the execution of John. This she found on the occasion of Herod's birthday, and through the instrumentality of her daughter, who won so much upon the favour of Herod by her dancing, as to obtain the promise from him of whatsoever she should ask. At the instigation of her mother she asked and received the head of the Baptist, Mat. xiv. 6-11; Mar. vi. 21-28.

This is altogether a more natural account than that given by Josephus (Ant. xviii. 5, 2), which so far agrees, however, that it represents John as a just man, and had in great honour among the people, but connects, first his imprisonment, then his death, with jealous apprehensions on the part of Herod, lest John's extreme popularity should prove the occasion of political disturbances. On this suspicion, it is said, John was "taken up, and being sent bound to the castle of Machærus, was slain there." It is by no means improbable, and is, indeed, the general belief, that the castle of Machærus (which stood in Peræa, toward the extreme south-east of the district, and not very far from the top of the Dead Sea) was the place of John's confinement and death. But from all that we know both of John and Herod it is greatly more probable,

that John's faithfulness toward Herod and Herodias were the prompting cause of the treatment he received, than any dread of popular commotions. The precise period, either of John's imprisonment or of his death, cannot be ascertained. It seems plain, that all the events and discourses related in the gospel of Matthew, from ch. iv. 12 to the commencement of ch. xiv., lay between the one and the other; and this included the calling and appointment of the twelve apostles, partly preceded and partly followed by an extensive missionary tour through the synagogues and towns of Galilee, ch. iv. 17-25—the delivering of the sermon on the mount, followed by a series of miraculous cures, and a visit to the farther side of the lake—another series of discourses and miracles, followed by a second extensive tour through the cities of Galilee, with much teaching in the synagogues, ch. ix.—the sending forth of the twelve on their separate missionary tour, ch. x.—the message from John himself, and the discourses to which it gave rise, ch. xi.—the return of the disciples, with many transactions and discourses ensuing, and in particular the formal commencement of speaking in parables, ch. xii. xiii. Wiesler, and those who follow his chronological order (Chron. Synopsis, p. 292), would crowd all this part of our Lord's ministry into what seems an incredibly short period, and would place the Baptist's imprisonment in March, and his death in April, of the same year. The reasons for this are to a large extent fanciful and unsatisfactory, but need not here be inquired into. Looking simply at the variety and fulness of the evangelical narrative, as now noticed, stretching between the two events, the natural conclusion is, that John's imprisonment must have lasted several months, and may even have continued for the best part of a year. By comparing Mat. xiv. 15–21 with Jn. vi. 4, it would appear that the execution of John took place shortly before the passover which preceded the one at which our Lord suffered; so that very little more than a year must have elapsed between the two deaths.

Resembling, though John did, in so many things the Elijah of former days, the exit of the one from his field of labour was as remarkable for its humiliating circumstances, as the other for its singular glory—the one dying as a felon by the hand of the executioner, the other, without tasting at all of death, ascending to heaven in a chariot of fire. But in John's case it could not be otherwise; the forerunner, no more than the disciple, could be above his Master; and especially in the treatment of the one must the followers of Jesus be prepared for what was going to be accomplished in the other. After John's death, and growing out of it, a whole series of special actions and discourses were directed to this end by our Lord. The manner of John's death, therefore, is on no account to be regarded as throwing a depreciatory reflection on his position and ministry. He was, as Christ himself testified, "a burning and a shining light," Jn. v. 35; and, with one slight exception, he fulfilled his arduous course in a truly noble and valiant spirit. The exception referred to was the message he sent from his prison to Jesus, asking whether Jesus was he that should come, or they should still look for another? The question has appeared so unsuitable for John, that a large proportion of commentators from the earliest times have thought that it must have been suggested by John's disciples, and that for their satisfaction, rather than his own, he agreed to send it. But there is nothing of this in the narrative. The disciples are expressly said to have been sent by John on this errand; or, as it is still more explicitly given in what appears to be the correct reading of Mat. xi. 2, *he sent through* (διὰ not δύο) his disciples. The occasion also, which is represented as having led to the sending, namely, John's having heard in prison of the wonderful works of Jesus, connects it with a peculiarity in his condition, not theirs. And then the specific and personal form given to our Lord's reply, "Go and tell John the things which ye do see and hear," fix the matter as distinctly upon him as it is possible for language to do. By sending such a message, however, John had not lost his confidence in Jesus as the great representative of Heaven, whose coming he had heralded; the very application to him for an authoritative direction betokened the reverse; but he could not understand how, while such mighty works were showing themselves forth in him, there should be so little seen of that decisive action on the side of righteousness, and against iniquity, which John had been led by the writings of Malachi, and by his own spiritual insight, to connect with the coming Messiah. Manifestly, it was from no want of power, that the work was not done—why, then, did it not appear? Might there not be still some other and future manifestation of the Holy One to be looked for? In short, the Baptist had been fixing his eye too exclusively on one aspect of the Lord's work, and overlooking others, which required equally to be taken into account. He hence got bewildered in his views, and received from Christ a message in reply, which was exactly fitted to rectify them; since it reminded him of things being in progress, which ancient prophecy had distinctly associated with Messiah's agency, and of the necessity of allowing him, who had so great a work to do, to take his own way of doing it—"blessed is he, whosoever shall not be offended in me." But lest those around should, from what John did, or what our Lord said in reply, take up disparaging views of this great messenger of Heaven, Jesus proceeded in very strong and animating language to discourse to the people concerning him, and declared him to be, not only a true prophet of God, but greater even than a prophet, in the ordinary sense, the greatest that up till his time had been born of women, because standing the nearest in his work and calling to the Lord himself. Yet still only relatively greatest; for the very circumstance which raised him above those who had gone before — his proximity to Christ—depressed him in respect to those who were to follow; so that the least (or rather, the comparatively little) in the kingdom of heaven should be greater than he who stood only at its threshold. Knowing more, and receiving more of Christ and his glorious work, they should stand higher in the endowments and privileges of grace. Viewed thus, the circumstance which at first sight appears so strange, is perfectly explicable. And though it does involve a certain weakness or defect, in respect to John's apprehension of divine things, yet not more, certainly, than appeared for a time in the apostles themselves, who were relatively greater than he, Mat. xvi. 21, &c.; and it leaves untouched his integrity and honour as a special messenger of Heaven, in whom and in whose work divine wisdom was justified.

JOHN THE APOSTLE, LIFE OF. The life of this eminent apostle, though in many respects highly interesting, does not furnish any great variety of incident.

His character was rather contemplative than energetic; his taste led him rather to spiritual communion with his beloved Lord, than to vigorous action in the world. The knowledge conveyed to us in the Scripture of the history of John is not large. Tradition may seem to furnish us with much; but this, after all, contains little that is trustworthy; and, like traditionary history in general, becomes more abundant as it gets farther from its source; as if it would make up by its fulness of detail for its weakness of foundation.

We will first notice the principal facts which may be gathered from the New Testament. St. John would appear to have been the youngest of the apostles. Probably he was born at Bethsaida, a small town upon the Lake of Gennesaret. At least, we know that Bethsaida was "the city of Andrew and Peter," Jn. i. 44; and that James and John were, in their fishing-trade, "partners with Simon," Lu. v. 10. John, and James his brother, were sons of Zebedee, a fisherman on the lake. There is a tradition that Zebedee was uncle to the Baptist. All, however, that we really know of him seems to be, that he was the owner of a fishing-vessel, and that he had "hired servants," Mar. i. 20. Salome, the mother of John, was one of those women who ministered to Jesus of their substance, and who purchased spices to anoint his body. All this would lead to the belief, that the family were by no means of the lowest class; that they were not despised by their own countrymen; and that their circumstances were not such as to prevent their giving to their children a sufficient education. We may couple with this the circumstance that John is spoken of (at least there seems no reason to discredit the ordinary notion that the disciple spoken of, Jn. xviii. 15, was our apostle) as personally known unto the high-priest, a fact which anyhow implies respectability of station; and further, that when the Saviour had consigned to him the care of Mary his mother, he "took her to his own home," from which we should infer that he was possessor of a house somewhere, if not at Jerusalem. Thus we conclude, upon the whole, that St. John belonged from the first to what may be termed the middle class of Jewish society, and that probably when, Ac. iv. 13, it is said that the council perceived of Peter and John that they were "unlearned and ignorant men" (ἀγράμματοι καὶ ἰδιῶται), it merely means that they had not been regularly trained in the schools of Talmudic theology, and not that they were destitute of fair ordinary education.

Of the character of Zebedee, the father of the apostle, nothing is known to us, except indeed the negative feature of it—that he made no opposition to his sons' obeying the call of Jesus and following him. Salome seems to have been a woman of piety, and probably had long been "waiting for the consolation of Israel." Her somewhat selfish request that her "sons might sit, the one at his right hand and the other at his left, in his kingdom," would at least show her full belief that his kingdom would ere long come. From his mother's character, and perhaps his father's, it would seem likely that St. John was early made acquainted with the scriptures of the Old Testament, and led to see in them many a promise of a future anointed Deliverer.

It has usually been thought, and probably with justice, that John was the companion of Andrew when the Baptist (of whom, in that case, they must both have been disciples) "looked upon Jesus as he walked, and said, Behold, the Lamb of God," and that thus, under the training of that great teacher, he had already received instruction which might well prepare his mind to look for a Messiah.

After following Jesus to his own home, it would appear that John accompanied him from Galilee to Jerusalem, and again upon his return through Samaria to Galilee; again, it would seem, accompanying him on his second visit to Jerusalem. At least the narrative in chapters ii.–v. seems to be the report of one who was either himself present at the scenes described, or who had received information of the particulars while they were yet fresh.

It would appear that John, after the miracle at Bethesda, was permitted for a while to return to Galilee, and to pursue his ordinary occupation; and that, afterwards, with his own brother James, and with Andrew and Peter, he was again summoned to attend immediately upon the Saviour. Very few particulars however are afforded us. We find his name in the list of the twelve apostles. With Peter and with James he shares the honour of being admitted to peculiarly close intimacy with his Master, and of being present at scenes from which others were excluded—the raising of the daughter of Jairus, the transfiguration, and the agony. He was especially beloved by the Lord Jesus, and was allowed the peculiar honour of reclining next to him at the final paschal supper—of "leaning on Jesus' bosom;" while through him was made known to the rest the intended treachery of Judas. In a few hours afterwards a distinction was afforded him yet more honourable and more touching. The Saviour on the cross commits to him the care of his beloved mother. "He saith unto his mother, Woman, behold thy son; and to the disciple, Behold thy mother; and from that hour that disciple took her to his own home," Jn. xix. 26, 27.

A few more particulars respecting him may be gathered from his own Gospel, and from the Acts of the Apostles—his early visit with Peter to the sepulchre —his retiring for a while, after the resurrection, to his former occupation on the Sea of Tiberias—his meeting again with his Lord—and the words uttered with regard to him by the Saviour to Peter, which might seem perhaps to imply that John should not die by the sword of martyrdom.

Thus much is told us in the Gospels. From the Acts of the Apostles we gather that he was with his brethren at the great day of Pentecost—that, in connection with Peter, he was made the instrument of curing the man who was lame from his birth, and was joined with Peter also in nobly defending his Master's cause before the assembled council. He is found again, in company with Peter, in Samaria, confirming the work which Philip the evangelist had begun. All that is further reported concerning him in the notices of Scripture, is that Paul met with him at Jerusalem (probably about the year 52), and received from him the right hand of fellowship, Ga. ii. 9; and that he was afterwards in the island of Patmos, "for the word of God, and for the testimony of Jesus Christ," Re. i. 9.

The above is perhaps all, or nearly all, which can be directly gathered from the Scripture concerning St. John. We shall now briefly refer to the circumstances concerning him upon which antiquity is pretty well agreed, and which at all events are not inconsistent with the New Testament. It seems universally allowed that the latter years of the apostle's life were principally spent at

Ephesus; while also there is a tradition that he made Jerusalem his ordinary place of residence till after the death of Mary, an event which Eusebius places in the year 58. There is no allusion whatever to St. John in the accounts given us in the Acts of the Apostles, of St. Paul's ministry at Ephesus (which probably lasted from 56 to 60), nor in the epistle to the Ephesians, nor in either of the epistles to Timothy. Again, there is no reason to believe that John was at Jerusalem during Paul's final visit to that city in 60 or 61. His absence might possibly be merely temporary; but it is not unlikely that he might have ceased to reside at Jerusalem considerably before he removed to Ephesus, though there does not seem to be any tradition as to his place of sojourn. In fact, it is not by any means likely that he removed to Ephesus till after the death of Paul, which took place probably in 66. The general voice of history seems to make him, from shortly after that period, the great centre of authority and spiritual light in Asia Minor, and especially the opponent of those floating notions and fancies which ultimately ripened into the Gnostic heresies, and with reference to which St. Paul had already said to the elders of Ephesus—"Also of your own selves shall men arise speaking perverse things, to draw away disciples after them." His banishment at Patmos, during which he was favoured with the wondrous visions of the Apocalypse, probably took place during the latter part of the reign of Domitian, perhaps about the year 95, though some have referred it to the reign of Nero. An account is given in Tertullian, and adopted by Jerome, of St. John's being taken to Rome under Domitian, of his being cast into a caldron of boiling oil, of his miraculous deliverance from it, and of his being afterwards removed to Patmos. This mode of punishment however was, as far as we can ascertain, never customary at Rome; and the account rests upon the sole authority of Tertullian, who was by no means remarkable for his critical powers. He is therefore usually considered as mistaken. The death of St. John is supposed to have taken place at Ephesus in the reign of Trajan; his age being stated by various writers, on authority perhaps little more than conjectural, at from 90 to 120 years.

With regard to the peculiar character and disposition of St. John, it will be desirable for us to say a little, and perhaps to illustrate what we say by one or two other traditionary incidents. His tendencies, as we have already remarked, seem much more towards contemplation than towards external action. In the little that is told of him in the Acts of the Apostles, it would not be easy to discover anything which he actually did, or even actually said. He is associated always with Peter, and to Peter all that is said or done may naturally be assigned. A contrast might be drawn, not without its interest, between John and Peter on the one side, and John and Paul on the other—the quiet unobtrusive love of John with the ardent and sometimes rash forwardness of Peter; the calm meditative style of writing of St. John with the style of St. Paul, at once logical and warmly energetic. The character of John might appear at first sight almost feminine—gentle, well-nigh to the borders of weakness. Combined, however, with this is another element, that of earnest and quick wrath. His desire to call for fire from heaven to consume those Samaritans who declined to receive Jesus, as he was journeying towards Jerusalem, may serve as an instance of this, Lu. ix. 51-56. It may perhaps be from this peculiarity of character that Jesus gave to John and to his brother James the name of Boanerges, "Sons of Thunder." His epistles, too, are remarkable for the pointed energy with which he expresses censure. We may take as instances 1 Jn. i. 6, and ii. 9; to which we may add the cutting censure upon Diotrephes, 2 Jn. 10, 11. As an illustration of the severity of his hatred of opposition to the truth, we may take the well-known story, narrated by Irenæus, on the authority of those who had received it from Polycarp; that, while he resided at Ephesus, on going to the public baths, he perceived that Cerinthus, the heretical leader, was there. He came out again with haste, saying, that he feared the building would fall, while Cerinthus, an enemy of the truth, was within it. As an illustration of the tender, untiring love which animated him as a pastor of the flock, we may refer to what is told us by Clement of Alexandria, in his book τίς ὁ σωζόμενος πλούσιος. The narrative is given at considerable length, and we must abridge rather than translate. While addressing the brethren in a city near Ephesus, the apostle was greatly attracted by a certain youth of noble appearance, and committed him to the special care of the bishop of the place. The latter took him home, educated and trained him, and finally admitted him to baptism. When this was done, the pastor abated his watchfulness, and the youth was drawn aside, and from one evil course went on to another, till finally he renounced all hope in the grace of God—organized a band of robbers, placed himself at their head, and surpassed them all in cruelty and violence. After a time St. John again visits the city. He inquires for the young man. He says to the bishop, "Restore the pledge which the Saviour and I intrusted to you in the presence of the congregation." The bishop at first cannot understand him, but at length says with tears, "He is dead." "How did he die?" says the apostle. "He is dead to God," says the bishop, "he became godless, and finally a robber." St. John rent his clothes, and cried, "To what keeper have I intrusted my brother's soul!" He procures a horse and guide, and hastens to the robber's fortress. He is seized by the sentinels. "Take me," says he, "to your captain." The captain, at the sight of him, flees from sense of shame. "Why do you flee from me—from me—your father, an unarmed old man? You have yet a hope of life. I will yet give account to Christ for you. If need be, I will gladly die for you." With many such words he prevailed upon the prodigal. He finally led him back to the church, pleaded with him, strove with him in fasting, urged him with admonitions, and never forsook him, till he was able to restore him to the church, an example of sincere repentance and genuine renewal.

We may add one more characteristic fact recorded by Jerome. "When John had reached extreme old age, he became too feeble to walk to the meetings, and was carried to them by young men. He could no longer say much, but he repeated the words, 'Little children, love one another.' When asked why he constantly repeated the same words, he would reply, 'Because this is the command of the Lord, and because enough is done if but this one thing be done.'"

Perhaps, however, the most remarkable characteristic of the mind of St. John was his power of appreciating the character of Jesus. In fact, we have scarcely in the English language a word which exactly conveys the

whole of what we mean. He seems as if he entirely thought with and felt with his Master, so that their minds became almost as one. It is possible that this might not so fully be the case with him at all times, or under all circumstances. It was especially so when our Lord was discoursing on matters peculiarly tender or peculiarly spiritual. The intense love which he entertained for his Master showed itself, among other ways, by his Master's discourses being treasured up in his heart, and *that* in a way so natural and so complete, that they might appear almost like the pourings forth of his own mind. This, however, will naturally lead us to what must be said in our next article. [T. S.]

JOHN, THE GOSPEL OF.—I. *The genuineness and authenticity* of this gospel is the first point that here calls for consideration. And on this, so far as concerns the proofs of it afforded by the *early* church, our business will be very simple. It was scarcely controverted at all in ancient days. It would appear that there was only one very obscure sect in Asia Minor, known as the Alogi, who called it in question. These, it seems, from excessive opposition to the heresy of Montanus, were disposed to doubt the gospel of St. John, and indeed the Apocalypse also, through a notion, sufficiently absurd, that the writer favoured some of the views of that heretic. The accounts, however, which we have of the Alogi at all are of a very doubtful character.

"This gospel," to quote from Horne's *Introduction*, "is alluded to once by Clement of Rome, and once by Barnabas; and four times by Ignatius, bishop of Antioch, who had been a disciple of the evangelist, and had conversed familiarly with several of the apostles. It was also received by Justin Martyr, by Tatian, by the churches of Vienna and Lyons, by Irenæus, Athenagoras, Theophilus of Antioch, Clement of Alexandria, Tertullian, Ammonius, Origen, Eusebius, Epiphanius, Augustine, Chrysostom, and in short by all subsequent writers of the ancient Christian church." We may therefore view the genuineness of the gospel as triumphantly proved, so far as regards the testimony of antiquity. Not only did the church thus from the earliest times bear testimony to the existence of the gospel of John, but the influence of this gospel has always been of the most powerful kind, and has in a manner carried the evidence of its divine original along with it. It is, as Thierch has justly said, in his *Church History* (p. 255), an utter impossibility in ecclesiastical history to imagine another author to have composed this, the most influential of Christian documents, and then ascribed it John; we might as well say, the church has not come forth from Christ.

Modern criticism, however, has by no means uniformly concurred in this view, and the Gospel of John has not escaped from the attacks, which in various forms have been directed against the other apostolic productions. The objections that have been raised against it are, in our judgment, peculiarly futile, and in almost every instance are the offspring of philosophic or historical speculation. Some of the doctrinal opponents of our Lord's divinity toward the close of last century began to throw discredit on the authenticity of the gospel, but even Priestley and other leading Socinian writers discouraged the attempt; they sought rather by their own peculiar exegesis to get rid of the testimony it yields to the divinity of Christ. In the first quarter of this century similar objections were urged on the Continent, in particular by Bretschneider, who, however, afterwards retracted them. The mythical theory of Strauss was not specially directed against the apostolic authority of this gospel, any more than of the others; but endeavouring to subvert the entire credibility of the gospel history, it necessarily impugned the historical character and apostolic authorship of them all. The most elaborate attempt to establish its spuriousness has proceeded from the Tübingen school (Baur, and his coadjutors Lützelbergen, Schwegler) who would transfer the production of this gospel to the middle or end of the second century, and account for its appearance then by the mediating influence of Gnostic speculation pressing into the church, and, under the guise of apostolic history and discourse, trying to reconcile the discordant elements which prevailed in it. So that, according to this view, the writer of John's gospel (as of many other books of the New Testament) was an artful impostor; and Christianity as we now know it arose at the close of the second century, as the result of a merely human and intellectual development, not only without holiness of aim or purpose, but in league with deliberate hypocrisy and fraud. Such a monstrous scheme needs no refutation here, and the less so, as it has well-nigh ceased to attract notice in the land of its birth. It would subordinate the facts of Christianity and the character of its writings to the mere demands of a logical process.

Several of the objections, which were urged against this gospel by the parties just referred to have recently been reproduced by Rénan, in what he designates the *Vie de Jésus*, but what has been more fitly called The Romance of the Life of Jesus. For while professing to hold by the historical character of this gospel, as well as of the others, he departs from such a view whenever it suits his purpose, and regards them as in part only historical, in part also legendary. The gospel *according to* such a one is taken by him, as it was anciently by Faustus the Manichæan, to mean simply after the style or mode of that one (*see under* GOSPEL); but with the addition, perhaps, of considerable parts from other hands; while still, he conceives these to have been made so early, that even the Gospel of John, the latest of the whole, existed substantially in its present form before the close of the first century. It issued, he conceives, about that time from what he calls "the great school of Asia Minor, which attached itself to John," a school, namely, of Gnostic disciples, to whom John communicated certain reminiscences of his own respecting Jesus; these, it is supposed, they cast into a Gnostic mould, and, employing them in the interests of their peculiar views, they sent the result forth under the name of John—though it presented Jesus in a very different light from that given of him in the other gospels (p. xxxii.) Such a gospel, for which John merely contributed some of the materials, but itself properly the fabrication of an unscrupulous coterie of Ephesian Gnostics, yet breathed the loftiest spiritual tone, and rose almost immediately to the highest estimation and influence in the church, and that too, while she was resisting to the uttermost all other manifestations of the Gnostic spirit, and had still amongst her members many who had received their impressions of the truth fresh from the eye-witnesses and companions of the Lord! This is in the highest degree incredible; and the more so, as it is not till the middle or end of the second century, that the Gnostic spirit could (from anything we

know of its history) be conceived capable of even making such an attempt. If ever made, the product would assuredly have borne a very different character from that of this gospel, which is equally remarkable for its naturalness and simplicity, and for the deep Hebraistic cast of its thought and language—peculiarities certainly found elsewhere than in any school of Gnosticism. Even Ewald, who deals so arbitrarily with many other parts of Scripture, and in some things also with this gospel, yet holds it to be the genuine writing of the apostle John; and regards it as "to us important and singularly instructive from being the production of this very author, the beloved disciple among the twelve, who, though not trained in his youth to learning and book-making, yet in advanced age determined on composing an evangelical narrative, and was capable of making one so wonderfully complete. For that the apostle John was really the author of this gospel, and that no other conceived and executed it than he, who in every age has been known as its author, cannot be doubted or denied (however often it has been so in our times on grounds quite foreign to the matter): on the contrary, to whatever side one looks, all grounds, and traces, and memorials conspire to prevent us from allowing any such doubt to obtain serious regard" (Die Johanneische Schriften, i. p. 43).

There are points, however, urged by Rénan, as they have often been by others, which call for some degree of attention. There are, it is alleged, certain indication of a metaphysical turn of thinking, savouring of the Gnostic spirit of speculation, which cannot be regarded as natural to a fisherman of Galilee, or likely to have found expression in his writings. To this we would merely reply, that, as will afterwards appear, John had long been residing at Ephesus, where the Gnostic tendency began early to show itself; that while there he could not but be familiar with its workings, and that nothing was more likely, *à priori*, than that he should pronounce his judgment upon them, while, unless we take it for granted that there is no such thing as the inspiration from above, we can consider nothing more likely than that, in treating of the loftiest themes, his language should rise fully to the occasion.

There are however arguments perhaps more difficult than this; and the principal one is the alleged discrepancy of character between the discourses of our Lord as given by St. John, and those narrated by the other evangelists, especially by Matthew. M. Rénan ventures to assert this difference in a style sufficiently bold. He says, "The difference is such that one must make a decided choice: if Jesus spoke as Matthew represents, he did not speak as John represents." And again he says, speaking of our Lord's discourses as told us by St. John, "The mystical tone of these discourses does not in the least correspond to the character of the eloquence of Jesus, as this is exhibited in the synoptical gospels." Now, we cannot but think such a mode of arguing destitute of any solid foundation. We fully admit, and none can help admitting, that the discourses of Jesus as reported by St. John are considerably different in style from those of the other gospels; but yet we consider such difference to be little more than might reasonably be expected. The discourses in the other gospels are for the most part those addressed to the multitude at large (the multitude listening in ignorance), or else to his own disciples in the less advanced portion of their course. The discourses in St. John are of a very different class. They are usually addressed either to his opponents—opponents who, however destitute of really spiritual discernment, were most largely informed in the theology or theosophy of their age; or else they were addressed to his apostles, or his very dearest friends not apostles, and in moments of peculiar tenderness and confidence. In the other evangelists we find occasionally expressions very similar in character to those in St. John (e.g. Lu. x. 21, 22, with Mat. xi. 27, and perhaps the lamentation over Jerusalem, Lu. xix. 41, &c.) It seems to us that there is little greater difference in the discourses than would naturally be expected from the difference of circumstances and of hearers. Farther than this, the peculiar disposition of St. John would lead him to treasure up those discourses which affected most deeply his own heart. We will add another thought. What would a Christian man deem more likely than that the eye of our great Master himself should have been looking upon the necessities of his church? At the earlier period when the synoptic gospels were probably set forth, it is likely not only that little positive good should follow from the publication of the deeper discourses of the Saviour, but actually there might be positive injury. Believing, as we most fully do, in the Spirit of inspiration, may we not consider that the Spirit operated in the case of the earlier evangelists, partly by *restraint*, keeping them from setting forth what it was as yet too soon to make known; while, in the latter days of the beloved disciple, the same Spirit opened and revived his memory to bring forth for the church just those treasures of her heavenly Master's converse of which she was beginning to have especial need?

Even in regard to critical taste—that exquisite refinement of judgment by which one instinctively perceives what is suitable and becoming in thought and style—writers of the school now referred to often give forth opinions which betray their false position and superficial discernment. M. Rénan finds "nothing Hebrew, nothing Jewish" in the style of our Lord's discourses as given by John (p. xxxv.) Far more truly and profoundly Luthardt says, "The whole circle of thought and imagery in the gospel of John has its root in the Old Testament, and is the outgrowth of its prophecy" (p. 65). But if we look from the mode of expression to the thoughts themselves, misjudgments are apt to be made by those writers still more palpably wrong, as may be perceived by comparing the statements they sometimes set forth with the actual feelings of the genuine Christian. They find fault with the disposition which appears in St. John's representation of our Lord to dispute, to enter into long argumentations, to preach himself, &c., as if the occasions were sought for the purpose of discourse, and the discourse thrown into artificial or even harsh forms, such as any one of taste must see to differ widely from the delicious sentences of the synoptists (Rénan, p. xxxiv.) To this class are assigned some of the portions—such as ch. iii. v. and even xvii.—which sincere and earnest believers of all times have ever delighted to meditate, and have found among the most precious and solemn utterances of their divine Master. It is impossible that persons who occupy the wrong point of view, and want the spiritual sense, which alone can enable any one to sympathize with the higher aim and spirit of Jesus, should form correct judgments in regard to many of the matters contained in this pre-eminently spiritual gospel.

And so, when all is done which mere dry argument can effect, we feel as if the matter can only and entirely be set at rest by a portion of the same Spirit existing in the reader which we believe to have inspired the beloved evangelist. Our own sentiments are exactly conveyed by the well-known words of Origen, *τολμητέον τοίνυν εἰπεῖν ἀπαρχὴν μὲν πασῶν γραφῶν εἶναι τὰ εὐαγγέλια, τῶν δὲ εὐαγγελίων ἀπαρχὴν τὸ κατὰ Ἰωάννην· οὗ τὸν νοῦν οὐδεὶς δύναται λαρεῖν μὴ ἀναπεσὼν ἐπὶ τὸ στῆθος Ἰησοῦ.* Ernesti (as quoted by Tholuck), calls this gospel *The heart of Christ.* Herder exclaims, "*It is written by the hand of an angel.*"

II. *Date and Purpose of this Gospel.*—The general tradition of the early church seems clearly to be, that John wrote, or at least put forth, his gospel at Ephesus. This is stated by Irenæus (Adv. Hær. iii. 1) in a passage which is also quoted by Eusebius. The testimony is repeated by Jerome and other authorities. Now it is nearly certain that St. John did not commence his residence at Ephesus till after the death of St. Paul, which we may place in 66; and thus it is anyhow very improbable that his gospel should be composed before the destruction of Jerusalem in the year 70.

The evidence of the gospel itself, though in great part negative, seems so far pretty decisive. The frequent explanations of Jewish customs and localities, as well as the translating into Greek some very ordinary Aramæic words, seems clearly to point out that this gospel was not written for those familiar with Palestine or its people.[1] The very language also of the opening sentences, and evident references throughout to modes of thought by no means Jewish, but much resembling what we might expect to be common among the philosophers of Ephesus—tend to confirm the tradition.

As regards the date of the gospel, allowing it to be written after the destruction of Jerusalem, there has been some difference of opinion. It has been usual to consider the gospel as written a little before or a little after the Apocalypse—the latter being, without doubt, written during the apostle's banishment at Patmos. It has been almost universally agreed, and indeed Irenæus seems expressly to assert it, that this banishment took place in the latter part of the reign of Domitian, who died in 96. Hence the gospel is usually considered as written some time between 94 and 98; and we have scarcely any doubt that this opinion is correct. Certain critical writers, however, have been of opinion, that the style of the gospel is so very much less Aramæic, and so much more Hellenistic, than the style of the Revelation, that it must have been written greatly after the latter, when the apostle had resided much longer in Ephesus. They therefore, without much altering the date of the gospel, consider the banishment at Patmos to have taken place at a greatly earlier period—perhaps in the reign of Galba (A.D. 68 or 69). For ourselves we do not rest much weight upon these arguments. The style of the Apocalypse was probably preserved throughout to correspond with the numerous *words* actually addressed to St. John by the inspiring Spirit; and these words were probably Hebrew, and arranged in Hebrew form. Being also emphatically the prophetical book of the New Testament, it naturally partook more of the style of the ancient prophets, as it freely appropriates their imagery. On the other hand, we cannot see that the gospel is remarkably infused with the character of the Hellenistic school. It certainly is peculiarly free from the complex character of Greek syntactical construction; turning continually, as has so often been remarked, upon the particles *δὲ* and *οὖν*, and only adopting those few peculiarities of Greek construction with which a very moderate residence in Ephesus would be sufficient to furnish the writer. Thus perhaps we may not be wrong in considering the gospel to be written not far from the date of the Apocalypse, and the Apocalypse to be written quite towards the close of the first century.

The next question which will naturally come before us regards the especial *purpose* with which this gospel was written. It is often maintained that it was *intended* to be *complemental* to the other gospels; and as often that it was *specially* intended to confute certain heresies then arising in the church. In both these classes of supposition there is probably a certain degree of truth; though neither hypothesis shows *fully* (nor in fact do both combined) the purpose of the gospel. Alford is of opinion that St. John had never actually seen either of the other gospels; but, considering the facility of communication at that time between different parts of the Roman empire, we cannot consider this likely. Still we do not think that his gospel was formally intended to be a mere supplementary or even a complementary work. To a certain degree, of course, such is the case with it. It is only very rarely that he enters upon ground already occupied by his predecessors; and usually it is evident that this is merely for the purpose of recording some discourse of our Lord which his predecessors had omitted. In the narrative of the crucifixion he goes over much of the same ground with the other evangelists; but then he introduces many fresh points of detail, and places many things already narrated in a clearer light. Still the mode of writing does by no means indicate the formally complementary. It does not sound as if he had the other gospels before his eye, or even in his immediate recollection, when he wrote. It merely conveys to us the notion that he was narrating matters with which his mind was full, and just passing by that portion of events of which he had the general impression that his readers were already informed.

With regard to the gospel of St. John as written with the special object of counteracting heresy, we are inclined to take the same moderate view. It is quite certain that long before the death of St. John the farrago of false opinions, ultimately termed Gnostic, had begun to be largely diffused. Philosophers of the later Platonic school and Jewish metaphysicians had come into contact (particularly at Alexandria); and portions of the tenets of each had gradually become combined, and formed a most curious system of theosophy, Into this mixture had been further poured a certain quantity of Christian doctrine; and the result of this triple combination, leavened possibly with some fancies from Persia and India, had been a varied system of heresy, differing according to the proportion of the ingredients. This was, it is pretty clear, making great havoc of the church; and had especially extended its influence in Asia Minor, and particularly at Ephesus, whose philosophers had long been much connected with those of Alexandria. Among the various fancies of this school, one, and perhaps the most constant, was that *matter* was essentially evil, and that the generation of matter

[1] Alford gives ch. ii. 6, 13; iii. 23; iv. 4; v. 2; vi. 4; x. 22; xi. 18, 49-51, 54, 55; xviii. 1, 13, 28; xix. 13, 31.

was therefore of necessity defiling. In practice this notion seems to have led some to monastic asceticism, and to have been made by others an excuse for the grossest sensuality. Again, the effect of these views upon belief of Christian doctrine was remarkable. To some it seemed absolutely incredible that the Messiah should really be a man—be a being connected with matter, and thus essentially impure. They therefore considered that his human nature was utterly unreal—that he merely *appeared* to be a man, and merely in appearance suffered and died. This section was called the Docetæ. Others contended that Jesus was indeed man, but was not originally the Christ; and merely became so upon his baptism, when an æon—a peculiar emanation from the Father—descended upon him, and rendered him the anointed. The creation of the world would, according to the same system, be considered as ill suited either to the Messiah or to the great and good First Cause. It was therefore pronounced that matter was created, neither by God himself, nor by any immediate emanation from God, but by some subsequent æon a good way removed from the first great cause of all. It were vain to attempt here to enumerate the various forms of Gnostic error. Now in the latter part of the time of St. John these notions, whether they had or had not been consolidated into regular systems, were assuredly rife; and many expressions in his gospel, and still more in his first epistle, are so fully contradictory of them, that we can scarcely doubt that the apostle had them partially before his mind as he wrote.

At the very beginning of the gospel, for instance, he opposes the notion of the Docetæ, ch. i. 14, "The Word was (really and truly) *made* flesh." To their errors, moreover, the strongest opposition is made by the particularity with which he lays down all the details of the crucifixion, and the especial care which he uses in proving the actual and real death, *e.g.* ch. xix. 34, 35. Against the floating notions of the creation being an unholy thing, and unworthy of being the work of a real emanation from God, we have—"All things were made by him," &c., ch. i. 3. In fact there is scarcely an expression in the introduction to this gospel which is not opposed to some variety or other of Gnostic error. Frequent also is the opposition to the notion that *Jesus* was not the Son of God and equal with the Father; e.g. ch. x. 30; xiv. 10; xvii. 23; xx. 31.

The very term ΛΟΓΟΣ, so remarkably introduced in the opening of the gospel, seems not improbably to derive its origin from the phraseology which these theosophists had adopted. The ΛΟΓΟΣ, the *Word*, seems to have been used by them for some inferior emanation—for some æon of lower rank. St. John adopts the term; but raises it and ennobles it, and applies it to him who was equal with the Father. On this whole subject we may refer the reader to Dr. Burton's *Bampton Lectures*, No. vii.; also Dorner on the Person of Christ, Introd.

Thus, then, we are fully prepared to admit that the gospel of St. John was in some degree intended to be complementary to the earlier gospels, and also was intended in some degree as a confutation to those Gnostic notions which were now widely disseminated. Still we do not consider either of these to be its highest or its principal object. The principal design of the writer we consider to have been perfectly simple. He was drawing near to the end of his course. There was much to be told concerning his divine Master—much which, if not told by himself, could not be told at all. There were errors also afloat, and becoming daily more numerous and more corrupting; and those cherished thoughts and those beloved discourses of his Master which lingered as yet untold in the apostle's mind, were many of them exactly calculated to confute these errors—were exactly the medicine which the church required to recruit her strength, and to cast out the principles of disease. He desired to leave a bequest to the church, the preciousness of which should never be exhausted. Accordingly he leaves these confidential discourses, which perhaps could scarcely at an earlier period have been made public with advantage—those terrible reproofs of powerful opponents, which perhaps could not earlier have been repeated without exciting undesirable wrath; and with these he couples those blessed thoughts which had resulted in his own mind from the seeds which his Lord had sown there, as made to fructify and increase unto perfection by the Lord the Spirit. Thus, then, without denying either the complementary character of this gospel, or the intention of the apostle to confute certain heresies, we consider that beyond these he had a simpler and a wider purpose—the showing forth the glory of his Lord, and the edifying of the body of Christ.

III. *Integrity of the Gospel.*—The question respecting the integrity of our gospel, as it stands in the English Bible and the received text of the original, has respect chiefly to two passages. The first is ch. v. 4, which speaks of the moving of the waters in the pool of Bethesda by an angel, to the effect of imparting healing virtue to the person who first thereafter plunged into them. This point has been already discussed under BETHESDA—to which the reader is referred—nothing further having since emerged as to the evidence on either side, excepting that the Sinaitic MS. (ℵ), by omitting the passage, must now be added to the authorities which were there specified as adverse to its genuineness.

The other passage embraces the last verse of ch. vii. ("and every man went to his own house"), and the first eleven verses of ch. viii., containing the account of the woman who had been taken in adultery. The authorities here singularly vary. Two of the older Uncial MSS. A and C are defective at this part of the gospel; but by calculating the space that would be required for the other portions, Tischendorf holds it for certain that neither of them could have contained this. He therefore reckons against the passage A, B, C, L, T, X, Δ, to which must now be added ℵ (but L and Δ have both a vacant space at the passage in question, showing that they were cognizant of its existence in certain copies). It is omitted also in the titles or headings prefixed to some of the ancient MSS., in particular A, C, Δ; and in about sixty cursive MSS.; also in the better copies of the Peshito, in the Sahidic and Gothic versions, and is passed over by Origen, Theodore of Mopsuestia, Chrysostom, Cyril, and various others of the Greek fathers; in like manner by Cyprian and Tertullian among the Latins. On the other hand, it is found in D, F, G, H, K, U, Γ, also in E, M, S, Λ, but marked with asterisks or oboli on the margin to indicate its doubtful character; three hundred cursives, and more, exhibit the passage, and some besides place it at the end of this gospel, or of the gospel of Luke. Of versions the Old Latin, the Vul-

gate, and the Ethiopic contain it; and among the fathers, we have the testimony of Jerome that he found it in many Greek and Latin copies (Adv. Pelag. ii. 17), while it is also vindicated by Ambrose and Augustine—the latter attempting to account for its omission in some copies (De Adult. Conj. ii. 6, 7). Certainly the early rise after the apostolic age, and the general spread of the ascetic tendency, must have operated against either the fabrication of such a story, or its too facile recognition; and if not really a genuine part of this gospel, it must have been in existence at a very early period. As might be supposed, from the conflicting state of the evidence, opinions have been much divided respecting it. Most of the Reformed divines eyed it with suspicion, in particular Calvin, Beza, Pellican, Bucer, Grotius, &c., also Erasmus. And in recent times the prevailing tendency among biblical critics has undoubtedly been unfavourable to its authority—Lachmann, Tischendorf, Tregelles concurring in its rejection from a place in the gospel of John; Tregelles, however, still holding it to be a true gospel narrative, though improperly connected with this particular gospel. But the passage has not wanted in later times its strenuous defenders; among whom may be mentioned Lampe, Mill, Bengel, Michaelis, Scholz, Hug, Storr, Kuinoel, Stier, Ebrard, Scrivener, &c. Luthardt, along with not a few others, in particular Lücke, Knapp, Baumgarten, Crusius, Ewald, hold it to be a genuine apostolic tradition, but probably committed to writing by some one who heard it from John, or from one of the other evangelists. Upon the whole, the evidence is so conflicting, and the story itself comes in so abruptly, that the relation of the narrative to our gospel must be pronounced somewhat doubtful, while still there seems good reason for holding the facts related in it to be authentic.

It may be added, that not on the ground of diversity in the MSS. or versions (for here all are substantially agreed), but from the structure of the gospel itself, some have been disposed to view the concluding chapter, ch. xxi., as not properly an integral part of the gospel, but a kind of appendage or postscript written at a later date, according to a few by another hand, but in the opinion of most by the evangelist himself. Certainly, the two last verses of ch. xx. have much the appearance of a formal conclusion of the gospel, and it is scarcely possible to think of the next chapter otherwise than as a later addition to the narrative. But as both the matter contained in it, and the style of narration, are in perfect accordance with the body of the gospel, and distinguished by the same marked characteristics, there is no ground whatever for ascribing them to another hand than that of the apostle. Even the final attestation ("this is the disciple which testifieth of these things, and wrote these things; and we know that his testimony is true; and there are also many other things which Jesus did, the which if they should be written every one, I suppose that even the world itself could not contain the books that should be written") has much of the same simple, naive, half-revealing, half-concealing character, which discovers itself in various other parts of the apostle's writings (comp. Gospel xiii. 23-25, xviii. 15, xix. 26, 35; also 1st Ep. i. 2, 3). If the "we know" (οἴδαμεν) in one part seems to imply a plurality of persons concerned in it, the "I suppose" (οἶμαι) in another carries not less an individual aspect; and the probable explanation, we conceive, is that the apostle, when finally delivering up his written testimony to the church, did, as it were, in the presence of those about him, and with their approval, confirm the whole with this seal of truthfulness from his own hand.

IV. *Analysis of Contents.*—It may perhaps be not without advantage to present to our readers an analysis of the gospel of St. John, with a notice of those portions of our Lord's history in which he comes into contact with, and those in which he does not come into contact with, the other evangelists. We may first notice the *prologue*, ch. i. 1-18, in which he sets forth the original glory of the *Word;* introducing also, ver. 15, a few words from the Baptist in testimony of his preexistence. St. John upon this omits all mention of the birth of our Lord, of his circumcision, and of his earlier years; and at once passes to events which must have taken place a little after the temptation in the wilderness. He tells us of the testimony of the Baptist, as given to the deputation from the council, and afterwards to two of his own disciples, with the circumstances that follow—the attachment formed to Jesus by Andrew, and probably by John himself, by Peter and Philip and Nathanael, ch. i. 19-51. Upon this we have, ch. ii., the journey of Jesus into Galilee, and the miracle at Cana, with our Lord's removal from Cana to Capernaum; the speedy return to Jerusalem for the passover, with the first purifying of the temple, and the prediction of his rearing again the temple of his body in three days. During the same visit to Jerusalem took place the conversation with Nicodemus, ch. iii. 1-21. Upon this our Lord appears to have gone, ch. iii. 22, from the metropolis of Judea into its rural districts; and thus, though Jesus and the Baptist probably did not meet, their disciples came into contact with each other; and questions arose between them which led to the noble testimony of the Baptist, ch. iii. 23-36. It is probable that soon after this John was cast into prison; and that the journey which our Lord made from Judea into Galilee, as now narrated by St. John, is the same with the journey in Mat. iv. 12. The fourth chapter is occupied with this journey and its circumstances—the interview with the Samaritan woman and with her fellow-townsmen at Sychar, and the wonderful discourse with the disciples on the harvest and the reapers. To this is added in the same chapter our Lord's short residence in Galilee, with the healing of the nobleman's son at Capernaum.

The fifth chapter contains an account of our Lord's return to Jerusalem to a festival (probably that of Purim), with the healing of the man at the pool of Bethesda, and the sublime discourse with the Jews, who were offended because that cure was accomplished on the Sabbath-day.

The matters narrated by St. John have been hitherto such as were passed over almost entirely by the other evangelists. They have intervened between the temptation and the point of our Lord's public ministry, where the others commence their narrative. Upon this there appears to be a very considerable period in that ministry which St. John himself passes over. There seems in fact no point of contact between them till after the death of the Baptist and the return of the twelve from their mission. In the sixth chapter we have a simple and short account of the feeding of the five thousand, and of our Lord's walking upon the water. It would appear, however, as if this narrative (common as it is to the other evangelists), was merely

given as the groundwork of the discourse with the half-believing Galilæans (probably held in the synagogue at Capernaum) on the bread of life, ch. vi. 22-65. In the few remaining verses of ch. vi. is given us the short discourse with the twelve as to whether they would forsake him like many other of his former disciples, the earnest testimony of Peter, and the prediction of the treachery of Judas, ch. vi. 66-71.

The next event in the history of Jesus, as told us by St. John, is the Lord's going up to the feast of tabernacles—probably the last festival of the kind before the passover at which he was crucified. Many events narrated by the other evangelists had probably occurred before this time and since the feeding of the five thousand; and none more remarkable than the transfiguration, which St. John passes in silence, though he had himself been a spectator of it. Several chapters which follow are almost entirely occupied with various discourses of our Lord. The discourse with his brethren connected with his journey, ch. vii. 1-10; and his discourse in the temple, at the midst of the feast, as to his divine mission, ch. vii. 11-36. His discourse in the last day of the feast upon the Holy Spirit under the figure of rivers of living water. This, with the opinions formed of him by the Jews at large, by the rulers, and by Nicodemus, occupies the rest of the chapter, ch. vii. 37-53.

For reasons already stated in the preceding section, we refrain from doing more than simply noticing the account, at the beginning of ch. viii., of the woman taken in adultery. Thereafter follows our Lord's discourse in opposition to the Jews, or his own record, and his Father's testimony of him, ch. viii. 12-20; upon his origin and his departure, ver. 21-32; upon their vain boast of being descended from Abraham, while they did not the works of Abraham, with the fact that Abraham himself rejoiced to behold by faith the day of Christ, ver. 33-59.

During the same residence at Jerusalem our Lord gives sight to the man who was born blind; and upon the rulers casting the man out of their communion for believing on Jesus, he points out that he had come for judgment into this world; and proceeds, apparently on the same occasion, to speak of himself as the good Shepherd, and to lay down the distinction between the hireling and him whom the Master had indeed sent, ch. ix. 1-41; x. 1-21.

Upon this is added a discourse of our Lord, bearing upon the same subject, but not delivered for several months afterwards, at the feast of the dedication, ch. x. 22-38. A few words are here said on our Lord's withdrawing himself to a place beyond the Jordan, ver. 29-42; upon which follows what perhaps is the most remarkable event in the whole period of our Lord's ministry, and which yet seems entirely passed over by the other evangelists—the raising of Lazarus, ch. xi. 1-46. A sufficient reason for this omission may perhaps be found in the fact that, when the earlier gospels were put forth, Lazarus might be still living, and his enemies still powerful, so that public notice might have exasperated his enemies, and have exposed him to their violence.

The machinations of the Pharisees against Jesus, and his withdrawing to "a city called Ephraim," are mentioned at the conclusion of the chapter, ch. xi. 47-54.

A vast number of most interesting circumstances are narrated by the other evangelists, and omitted by St. John, when they come once more into contact (with the exception, indeed, of St. Luke, who probably omits the event, from having given us a somewhat similar one at an earlier portion of his history), in their account of the feast at Bethany, and the anointing by Mary of the Saviour's feet, ch. xii. 1-11. Here St. John differs little from Matthew and Mark, except in his greater precision and clearness of narration. The solemn entry into Jerusalem is told us by all the four—but John, in this instance, touches more slightly upon the circumstances than the rest, ch. xii. 12-19. An interesting circumstance is next told us of certain Greeks who desired to see our Lord—with his discourse on his approaching departure, and the voice from heaven, ch. xii. 20-36. And again, after a short interval, a few words on the obstinacy of the Jews and the divine truth of Christ, ch. xii. 36-50.

What follows of St. John is indeed a treasure to the church. The paschal supper, and the mystic washing of the disciples' feet—the denunciation and departure of Judas, and the warning to Simon. This forms ch. xiii. Then the wonderful discourses of ch. xiv. xv. xvi.—his own departure, with the promise of the Comforter—the vine and the branches, with comfort under the hatred and persecution of the world—with many other sweet and precious words. Then, in ch. xvii., that most noble specimen of prayer and intercession, which, as we have seen, provokes the dislike and affected contempt of modern pseudo-criticism. The narrative of the crucifixion, ch. xviii. xix., is given in a manner precisely in unison with the other evangelists, but with some additional particulars. The account of the resurrection follows, and abounds in fresh matter—the exquisite narrative of the appearance of our Lord to Mary Magdalene, and of his condescension to the incredulous Thomas, ch. xx.

Regarding the twenty-first chapter as a sort of postscript to the whole, but a postscript from the apostle's own pen, it winds up the narrative with some most interesting and important notices. The last time when Peter and his associates were engaged in their old employment of fishermen, the Lord making what was nearly the last of his interviews with them so nearly resembling what had occurred in one of his earliest—the ardent love of Peter—the thrice-repeated tender questioning, and thrice-repeated charge to feed the flock—the semi-prophetic hints as regards St. John himself, and half-implied reproof of the curiosity of Peter—these form the touching postscript to this most interesting of all the gospels.

[Beside the general commentaries on the whole of the New Testament, which comprise the gospel of John, there are on this gospel alone a great many works, and some of them well deserving of consultation; in particular, Lampe's great work, which, though partaking of some of the defects of the Dutch school, possesses also in a high degree some of their excellencies; the exposition of Tittmann, forming, as a translation, part of Clark's *Biblical Cabinet;* of Lücke, of Tholuck, of Luthardt, and Hengstenberg—the two latter quite recent, and greatly surpassing their immediate predecessors in spiritual insight and soundness of view. Expositions have also appeared in English, but usually of a more practical nature, those, for example, of Hutcheson, Sumner, and Jacobus.] [T. S.]

JOHN, EPISTLES OF. Of the three epistles of St. John, the first, of which we shall speak somewhat fully, seems to have been at once received by the church with little or no hesitation, while the two others were for a time considered as less certain.

Genuineness and authenticity of first epistle.—Polycarp (Ad Philipp. c. 7), employs the words, πᾶς γὰρ ὃς ἂν μὴ ὁμολογῇ Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν ἐν σαρκὶ ἐληλυθέναι, ἀντίχριστός ἐστιν (for whosoever does not confess that Jesus

Christ is come in the flesh, is antichrist), which seems evidently to refer to 1 Jn. iv. 3. Papias is said by Eusebius (H. E. iii. 39), to have given his testimony to this epistle, and Irenæus to have frequently made quotations from it (H. E. v. 8). We have also the testimony of Clement of Alexandria, of Tertullian, of Cyprian, of Origen; after whose time consent seems universal. The Peschito, the Syrian version, made probably at the close of the first, or beginning of the second century, contains this epistle, though it omits the second epistle of Peter, the second and third epistles of John, and the Apocalypse. We may thus consider the external evidence as complete.

As regards the internal evidence, the difficulty is even still less. It is impossible to read this epistle without being struck with its strong resemblance to the gospel of St. John. It seems evident that the writer of each had the same class of opponents in his mind—those who, like the Docetæ, denied the true humanity of Christ; those again who denied that the man Jesus was the Christ, and Son of God; and those who, under pretence of being his disciples, were habitually living in violation of his commands. The very style also and manner of the epistle bear the strongest marks of identity with the gospel. In both, the same deeply loving and contemplative nature; in both, a heart completely imbued with the teaching of the Saviour; in both, also, the same tendency to abhorrence of those who opposed his Lord.

Remarkable, too (to use the words of Ebrard), is the "similarity of the *circle of ideas* in both writings. The notions, *light, life, darkness, truth, lie,* meet us in the epistle with the same broad and deep meaning which they bear in the gospel; so also the notions of *propitiation* (ἱλασμός), of doing righteousness, sin, or iniquity (ἁμαρτιαν, ἀνομίαν), and the sharply presented antitheses of light and darkness, truth and lie, life and death, of loving and hating, the love of the Father and of the world, children of God and of the devil, spirit of truth and of error." In short, in whatever way we examine both, whether as to their peculiarities of language or of thought, whether as to the disposition and character of the writer, or of the Saviour whom they each represent, we must arrive without doubt at the conclusion that the epistle and the gospel had one and the same author.

Time and place at which it was written, and for what readers it was intended.—As regards its *date*, there have been great differences of opinion. It has not been unusual to refer it to the year 68, or thereabout. This, however, seems to arise from a mistaken notion that it must have been written before the destruction of Jerusalem. This notion seems partly derived from the expression, ch. ii. 18, "*It is the last time,*" which has been interpreted to mean the period immediately before our Lord's coming to execute judgment upon that apostate city. We confess we see no force whatever in this conclusion. Again, it has been assumed by some authors as well nigh certain, that, if the epistle had been written after the destruction of Jerusalem, St. John would have made allusion to that event. For ourselves, we are rather of opinion that both the gospel and epistle were written towards the year 98; and between 70 and 98 there would evidently have been space enough for the dying away of the impression made even by so considerable an event as the fall of the ancient capital of Judæa.

The general belief of antiquity seems to be that the epistle was published at Ephesus. Epiphanius, Irenæus, as quoted by Eusebius, Chrysostom, and others, appear to agree in this testimony; and though there was a tradition somewhat widely diffused that the gospel and epistle were both written in Patmos, during the apostle's exile there, yet this need not interfere with the other view. In fact, several ancient writers state that St. John *wrote* his gospel (and perhaps his epistle too), while he was in Patmos, but *published* it at Ephesus, having sent it thither by means of his ἀγαπητὸς καὶ ξενοδόχος, the deacon Gaius (Ebrard, Introd. to his Commentary, sec. v.)

As regards the persons for whom it was especially intended, we have very little to say. We believe that this epistle was *catholic* in a more complete sense than perhaps any other of those usually distinguished by that name. There is indeed an expression in some editions of Augustine which might lead us to believe that this epistle was addressed to the Parthians. Augustine appears, after quoting 1 Jn. iii. 2, to represent the words as spoken *a Joanne in epistolâ ad Parthos.* There seems, however, great doubt whether these words were originally written by Augustine at all, and whether the word *Parthos* is not either an error of transcription for *Pathmios* (the people of Patmos), or, as others have conjectured, an abbreviation of the word παρθένους, "young Christians, yet uncorrupted both as to fleshly and spiritual fornication." At all events, we may fairly assume that our epistle was not addressed to the Parthians; and as it has no distinctive signs whatever of being directly addressed to any one individual church, we may consider it purely καθολική, and intended for the benefit of the church of Christ at large.

It has been frequently observed, with regard to this work, that it has little or no sign of being an epistle at all—that it is entirely destitute of the epistolary form, and merely a general essay or treatise intended for universal circulation within the church. If this were the case, it would in no degree detract from its validity. We do not, however, think that it is so. He aims at the benefit of the church universal; but, to a certain degree, through the medium of individual churches, with whose state, dangers, and hopes, he was especially conversant. We are not absolutely confident of this, but there are expressions which lead us to such a view. There seems to be an express relation between the writer and the readers, ch. ii. 27; v. 13. He seems to be writing to a definite class, whose faith he knows, ch. ii. 20, &c.; iv. 4; some body of men whose history is in his immediate thought, ch. ii. 19, and which he finds it necessary to warn against specific dangers, ch. ii. 18, 26; iv. 1, &c.; v. 16, 21. The general style, too, is scarce suited to a mere *treatise.* To use a sentiment of Düsterdieck, quoted by Ebrard, "With all its regularity, there reigns throughout a certain easy naturalness, and that unforced simplicity of composition which harmonizes best with the immediately practical interest and paracletic tendency of an epistle."

There is an opinion of Ebrard, so plausible, and indeed so interesting, that we think it desirable to notice it. He considers that this epistle has in it the character of an epistle dedicatory, of an address to the churches intended to accompany the gospel. The nature of the work—really an epistle, but with little of the epistolary form, would be consistent enough with this hypothesis; and its most marked union in spirit with the gospel

would favour the notion also. For the working out of the thought, we must refer to Ebrard himself, the fourth section of whose introduction to his commentary on the epistles of St. John (on the relation of the epistle to the gospel), is to us peculiarly interesting. At all events, we may very readily conceive the aged apostle to have penned this epistle immediately after he had completed the gospel, when his whole soul was penetrated with the recollections of his Lord, while not unoccupied with the peculiar dangers, errors, and necessities of the church, sixty years after his Lord's departure to his glory.

Analysis.—An analysis of this beautiful epistle we find it by no means easy to supply; nor indeed are we at all sure that any precise system of arrangement was intended. Calvin, in his *argument* to his commentary on this epistle, after describing the various matters which are treated in it, says—"Verum nihil horum continuâ serie facit. Nam sparsim docendo et exhortando varius est." The following slight attempt may perhaps suffice.

He asserts the pre-existent glory and the real humanity of our Lord, in opposition to false teachers, and for the comfort of the church, ch. i. 1-7. The sinfulness of man, and the propitiation of Christ—this propitiation being intended to stir us up to holiness and love, ch. i. 8-ii. 17; Jesus and the Christ asserted to be *one*, in opposition to the false teachers, ch. ii. 18-29. The third chapter seems devoted to the singular love of God, in adopting us to be his sons, with the happiness and the duties arising out of it, especially the duty of brotherly love, ch. iii. The fourth chapter is principally occupied with marks by which to distinguish the teaching of the Spirit of God from that of false teachers, and of antichrist, with repeated exhortations to "love as brethren," ch. iv. The apostle then shows the connection between faith, renewal, love to God and to the brethren, obedience and victory over the world; and concludes with a brief summary of what had been already said, ch. v.

Integrity of the epistle.—Two passages in this epistle, as they stand in what is called "the received text," differ from the texts found in the better manuscripts, and in all recent critical editions. One is the second clause of ch. ii. 23, "He that confesseth the Son hath the Father also" (ὁ ὁμολογῶν τὸν υἱὸν καὶ τὸν πατέρα ἔχει), which is entirely wanting in the received text, but is exhibited in codices ABC, beside many others, also in the ancient versions, and generally in the writings of the fathers; so that there can be no doubt about its title to a place in the text. It had doubtless dropped out in a few MSS. (among which are only two uncial GK) from the preceding clause ending with the same words, which the eye of the copyist confounded with those of the suceeding clause, and so passed on to the next verse. In the English Bible the clause is retained, though printed in *italics*, as if it were only inserted to complete the sense. It ought to be printed in the ordinary type.

The other passage is one that has given rise to a more lengthened controversy than perhaps any other single text of Scripture. It is that which refers to the three heavenly witnesses, ch. v. 7, and runs thus—the words within brackets forming the disputed portion—"Οτι τρεῖς εἰσιν οἱ μαρτυροῦντες [ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ ὁ πατὴρ, ὁ λόγος, καὶ τὸ ἅγιον πνεῦμα· καὶ οὗτοι οἱ τρεῖς ἕν εἰσι. Καὶ τρεῖς εἰσιν οἱ μαρτυροῦντες ἐν τῇ γῇ], τὸ πνεῦμα, καὶ τὸ ὕδωρ, καὶ τὸ αἷμα· καὶ οἱ τρεῖς εἰς τὸ ἕν εἰσιν. In English thus—"There are three that bear record [in heaven, the Father, the Word, and the Holy Spirit, and these three are one; and there are three that bear record on earth], the spirit, and the water, and the blood; and these three agree in one." Perhaps few controversies have, in their time, been more zealous or more elaborate. At present, we believe, there are not many learned men who will deny that the words in question are interpolated, though they will admit the interpolation to be early, and probably will consider it as made with no dishonest intent.

The facts of the case are much as follows. There is not one Greek MS. with which we are acquainted, down to the sixteenth century, which contains the doubtful words. It is said that of the various codices of the sixteenth century itself, only *four* contain the words—that, of these, one is a copy from the Complutensian Polyglot, and with regard to the other three there is reason to believe they received the words by retranslation from the Vulgate. Erasmus, when attacked by Stunica, one of the four editors of the Complutensian Polyglot, for omitting the clause (as he did in the first and second editions of his Greek Testament, though he inserted it in the third, as he says, "to avoid calumny") challenged his opponent to produce his authority for inserting it. Stunica, in reply, made no appeal to Greek MSS., but affirmed that the Greek were corrupt, and that the Vulgate contained the truth—a sufficient proof that the clause was not to be found in the vast mass of MSS. which were collected for the use of these editors by the great influence of Cardinal Ximenes.

It appears also that the clause is not to be found in the *old versions*, the Peschito, Arabic, Coptic, Ethiopic, nor indeed in Latin copies, down to A.D. 600. Among the ante-Nicene fathers none appears to mention it but Cyprian. Nor is it by any means absolutely certain that even he is referring to this passage. Very soon, however, after his time, it must be confessed that Latin ecclesiastical writers do frequently refer to it. We seem therefore to arrive at the conclusion that among the Greek and eastern churches, the clause was absolutely unknown; that perhaps before the end of the fifth century, it was introduced as a gloss into the margin of some copies of Latin versions, and thus gradually found its way into the Latin text; while, in later ages, it was translated from the Latin, and introduced into some of the more modern Greek codices.

Did space permit, we might go into the *internal* evidence on each side of the question. This, however, could scarcely be done in few words, and does not seem to add much to us. The whole question may be studied, among other authorities, in the well-known work of T. Hartwell Horne, and in the editions of the Greek Testament of Alford and Tischendorf, to which may be added Porson's Letters to Travis, and Bishop Turton's Vindication of Porson.

We candidly confess that we arrive at the conclusion that the clause is interpolated with anything but pleasure. We are confident that no dishonesty was intended; that a gloss, entirely in the spirit of St. John, was, with the most upright views, placed in the margin of some Latin copies, and came, by mistake, rather than by fraudulent design, to be received by degrees into the text; and it is with a kind of melancholy feeling that we part with what the western church has received as a treasure for perhaps well nigh fourteen hundred years.

SECOND AND THIRD EPISTLES OF ST. JOHN.—These two epistles may, on one account at least, be properly coupled together; there having never been any dispute as to their being the work of the same author. On other points with regard to them we only wish there were the same freedom from disputation.

In the first place, there has been doubt as to whether they were the work of the same writer as the first epistle. It is probable that the expression ὁ πρεσβύτερος (the elder) has done much to cause this doubt, and to suggest the notion that they were the work of one John the presbyter, whose sepulchre is stated by Jerome to exist, or at least to be pointed out as existing, at Ephesus in his time. One is tempted to doubt, however, whether the very existence of this John the Presbyter were ever satisfactorily established; and whether the various traditions concerning him were not mere fancies, taking their primary origin from the peculiar title which our author has assumed. For ourselves, we view this title as little more remarkable than that adopted by St. Peter (ὁ συμπρεσβύτερος, 1 Pe. v. 1); while the suppression of his own name seems in exact accordance with the custom of St. John.

It is certain, however, that these epistles were long placed among the *Antilegomena*—those works which were not with confidence inserted in the sacred canon. This is stated in effect by Eusebius (H. E. iii. 25), who speaks of them as "the so-called second and third epistles of John, whether they are the work of the evangelist, or of some other person of the same name." It would seem, however, that earlier than the time of Eusebius they are frequently alluded to by ecclesiastical writers. Irenæus (Adv. Hær. i. 163) speaks of John, the disciple of the Lord, pronouncing his judgment against them (*i.e.* certain heretics), and wishing "that none should bid them God-speed; for he (says he) that wishes him God-speed is partaker of his evil deeds," 2 Jn. 10, 11. Clement of Alexandria, it seems, cites the first epistle thus: Ἰωάννης ἐν τῇ μείζονι ἐπιστολῇ—thus evidently showing that he knew of other and less important epistles. Dionysius of Alexandria, as quoted by Eusebius (H. E. vii. 25), speaking of John's habit of never naming himself in his writings, says, that "not even to what are handed down to us as the second and the third epistles (οὐδὲ ἐν τῇ δευτέρᾳ φερομένῃ Ἰωάννου καὶ τρίτῃ) is the name of John expressly appended; but without a name the elder (ὁ πρεσβύτερος) is written."

A few instances more of direct testimony might be brought forward of this early date. On the other hand, the Peschito appears to have omitted these epistles, while Origen and one or two more speak of their authorship with doubt.

In the middle ages, it would appear, there was no question entertained upon the subject, till Erasmus revived the notion of their being the work of John the Presbyter. For ourselves, we confess we see little in the whole discussion but proofs of the caution which the church employed in admitting works into her canon; while nothing would be more likely than for these two brief epistles long to have remained concealed in the possession of the families of those to whom they had been addressed; and upon their public exhibition, for the church to hesitate for a time as to the validity of the proofs of their authenticity. As to *internal* evidence, there is little which needs be said. There appears never to have been any doubt as to the third epistle being by the same writer as the second; while that second epistle, though written with every appearance of ease and naturalness, is in fact very much in character like an abridgment of the first epistle; and looks like the letter of one who was writing to a private friend at a time when his mind was filled with the thoughts which he had just been more fully communicating to the church at large.

Time and place of writing, and for what readers intended.—If our opinions are correct as to the second epistle of John being written while the writer's mind was still imbued strongly with the sentiments of the first; and if, as seems probable, the second and third epistles were written nearly at the same time, we must of course refer them both to the same period of the apostle's life as that in which he wrote the first epistle, and to the same place—*i.e.* we must consider that they were probably written at Ephesus, and about the year 98.

As to their intended readers, in the case of the *third* epistle there can be no doubt whatever. It was addressed to Gaius—who, however, Gaius might be is uncertain. We read, Ac. xix. 29, of Gaius, a man of Macedonia, who was travelling with Paul; and, Ac. xx. 4, of Gaius of Derbe; 1 Co. i. 14, of Gaius, an inhabitant of Corinth; and in the epistle to the Romans, which probably was written at Corinth, of the same man, as "Gaius, mine host, and of the whole church," Ro. xvi. 23. To this last Gaius, from the commendation bestowed by St. John also on his hospitality, 3 Jn. 5, 6, we should naturally be inclined to assign this epistle. At the same time we must recollect that scarcely any name was more common than Gaius or Caius; while perhaps nearly forty years might have elapsed from the date of the epistle to the Romans to that of the third epistle of St. John.

The question to whom the second epistle was written is not nearly so plain. It is addressed ἐκλεκτῇ κυρίᾳ, καὶ τοῖς τέκνοις αὐτῆς. The τέκνα are mentioned again in the fourth verse; and κυρία, in the vocative, occurs in the fifth verse. Further than this we have in the last verse, τὰ τέκνα τῆς ἀδελφῆς σου τῆς ἐκλεκτῆς.

Opinions upon the question who the person is who is thus addressed have been very various. Some have been of opinion, with our own translators, that it means the elect lady; and have considered that the person addressed was some private friend of St. John—a Christian lady of eminent excellence, and perhaps considerable influence. Others, adopting the same translation, have thought that, under the figure of "the elect lady and her children," the church of Christ was intended, with its various individual members—the "elect sister" being perhaps the church at Ephesus; while others have made the "elect lady" to mean some definite Christian church; though they have differed as to what church was intended—whether Corinth, Philadelphia, or Jerusalem.

There are however other difficulties besides these—difficulties of translation as well as of interpretation. It is the opinion of very many that one of the two words, ἐκλεκτῇ κυρίᾳ, is to be taken as a proper name, though which of the two is not so clear. Some would render it "the lady Eclecta"—an opinion which seems to us not easy to maintain, when we consider that her sister is also called ἐκλεκτή, and that it is scarcely likely either that the two sisters should both be named Eclecta, or that the same word should be used in one

case as an adjective, and in the other as a proper name. Others are of opinion (and we are inclined upon the whole to think they are in the right), that κυρία is in fact the proper name, and that the address of the epistle should be rendered, "To the elect Cyria." An objection has been made, that in this case it would have been expressed, not ἐκλεκτῇ κυρίᾳ, but κυρίᾳ τῇ ἐκλεκτῇ—as in the third epistle it stands Γαΐῳ τῷ ἀγαπητῷ. We fancy, however, that it has been successfully argued that this objection is irrelevant. We think, on the whole, that the person addressed is anyhow an individual female; and that, more probably than otherwise, Cyria was actually her name.

Of epistles so short it seems needless to give an analysis. The second epistle, as we have said already, seems to contain little more than an epitome of the first, though given in a natural and familiar form. The third epistle commends the piety and hospitality of Gaius, especially as shown to faithful teachers; complains in vehement language of the opposition of Diotrephes; and alludes to the excellent character borne by Demetrius. Of these two men we appear to know absolutely nothing.

[Comparatively few separate commentaries have been published on the Epistles of John; but Ebrard's may be regarded as such, though published in continuation of Olshausen's General Commentary, forming in English part of Clark's *Foreign Theological Library;* Düsterdieck's (1852), Lücke's 3d edit. (1856), forming a considerable improvement upon former editions; and Huther's, in Meyer's General Comm.] [T. S.]

JOI'ADA, the contracted form of JEHOIADA, but in that form appears as the name of a high-priest, son of Eliashib, who lived not very long after the return from Babylon, and whose son married the daughter of Sanballat the Horonite, Ne. xi. 22.

JOI'AKIM, the contracted form of JEHOIAKIM, son of Jeshua the high-priest, and his successor in office, Ne. xii. 10.

JOI'ARIB, the contracted form of JEHOIARIB, the founder of one of the courses of the priesthood, Ne. xi. 10; xii. 6; also the name of two others belonging to different tribes, Ne. xi. 5; Ezr. viii. 16.

JOK'SHAN [*fowler*], a son of Abraham and Keturah, the father of Sheba and Dedan, Ge. xxv. 1, 2. It is by these sons, rather than by Jokshan himself, that we obtain any trace of the future residence and destiny of his race. (*See under* DEDAN and SHEBA).

JOK'TAN [*shall be diminished*], one of the two sons of Eber, Ge. x. 25. The offspring of Joktan indicate anything but diminution or littleness; for he appears as the father of no fewer than thirteen sons—Almodad, Sheleph, &c., whose dwelling is said to have been "from Mesha, as thou goest unto Sephar, a mount of the east." The position of Mesha is unknown; but Sephar is understood to be the same as Zhafâr, or Zafâri (see Ges. Thes.), an old Himyaritic royal city, a sea-port in the southern extremity of the Arabian peninsula, on the east side of Yemen. It was one of the great centres of the ancient traffic that was carried on between India and Arabia. From the specification of this local boundary in the far south of Arabia, and the names of several of his sons (such as Sheba, Ophir, Havilah), Joktan is regarded as the parent of the primitive races that peopled the south of Arabia. His name is still preserved among the Arabs, but takes the form Kachtân. These Kachtânite Arabs themselves claim to be among the earliest settlers in Arabia; and there can be no doubt that both a pretty extensive dominion and an active commerce were maintained by them for many a generation. (But see under the names of his several sons.)

JOK'THEEL [*subdued by God*]. 1. A city in the Shephêlah or Lowland of Judah, Jos. xv. 38. Gesenius and others derive the word from an unused root *kâthâh*, whence is obtained the generally received meaning, "subdued by God." A more expressive signification, however, is gained by referring it rather to the cognate verb *kâthath* (=Lat. *quatio*), which means, "to break in pieces," as *e.g.* a potter's vessel, Is. xxx. 14; and which is used especially of the destruction of idols, Mi. i. 7. We are not without warrant, therefore, in concluding that the name Joktheel was imposed by the Israelites on this city, to commemorate the signal triumph of God's people over the idolatrous Canaanites; just as the word Bizjothjah ("despised by Jehovah") was prefixed to the neighbouring city of Baalah, Jos. xv. 28, 29, in order to mark the Divine abhorrence of the worship of Baal (Negeb, p. 149, 150). In this view of the etymology of Joktheel, as a continual assertion of God's power over idols, what an additional significance is imparted to the language of Micah, himself a native of the Shephêlah, who may well be supposed to have had this expressive and familiar designation in his mind as he uttered the words, "All the graven images thereof shall be *beaten to pieces.*"

The occasion on which this city was thus re-named, is doubtless referred to in Ju. i. 9, 18, when "the children of Judah went down to fight against the Canaanites that dwelt in the low country, and took Gaza, and Askelon, and Ekron, with the coast thereof."

It now only remains to indicate the probable position of Joktheel, which we are enabled to do by noticing its connection with Mizpeh (Tell-es-Sâfieh), Eglon ('Ajlân), Beth-dagon (Beit-dejân), and other cities of the Philistian plain. Among the ruined sites in that district of which Dr. Robinson heard (Bib. Res. App. 120) is *Keitulâneh*, situated apparently not far from es-Sâfieh, and thus suiting exactly the topographical requirements of the case. Nor is it difficult to show a similar congruity in regard to the name itself.[1] Taking these points into consideration, we are naturally brought to the conclusion that the two words, thus seen to harmonize with each other, represent one and the same place.

2. JOKTHEEL. The name given by Amaziah, king of Judah, to Selah or Petra, the capital of Idumæa, after his decisive victory over the Edomites in the "Valley of Salt," south of the Dead Sea; which evidently led to the submission of the whole country, and made it once more a province of the Judæan monarchy, 2 Ki. xiv. 7. As this state of dependence did not continue more than eighty years, see 2 Ki. xvi. 6; 2 Ch. xxviii. 17, Keil justly observes (Comm. ii. 12), that the expression of the sacred writer, "And called the name of it Joktheel *unto this day*," proves the history of Amaziah's reign to have been written within the period thus defined. The name does not appear in any subsequent record,

[1] A feeble initial, like *yod*, is notoriously liable to be dropped; comp. Jericho (now Rîha), Jokneam (Kaimôn), Jezreel (Zer'în), &c.; and while there is a general tendency in modern Arabic to lengthen proper names (as in Dor, now Tantûra), this is specially exemplified in the terminations *án*, *áneh*, and the like; as *e.g.* Shiloah (Selwân), Shelómoh (Suleimân), Rimmon (Rummâneh), Jiphthah-el (Ethphahâneh). This last, it will be observed, is almost identical with Joktheel, in the transformation it has undergone after passing into the Arabic. It is scarcely necessary to remark on the habitual interchange of the linguals *teth* and *thau*.

and was doubtless superseded by the older designation when the Edomites, during the inglorious reign of Ahaz, reasserted their independence. There is a propriety, therefore, characteristic of truth, in the omission of this circumstance by the *later* writer of 2 Ch. xxv., although the narrative is in other respects much more detailed. One incident recorded in this latter account confirms the opinion already expressed, as to the real significance of the word Joktheel: "Now it came to pass, after that Amaziah was come from the slaughter of the Edomites, that he brought *the gods of the children of Seir*," ver. 14. The zeal which prompted the commemoration of his victory over the idolatrous Edomites by the devout acknowledgment implied in the name Joktheel, imposed on the conquered capital, but which was so grievously sullied by the barbarous treatment of his defenceless prisoners, and by the idolatrous use he subsequently made of the very idols whose impotence he had proclaimed, finds its faithful counterpart in the testimony of the sacred historian: "He did that which was right in the sight of the Lord, *but not with a perfect heart*," 2 Ch. xxv. 2. [E. W.]

JO'NA, or JONAS [*dove*], the father of the apostle Peter, from whom the latter was called Bar-jona, Jn. i. 42; Mat. xvi. 17. Nothing of a personal description is indicated concerning him, but the probability is, that he was, like his son, a fisherman on the sea of Galilee.

JO'NAH [יוֹנָה, Gr. Ἰωνᾶς, same in import as preceding], a prophet in Israel, the son of Amittai, and of the town of Gath-hepher in the tribe of Zebulon, Jonah i. 1; 2 Ki. xiv. 25; Jos. xix. 13. It admits of no reasonable doubt, that the person mentioned under this name in the second book of Kings was the same as he whose mission to Nineveh and marvellous history therewith connected form the subject of the little book of Jonah. Two prophets of the name of Jonah, and both sons of an Amittai, both also flourishing in the latter stages of the kingdom of Israel, is altogether improbable. The historical notice respecting him in the book of Kings is extremely brief, and not very definite as to the exact time and place of his prophetic agency in Israel. He is introduced only incidentally, in connection with a temporary recovery of the power and dominion of the Israelitish kingdom under the second Jeroboam. This prince, it is said, "restored the coast of Israel from the entering of Hamath unto the sea of the plain (*i.e.* the Salt or Dead Sea), according to the word of the Lord God of Israel, which he spake by the hand of his servant Jonah, the son of Amittai, the prophet, which was of Gath-hepher." The word itself of the prophet is not given, nor is the time specified when it was uttered—whether about the commencement of Jeroboam's reign, or towards the close of the preceding reign. That it was pronounced some time before the conquests of Jeroboam, which verified it, may be deemed certain; but the period is not fixed to which these conquests belong—although we can scarcely avoid referring them to the earlier rather than the later half of Jeroboam's government. It is by no means probable, that a person of so much vigour and warlike prowess as he proved himself to be, would be long on the throne till he set about the recovery of the kingdom from the depressed condition in which he found it. But if we should even allow one half of his reign to have passed (which was in all forty-one years) before Jonah announced the prophecy destined to be fulfilled by Jeroboam, the prophet of Gath-hepher would still have been some time at work on the sacred territory before Hosea. The latter was also, it is said, prophesying in the time of Jeroboam, but it must have been only toward the very close of his reign; for Hosea's prophetic agency extended to the time of Hezekiah, Ho. i. 1, and between even the last year of Jeroboam's reign and the beginning of Hezekiah's there was a period of about sixty years (twenty-six remaining of Uzziah's, sixteen of Jotham's, and sixteen of Ahaz's). This was a long stretch for prophetical activity, and yet it does not carry us back farther than the last year of Jeroboam's reign, while Jonah, as we have seen, must have been at work probably before its middle period. The more distinctive and characteristic portion of his work, however, that, namely, recorded in the book which bears his name, may not have been accomplished till some time after Hosea had entered on his labours, and the prophecies also of Joel and Amos were partly, at least, delivered. The Jewish authorities, therefore, may have been chiefly guided by a regard to historical considerations in assigning the book of Jonah the place it now occupies, although it is by no means unlikely that they were partly influenced also by the peculiar character of the prophet and his book. That he *began* to prophesy in Israel before Hosea seems certain; but as God's ambassador to Nineveh he was contemporary with Hosea, Joel, Amos, and Obadiah, and in portions of their writings probably preceded by them.

That Jonah's mission to Nineveh belonged to the later period of his prophetical life may, perhaps, be inferred even from the manner in which in the Hebrew his book opens: "*And* the word of the Lord came," &c. The commencement with *and* imports a continuation—some suppose of prophetic revelations generally; Hengstenberg (Christol. vol. i. 2d ed.) would even connect it with Obadiah, the immediately preceding book in the canon, as if Jonah wished himself to be understood as taking up the testimony of Heaven where Obadiah had left it—a somewhat arbitrary and fanciful mode of connection! The continuation indicated, it is more natural to suppose, had respect to the prophet's own agency: he had been employed previously in the more common labours of the prophetical calling—labours of a kind which, however important for the time then present, called for no detailed or permanent record—but now a work of another description was to be devolved upon him; and of his entrance upon this work, and of what befell him in connection with it, as it is pregnant with meaning for all future time, so it took place on this wise. The same conclusion appears to follow from the nature of the mission itself, which, having immediate respect to a heathen city, lying beyond the proper territory of an Israelitish prophet, could only have stood in a somewhat incidental relation to his regular calling, and must have been designed for some special purposes to be supplementary to it. This is still only a relative determination of time; but it is quite sufficient to show the incorrectness of the date usually connected in our English Bibles with the mission to Nineveh—B.C. 862; for this would place it thirty-seven years before Jeroboam II. began to reign, a considerable period before it is at all probable that Jonah entered on his prophetical calling, or was even born. For the real time we must come down to a period subsequent, rather than anterior, to Jeroboam's death (which is assigned

to the year B.C. 784), when Assyria, under Pul or his immediate predecessor, was beginning to concern itself in the affairs of Israel, and to aim at a general ascendency. The materials are wanting for any nearer determination.

General character and object of this book.—In regard to the story itself contained in the book of Jonah, it must undoubtedly be regarded as a kind of sacred riddle. It wears this aspect most distinctly in the original narrative, and such also is the impression conveyed by the allusions made to it in New Testament scripture. Once and again our Lord points to it as a sign, which being carefully scanned might enable the men of his generation to obtain some glimpse or foreshadowing of the yet greater riddle of his own mysterious humiliation, and the remarkable course affairs were going to take in his kingdom, Mat. xii. 40, 41; xvi. 4; Lu. xi. 29. In such a case, therefore, we must not expect to find the meaning of the transactions lying on the surface; it must be searched for in the depths; since only by awakening profound and earnest inquiry into the mind of God could the transactions have accomplished either their immediate or their prospective design. Why should a prophet of Israel have been ordered by the Lord to transfer the scene of his operations to a heathen city, not merely to utter a cry against it, but to deal with it so as that it might be penetrated with a sense of sin and brought to serious consideration? This was altogether an unusual course, and in any circumstances would have betokened some peculiar movement in the divine economy; but how much more when viewed in connection with the actual state of things in Israel! It was from no want of occasion there for a prophet's reforming agency, that Jonah was commissioned to go and labour in a foreign field; on the contrary, the worship and manners of heathenism were prevailing all around in his native region, and notwithstanding the severe judgments of God, and the earnest contendings of a long succession of prophets, continued still to hold their ground. Yet, Go to Nineveh the great heathen city, was the word that came from the Lord to Jonah, and cry against it, for its wickedness is come up before me. Why go there, since there was so much wickedness near at hand, too plainly ripening for vengeance? And if among men of his own kindred and tongue his crying had prevailed so little, what speed was he likely to come when repairing as a solitary stranger to the mighty centre of Assyrian wealth and greatness? His soul recoiled from the attempt; oft repeated discouragements and signs not to be mistaken of approaching ruin at home had left him without heart for so formidable an enterprise; and, besides, if the lamp of heaven, as seemed all too certain, was going out in his own dear Israel, how could *he* think of going to light it in a foreign clime? Let some other be sent to do it, if the will of God were that it should be done. So the prophet seems to have felt—improperly, indeed, yet not very unnaturally in the circumstances of his position, and with so strange and arduous a mission laid to his hand. He will flee to Tarshish and escape from its difficulties and troubles. But this only serves to bring out a fresh element in the strangeness of the divine procedure—the terrible energy which now appeared in God's determination to have Nineveh dealt with for its wickedness. The burden of its sin is laid on Jonah, and if he will not acquit himself of it by transacting in the Lord's name with the Ninevites, he must himself bear the penalty. Therefore, judgment overtakes him; as if all Nineveh's guilt were his, he is met with the manifestations of God's wrath, and is cast forth like a propitiatory victim into the deep—yet (with another marvellous turn in the counsels of God) not to perish, but to resume his suspended mission to Nineveh, and appear there as a prodigy and a witness at once of God's displeasure against its sins, and of his merciful desire to have it saved from the impending retribution. The message, with this wonderful experience in the background to confirm its tidings, somehow discovered to the Ninevites (for our Lord expressly testifies Jonah was in the first instance a sign to *them*, Lu. xi. 30), had the intended effect. They see revealed in him the severity and goodness of God on their account, and repenting of their wickedness they cry to the Lord with such united and solemn earnestness, that He also, on his part, turns from the fierceness of his anger, and revokes the doom which within forty days was to have laid their city in ruin. Surely this was a result to be hailed by the prophet! Could he be otherwise than satisfied now that he saw so remarkably of the travail of his soul? It is perhaps the strangest thing of all in this marvellous story, that the greatness of his success proved the source of his deepest sorrow, and that on seeing the blessed triumph of his labours the same feeling crept over his soul, which disappointed hope awoke in the bosom of Elijah—he would have God to take his life from him, as it was now better for him to die than to live. What should have moved him to such grief, is not stated; that he was wrong in entertaining it, and became himself conscious that he was wrong, the record of God's expostulation with him in regard to it, and the special discipline applied to him through the rapid growth and equally rapid decay of the sheltering gourd, plainly evince; but all besides is left in uncertainty. The story, taken by itself, ends as it began, in an unexplained riddle. Yet no one could suppose (though some commentators have come very near to supposing it) that a man capable of being entrusted with such a mission, and going through such experiences in its execution, could be conscious of vehement sorrow or indignation, simply because a populous city was saved from destruction. We must rather conceive there were other considerations brooding on his mind and deriving fearful emphasis from this new phase of the divine dispensations, that proved the real source of his anguish. Was it concern for God's glory, or for his own fame as a prophet, in the apparent failure of the prediction uttered? So many have thought, yet without due regard to the whole circumstances of the case, and to the interests most likely to affect the mind of an Israelitish prophet in that crisis of his country's history. Jerome, at the very outset of Christian exposition, has the merit of opening the path in the right direction: "Seeing that the fulness of the Gentiles is gliding in, and that the word in Deuteronomy is verified, which says, 'They have moved me to jealousy with that which is not God, and I will move them to jealousy with those which are not a people, I will provoke them to anger with a foolish nation,' he despairs of the salvation of Israel, and is convulsed with great sorrow, which breaks forth into speech, and declares after this fashion the cause of its sadness, 'I alone of so many prophets have been chosen to proclaim through the salvation of others destruction to my own people.' He is not therefore grieved, as some

think, because the multitude of Gentiles is saved, but because Israel perishes. Whence also our Lord wept over Jerusalem, and was unwilling to take the children's bread and cast it to the dogs. The apostles, too, first preached to Israel, and Paul wished to be accursed for his brethren's sake, who are Israelites," &c.

Such appears in the main to have been the real state of Jonah's mind—oppressed with a kind of incurable sorrow, because in Nineveh's repentance and preservation he somehow descried the prelude of Israel's doom. Possibly, it was not (as Jerome supposes) the mere admission of these penitent Gentiles to a share in the divine mercy and forgiveness, which affected him so deeply, but along with this the disappointment of his expectation, that a terrible example of severity in the case of such a city as Nineveh (the quarter of political danger to Israel) might have had the effect of rousing his countrymen from their fatal lethargy. Even before quitting the land of Israel the thought of God's tender forbearance and readiness to forgive, seems to have weighed upon his mind as a discouragement, ch. iv. 2; and when his burden to Nineveh took the specific form of an announcement of its speedy overthrow, the hope could scarcely fail to arise in his bosom, that a blow was going to be struck which should compel men to consider the righteous judgment of God, and which should arm him with weapons mightier than he had yet been able to employ in warring with the ungodliness of his countrymen. Disappointed in this expectation, he felt as one who had shot his last arrow in the conflict, and had now to succumb to the necessity of seeing Israel perish in her wickedness, and others rising to the place she should have held. So that his state of mind in this latter stage appears to have closely resembled Elijah's at the most critical moment of his struggle, 1 Ki. xix., and to have run out, only in a more extravagant manner in the same direction. For, the passionate anger that is ascribed to him in the English Bible—"it displeased Jonah exceedingly and he was very angry," ch. iv. 1, and "doest thou well to be angry," ch. iv. 4—seems to do him injustice. The original import of the word is to be hot—very often, no doubt, hot with rage, but also, as in David's case, 2 Sa. vi. 8, hot with vexation and disappointment. So here, as correctly rendered by the Septuagint (ἐλυπηθήθη Ἰων. λύπην μεγάλην, Jo. was affected with a great grief; ch. iv. 4, Εἰ σφόδρα λελύπησαι σύ, art thou very much grieved?) and assented to by Jerome, who thinks the affection of grief more in accordance both with the name of Jonah, and with the circumstances in which he was placed, than the petulance of anger. Not that even this view of the prophet's case altogether justifies him; it still bespoke an imperfectly sanctified mind; for it must ever be the part of a servant of God to fall in with the settled purpose of Heaven, and to say with cheerful acquiescence, Let God's will be done, Mat. xi. 25, 26. Yet there is a difference; and if the affection of Jonah—as we have reason to believe—was akin to what has often been experienced by the wise and good, when baffled in regard to the immediate object of their contendings, and arose from keeping the eye too intently fixed upon a specific aim, rather than from giving way to a self-willed and fractious humour, his conduct will present both a more intelligible and a more instructive aspect. Nor should it be overlooked, that the very depth of that recoil of feeling into which he sank, was itself a significant thing, and was fitted, when thoughtfully considered, to impress the minds of his countrymen with the extraordinary, and for them ominous, crisis that had arrived in the affairs of God's kingdom.

The result but too clearly showed, that whatever there was in Jonah's mission to Nineveh, and his own marvellous experiences connected with it, of a premonitory and warning tendency to Israel, failed of its object: they did not, as a people, apprehend its meaning or listen to its voice. Nor do the Jews of later times seem to have ever penetrated into its design. Our Lord sought to lead the men of his generation through the shell into the kernel by connecting the marvels of Jonah's history with those waiting for their accomplishment in himself; but this also proved in vain. It is only, however, by means of such a connection that anything like a full and satisfactory explanation can be found of the circumstances in question, or of others not altogether unlike in kind—the meeting, for example, of Abraham with Melchizedek, the sacrifice of Isaac, the lifting up of the serpent in the wilderness—transactions, of which we can never see the ultimate reasons of the appointment, nor perhaps cease to associate them with what is strange and arbitrary, till we contemplate them as the initial steps of a course, or the provisional movements of a plan, which was to reach its culmination in the work and kingdom of Christ. When we see how He, when charged with the burden of a world's guilt, was treated as a sinner, while himself personally free from its pollution—how, when so treated, he was made by his vicarious death and descent into the bowels of the earth a propitiation for the wrath thereby provoked—how he was again restored to life, and became by his resurrection the author of eternal life to sinners of the Gentiles, while those who outwardly stood nearest to him, and among whom he more especially laboured during his earthly ministry, for the most part perished in their sins;—when we see how all this took place in connection with the person and the work of Christ, and did so, not by accident or caprice, but in subservience to the great principles of truth and righteousness, we can well enough understand how, amid the many earlier exemplifications of these and premonitory signs of what was to come, occasion should have been taken of so peculiar a crisis in Israel's affairs to give the singular exhibition of them that appears in the history and mission of Jonah. Differences, no doubt, there were between the two cases, as well as resemblances—here also the imperfect shadow only, not the very image of the things, could be presented in what went before. But had the Jews of our Lord's time more thoughtfully considered, and become better acquainted with, the spirit and design of that shadow, they would not have so perversely tempted Christ with solicitations about signs from heaven, nor have so obstinately closed their minds against the nature and objects of his mission, and against the possibility of the kingdom of God being transferred from them to heathen lands. In these things they would have seen their own Scriptures condemned them; and the very strangeness that hung around the preparatory movements, viewed in connection with the palpable results to which they led, should but have made them the more careful to learn from the past, when their attention was called to it, and to beware of repeating the folly of their fathers.

Objections in respect to the authorship of Jonah and the credibility of its contents.—We have deemed it best

to present a general view of the character and mission of Jonah, as exhibited in the book that bears his name, without turning aside to anything respecting it that might be, or has been, started in the form of objection to its authenticity or truthfulness. We have the rather done so, because one main cause of the doubts that are freely expressed in certain quarters on the subject, have in no small degree arisen from a partial and defective view being taken of the proper import and bearing of the things recorded. Beyond doubt, also, both the original record itself, and the allusions made to it by our Lord, assume that the matters therein contained are to be taken in their literal verity; and not as fanciful representations or fabulous tales, but as actual facts in the divine procedure, did they carry the deep practical significance, alike for the present and the future, which is plainly attached to them in Scripture. What has a learned scepticism to say in opposition to such apparently conclusive evidence? (1.) The narrative, first of all, is written throughout in the third person, without the slightest indication that the hero of the story was himself the writer, and in a style that seems to point to the remote past. So, for example, Ewald, Krahmer, and Hitzig, the latter of whom thinks the earliest period it can be assigned to is about two hundred years after the time of Jonah (Vorbem. sect. 1). The expression respecting Nineveh in ch. iii. 3, "And Nineveh was (הָיְתָה) a very great city," he deems alone decisive of the comparative lateness of the account—pointing, as he conceives it necessarily does, to what Nineveh once had been, as contrasted with what it had since become; its greatness was a thing of the past. But why may it not have been contemplated simply in relation to Jonah's visit? Its greatness, as existing at that time, required to be specified. Jonah went there as a solitary stranger—ignorant beforehand of the proper magnitude of the city; having only perhaps, in common with his countrymen, very indefinite and vague notions either of its extent, or of the manner in which it was laid out; and it would, in such a case, be quite natural for him, writing at a subsequent period, to give his impressions of the place as it *was* when he visited it. He might no doubt have spoken of Nineveh without respect to any time prior to that at which he wrote; and if he had done so, he would, in accordance with the common Hebrew usage, have probably altogether omitted the substantive verb; thus, "And Nineveh, a very great city." All we contend for is, that there was nothing unnatural or improbable in his connecting his description with the precise period of his visit, and giving his readers to know it as it then was. As to the use of the third person throughout the narrative, this argues nothing of another than the prophet himself being the writer. For it is the common usage among the prophets, when narrating the things which befell them in the execution of their mission—for example, Is. vii. xx. xxxvii.; Am. vii.; Je. xx.; Hag i. 1, 13, &c. (2.) Again, there are certain words and other indications in the book which seem to point to a later age than that of Jonah. Of specific words recent critics have not been disposed to make so much in this respect as was done some time ago. There is really very little peculiar to Jonah; a word for ship, a decked or covered vessel (סְפִינָה, *sephinah*), but a genuinely formed Hebrew word, used also in Aramaic and Arabic, though found only here, ch. i. 5; in Hebrew, a word for sailor (מַלָּח, *mallach*), also quite regularly formed, but occurring only here, ch. i. 5, and in Eze. xxvii. 26; *rab* (רַב), for chief or captain, in ch. i. 6, as at 2 Ki. xxv. 8; Da. i. 3; Es. i. 8; the use of abridged forms of the relative in ch. i. 7; i. 12, of which examples occur in the Canticles, Psalms of David, and even the Pentateuch; and one or two more, still less deserving of notice in such a connection. The only word strictly peculiar is טַעַם (*taam*), ch. iii. 7, the term employed to designate the order or decree issued by the king of Nineveh, a Syriac word, and, since the Assyrian language was a dialect of Syriac, it was in all probability the precise term employed at Nineveh. More commonly, however, the appropriation in the prayer of Jonah of certain passages in the Psalms, is urged in evidence of the late origin of the book. Some even carry it so far as to find in such free use of other Scriptures a proof, not only that the other portions of the book were written long subsequent to the time of the prophet, but that this portion was later still, and forms an interpolation by another hand (De Wette, Ewald, Knobel). This idea is rejected by Hitzig as an unwarranted extreme; and justly, for the appropriation in question was perfectly natural and proper. The devout breathings of God-inspired men have ever delighted to place themselves in accord with the sentiments of former witnesses of the truth, and to employ the language which is embalmed in their minds by the most hallowed associations. From the time especially that the Psalms began to have a place in the public service of the sanctuary, they were sure to become as household words to all pious Israelites, and could not fail both to influence the spirit and mould the expression of their devotional utterances. Even the apostles, who stood on the highest level of spiritual insight and supernatural endowments, were thus influenced, Ac. iv. 24-27; Ro. xi. 33-36; Re. xv. &c. Nay, our Lord himself, amid the few utterances which came from him on the cross, expressed himself more than once in the well-known and hallowed language of the sanctuary, Mat. xxvii. 46; Lu. xxiii. 46. And that Jonah, whose case and circumstances were altogether so peculiar, should throw himself back upon the somewhat similar experiences of former saints, and make, as far as possible, their language his own, was so natural and befitting, that instead of calling into suspicion the genuineness of his prayer, it should rather be regarded as a proof of verisimilitude. He found it a relief that even the figurative language of others so exactly suited his case, while the thoughts and language alike became his own, when nothing else would suit. Then the Psalms employed—cxx. 1, for first clause of ver. 2; xlii. 7, for last clause of ver. 3; xxxi. 22, for first clause of ver. 4; lxix. 1, for first clause of ver. 5; cxlii. 3, for first clause of ver. 7; xxxi. 6, for ver. 8; iii. 8, for the last clause of ver. 9—can with no probability be shown to be later than the time of Jonah (most of them, indeed, belonging to the earliest period of psalmodic literature); and, what is not less important, the language is not slavishly copied, but used with such slight variations as would naturally be employed by one who was freely adapting to his own spiritual use existing scriptures, not stringing together a set of passages for a literary purpose. Thus, instead of "the waters are come in," Jonah says, "the waters compassed me about;" instead of "I am cut off from before thine eyes," he has, "I am cast out from before thine eyes;" instead

of "I hate them that observe lying vanities," he has, "They that observe lying vanities forsake their own mercy," &c. Such things bear on them the impress of reality. (3.) The dimensions of the city, as indicated in the narrative, have often been adduced in support of the fabulous view of its contents, and the objection is still pressed by Hitzig. He conceives that the three days' journey mentioned in ch. iii. 3, must, when compared with the one day's journey, Jonah is presently said to have advanced preaching, be understood of the extent of the city in a straight line, not of its entire compass; while the 480 stadia, or 60 miles, given by Diodorus as the measurement of its boundary-walls, would make the extent of the circumference to have been only about three days' journey. Reasoning of this sort evidently proceeds upon the idea that Nineveh was formed much after the plan of a modern European city. What if it was less regularly constructed, and lay, perhaps, in three somewhat distant and separate portions, requiring a day's journey for each to pervade their leading thoroughfares? This is no improbable supposition. Speaking of the space occupied by the remains of the city, Mr. Layard states, that "from the northern extremity of Kouyunjik to Nimroud is about 18 miles, the distance from Nimroud to Karamles about 12, the opposite sides of the square the same." He thinks this remarkably accords with the measurement of Diodorus, and the three days' journey of Jonah, taking this to apply to the circumference. But he adds what shows there may be, at least, no necessity for so understanding it. "Within the space there are many large mounds, including the principal ruins in Assyria, and the face of the country is strewed with the remains of pottery, bricks, and other fragments. The space between the great public edifices was probably occupied by private houses, standing in the midst of gardens, and built at distances from one another, or forming streets, which inclosed gardens of considerable extent, and even arable land." (*See* NINEVEH.) It is plainly with reference to the population, or to the more densely inhabited portions, that it is spoken of in connection with three days' journey; and knowing so little, as we now do, about the particular structure of the city, and the manner in which its population was distributed, no one has any right to regard such language as unsuitable to the actual state of things. The same substantially may be said of 120,000 souls in ch. iv. 11, who could not discern between their right hand and their left—children, that is, of about four years old and under—implying a total population of half a million or so; for there is no improbability whatever in such a mass of human beings having been congregated within such ample bounds. (4.) It has appeared to some, in particular to Bleek (Einleit. p. 571), improbable, and against the historical verity of this book, that on the supposition of all that is here related having actually occurred, there should be in the relation of them such a paucity of circumstantial details—nothing said, for instance, of the place where Jonah was discharged on dry land, or of the particular king who then reigned at Nineveh—and not only so, but no apparent reference in the future allusions to Nineveh in Scripture, to the singular change (if so be it actually took place) wrought through the preaching of Jonah on the religious and moral state of the people. These are still always regarded as idolaters, and the judgments of God uttered against them, as if they stood in much the same position with the heathen enemies generally of God's cause and people. It may fairly be admitted that there is a certain degree of strangeness in such things, which, if it were not in accordance with the character both of the man and of the mission, and in these found a kind of explanation, might not unnaturally have given rise to some doubts of the credibility of what is written. But Jonah's relation to Nineveh was altogether of a special and peculiar nature; it stood apart from the regular calling of a prophet and the ordinary dealings of God; and having for its more specific object the instruction and warning of the covenant-people in a very critical period of their affairs, the reserve maintained as to local and historical details may have been designed, as it was certainly fitted, to make them think less of the parties immediately concerned, more of what through these God was seeking to impress upon themselves. The whole was a kind of parabolical action; and beyond a certain limit circumstantial minuteness would have tended to mar, rather than to promote, the leading aim. Then, as to the change produced upon the Ninevites, we are led from the nature of the case to think chiefly of the more flagrant iniquities as the evils more particularly cried against; and Israel itself afforded too many examples of general reformations in respect to these, of which little or no trace was to be found in the course even of a single generation. Much more might such be expected to have happened in the case of Nineveh. (5.) The grand objection, however, against the historical verity of the things recorded in the book of Jonah, and the main reason for ascribing it to a later age than that of its reputed author, is undoubtedly to be sought in the miraculous events interwoven with the story. These, in the account of rationalistic writers, by their very nature challenge disbelief; they are only to be explained as the legendary marvels which, in process of time, gathered around the names of distinguished men, and must therefore without scruple be set down as the fabulous accretions of a later age.

There can be no doubt that a miraculous element pervades the account of Jonah's connection with Nineveh. Our Lord refers to one portion of it, and at once characterizes and accredits it as a sign (σημεῖον) or supernatural transaction, which had a significance alike for the present and the future, and which was to find its counterpart in his own yet more marvellous history, Lu. xi. 30, &c. If in a less marked degree, still in a measure not to be mistaken, there is in the singularly rapid and general repentance of Nineveh, as also in the history of the gourd so marvellously quick in its growth and decay, what must be assigned to the supernatural. This element, however has sometimes been needlessly aggravated. Fixing definitely upon the whale as the species of fish in which Jonah is said to have been for a time entombed, unbelievers have aggravated the improbabilities of the story, by pointing to the narrowness of the whale's throat, which is incapable of admitting a human body through it. Of course, if such *had* been the creature employed by God for the occasion, he could as easily have manifested his divine power in widening the throat to receive Jonah, as in afterwards adapting the belly of the whale for his safe preservation. But the "great fish" of the narrative is not necessarily a whale; nor is κῆτος, the corresponding term in the New Testament and in the Septuagint; for this word is used by Greek scientific writers of a whole class of fishes, which includes the whale and many

others besides (the viviparous); and very commonly sharks and tunnies are enumerated under it. Photius (Lex.) expressly applies it to the Carcharias, which is a species of shark, usually called the white shark. This fish abounds in the Mediterranean, and is very probably the particular kind of creature referred to. Its voracity is notorious; and growing, as it often does, to the size of from 20 to 30 feet in length, and 3000 or 4000 lbs. weight, it is quite capable of swallowing an entire man. Indeed, specimens have been caught—one with a sea-calf in it—of the size of an ox; another with a horse entire; and several others with the body of a man, unmutilated and dressed (see the authorities in Pusey's Introd. to Jonah). Such facts amply meet the shallow objection that has sometimes been raised against the credibility of Jonah's being received for a time into a fish's belly, on the ground of there being no fish large enough, or with a throat capacious enough, for such a purpose. But it leaves untouched the miraculous nature of Jonah's preservation for three successive days (or parts of these) in such a habitation, and his subsequent ejection upon dry land. This necessarily involved a supernatural interposition in his behalf. And so with the other things standing in a certain connection with it—the change wrought upon the Ninevites, and the rapid transitions undergone by the gourd; though both doubtless appeared as the result of agencies calculated to produce them; yet in the power and efficiency with which these were accompanied, there was the indication of a supernatural interference. With those who on philosophical grounds are opposed to any action that can properly be called miraculous, no arguments of a moral kind could avail to convince them of the reality of the things narrated. But for those who are open to conviction on the matter, the main question will be, whether the occasion appears to have been such as to call for the special interference of Heaven to accomplish the results under consideration. If the history and mission of Jonah are looked at merely by themselves, the tendency will probably be to answer such a question in the negative; it will not be easy to understand why the course of providence should have moved in such strange and mysterious ways to reach its end in connection with a person and a people who occupied otherwise so subordinate a place in the divine kingdom. But let them be contemplated as special movements of this kingdom at an important crisis of its history, and movements destined to stand in a profound relation to its ulterior acts and operations, and what appears miraculous here will be found entirely in its place. It was required to mark distinctly the hand of God in the marvellous series of events, and draw men's attention to them as pregnant with principles and interests of incalculable moment. Still more was it required, in order that the transactions into which it entered might serve as the divinely ordained sign of the central facts in gospel times, in which all might be said to partake of the supernatural. Thus only could the one series fitly correspond with, and prepare for, the other.

This view—the natural and unquestionably scriptural view of the subject—receives no small confirmation from the arbitrary and unsatisfactory explanations which rationalistic critics have offered of the story of the book. This betrays itself in the endless diversity of the modes of explanation, no one apparently being able to rest in that of another. The semi-heathen account of its origin, which approved itself to some of the elder rationalists (Gesenius, De Wette, Rosenmüller, &c.), who supposed it to have been a kind of Jewish edition of the heathen myths respecting the deliverance of Hesione by Hercules, or of Andromeda by Perseus, from the sea monsters to which they were exposed—may now be regarded as exploded. Bleek justly says (Einleit. p. 576) that there is not the smallest probability of the story of Jonah's temporary sojourn in the belly of the whale having been either mediately or immediately derived from those Greek fables. F. von Baur's hypothesis of the story of the book being a compound of some popular Jewish traditions and the Babylonian myth respecting a sea monster Oannes, and the fast for Adonis, is now universally assigned to the same category. Hitzig (first in a separate treatise, then in his commentary on the minor prophets) would identify the author of Jonah with that of Obadiah, and supposes it to have been written by some one in the fourth century before Christ "in Egypt, that land of wonders," and chiefly for the purpose of vindicating Jehovah for having failed to verify the prophecy in Obadiah respecting the heathen Edomites—a theory which, so far as we know, has made no converts, and certainly needs no refutation. A slender basis of fact has been allowed by some—by Bunsen, for example, who, strangely enough, fixes upon the very portion which to most of his rationalistic countrymen bears the clearest marks of spuriousness, as the one genuine part of the whole—Jonah's thanksgiving from the perils of shipwreck (as Bunsen judges); and thinks that some one had mistaken the matter, and fabricated out of it the present story;—by others, such as Krahmer (Das Buch Jonas, 1846), who suppose that Jonah was known to have uttered a prophecy against Nineveh, to have been impatient at the delay which appeared in the fulfilment, and was hence for didactic purposes made the hero of the story. But the more common opinion in the present day with this school of divines is, that the story is purely moral, and without any historical foundation; nor can any clue be found or imagined in the known history of the times why Jonah in particular, a prophet of Israel in the latter stages of the kingdom, should have been chosen as the ground of the instruction meant to be conveyed. So Ewald, Bleek, &c.; who, however, differ in some respects as to the specific aim of the book, while they agree as to its non-historical character. Ewald, for instance, would make it quite general—namely, to show how the true fear of God and repentance brings salvation—first, in the case of the heathen sailors; then in the case of Jonah; finally, in that of the Ninevites. Bleek, not differing materially from Krahmer, conceives it to have been written by an intelligent, liberal-minded Jew, for the purpose of exposing the narrow religious particularism which prevailed among his countrymen, as if God were only known and honoured by them—as if they alone had a right to expect his favour, and might justly hate and hope for the perdition of all the heathen. On the contrary, they are here taught to regard Jehovah as in his fatherly love ready to embrace all in every place who sought to him with true hearts. But why *any* prophet should have been represented as going through such a marvellous experience to teach these truths, not unknown in the other Scriptures—why, especially Jonah should have been thought of in such a connection—living, as he did, in a region and at a time

remarkable for the very reverse of that particularism—remains a mystery, of which no solution either has been or ever can be given. It is in fact inconceivable that anything but the known realities of the case could have led any respectable Jewish writer to attribute to a true prophet the part from first to last ascribed to Jonah in this singular book; and scarcely less conceivable that the Jewish authorities would have received such a book into the canon of Scripture without the most conclusive evidence of its genuineness and authenticity. Not only has this view in its favour all reasonable probabilities, and in its fair import the express testimony of our Lord; but it may well also claim in its support the utter failure of all attempts to account for the story of the book otherwise, so as to secure any general concurrence. It is proper to add, that on the side of its strictly historical character there are still to be reckoned some of the greatest names in Germany, including Sack, Hengstenberg, Delitzsch, Baumgarten.

[Much of the literature that has appeared on the book of Jonah has already been referred to; treatises of a practical and popular kind, of which there is a considerable number, it is needless to mention. For points connected with Jonah's prediction, as explicitly announcing an event which did not take place, see article PROPHECY.]

JON'ATHAN [יְהוֹנָתָן or יוֹנָתָן, *whom God gave*]. The name of several men in Jewish history more or less distinguished. 1. Of a Levite (Heb. *Jehonathan*), a native of Bethlehem Judah, of whom a somewhat curious history is related, and a character not too scrupulous exhibited, in the first half, Ju. xvii. xviii., of the appendix to the book of Judges. The episode in the history of the Danites with which the name of this young priest is connected, must have occurred very early in the time of the Judges, in all probability soon after the death of Joshua, a time of comparative anarchy and freebooting licentiousness, before any fixed authority had arisen to supply the place of the deceased leader—"in those days there was no king in Israel, but every man did that which was right in his own eyes," Ju. xvii. 6. And if the conjecture of critics be right, that this Levite was the grandson of Moses (see below), the events detailed regarding him cannot have occurred long after the entry into the promised land, as he was still a young man when they happened. The Mosaic law had already in many places begun to be disregarded, and men who could afford it erected private temples to themselves, and fashioned and set up teraphim and graven images for worship; the Levites too do not seem to have confined themselves to the cities assigned them or to the duties prescribed them, but were ready for a livelihood to minister to the idolatrous proclivities of any man sufficiently affluent to maintain them. Such at least was the character of the man, who travelling northward in search of employment, came opportunely for him to a house in the Mount of Ephraim, tenanted by a person of the name of Micah and his mother, people of peculiar character, though possessed of considerable wealth, Ju. xvii. 2, and influence, Ju. xviii. 22, having a private sanctuary like Gideon, Ju. viii. 27. The mother had in her possession a large sum of money (1100 shekels, the sum promised by the Philistinian lords to Delilah, Ju. xvi. 5, and hence the woman has been thought, foolishly enough, to be Samson's betrayer), which the son appropriated—some think stole, others, *e.g.* Ewald (who charges those who differ from him with finding their own stupidity in the Bible, Gesch. ii. s. 452, note 3) turned to usury. Terrified apparently by the awful curses of the woman over her lost treasure, he soon after restored it, and the two agreed to turn a considerable portion of the coin into an image, to serve which Micah consecrated one of his sons as priest. But the advent of the Levite—altogether a more proper and formal servant of the altar—permitted him to set aside this hastily extemporized priest. The young man agreed, for some thirty shillings a year, a suit of apparel, and his victuals, to minister in the Ephraimite's private Bethel, Ju. xvii. 10.

How long this arrangement lasted we are not informed; it was brought to an end in a way not very agreeable to Micah, and not quite creditable to the character of Jonathan the young priest. The Danites, finding themselves straitened for want of room in the localities assigned to them in the south, or unable to cope with the Philistines and Amorites, Ju. i. 34, sought an outlet for their numbers and energies in the far north. Five men were sent to spy out the land in the extremest north of the country, and became acquainted with Micah and his valuable images and accommodating priest on their way. Having returned to their countrymen and reported favourably, six hundred warriors of Dan accompanied them as guides to the new home in the north. Micah's house lay in the way, and the six hundred kept guard, and watched the priest, a needless precaution, while the five rifled the sanctuary of its images and carried them off. The priest being flattered by an invitation to minister to the new colony, showed sufficient alacrity in accepting the proposal; and the poor Ephraimite whose home had been so ruthlessly harried had his complaints answered by the circumspect advice to go home, "lest angry fellows run upon thee and thou lose thy life." And this Levite, "Jonathan son of Gershom, son of Manasseh (Moses), he and his sons were priests to the tribe of Dan, until the day of the captivity of the land," Ju. xviii. 30.

The expression "captivity of the land," has been variously explained. Some refer it to the general captivity of the northern tribes at the hands of Assyria, and conclude that the narrative is of very late authorship; or else, as Ewald, that this verse has been inserted by a very late manipulator of the earlier document. Others consider the expression to be explained by Ju. xviii. 31, and think the *captivity* to be the subjugation of the country by the Philistines. Bleek agrees with this view, but instead of *the land*, would read *the ark* (in Hebrew *aron* for *arets*) (Einleit. s. 348). This latter date is no doubt the true one. Of more difficulty is the determination of the question, Which is the true name of Jonathan's grandfather, Manasseh or Moses? These names in Heb. are spelled by the same letters except the *n* in Manasseh, which in the traditional text is a *litera suspensa* (מְנַשֶּׁה). The traditional explanation of this suspended letter, in the Talmud, the rabbinical commentators (and the explanation is so far accepted by modern criticism), is that Moses is the true reading, but to avoid coupling the name of such a recreant as Jonathan with a name so sacred as his, the name of the idolatrous and bloody king Manasseh was substituted for it. (See Bertheau, Buch der Richter, s. 210.) Hävernick too (Einleit. ii. 1, s. 107), and Ewald (ii. s. 453), both agree in tracing the reading Manasseh to a Jewish conceit. That Gershom was the son of Moses, of course is well known, Ex. ii. 22, but it

is quite possible that there may have been another Gershom, son of some Manasseh, so well known to the writer and his readers that he is not further described. It is quite a common thing for transcribers to leave out letters, and insert them over the word when aware of their mistake; it is a rare occurrence indeed to find any one, however crammed with conceits, tampering with the letter of the text. The insertion of the *n* may be a mistake, it is hardly to be explained with Tanchum as a *tiqqun sopherim—i.e.* a second thought of the original writer, nor an intentional play with the letter of the text, on the part of some subtle scribe.

2. JONATHAN. The oldest of the three, 1 Sa. xiv. 49, or rather four (compare 1 Sa. xxxi. 2, with 1 Ch. viii. 33, and 2 Sa. ii. 8) legitimate sons of Saul (Heb. *Jonathan* and *Jehonathan*), heir to the throne, and constant friend and attendant of his father, who was deeply attached to him, and jealous of anything that seemed to interfere with his prospective succession to the kingdom. Jonathan was beautiful in form, graceful and athletic, chivalrously brave like his father, with the same ardent temperament as he, but the influences of religion, and a far truer conception of the idea of the theocratic government, restrained and softened his nature, and he was from the first ready to sacrifice his own claims, and give way to the man whom God had appointed to be the root of the new line of kings, whose final blossom should be the Messiah. And so, while Saul's rejection worked upon the untamed passions of his heart and threw him into despondency and fits of furious madness, beneath all which we catch glimpses of that mournful sense of loneliness which oppressed him, and cannot but be moved by the pathos of his cries for aid and sympathy, 1 Sa. xxiii. 21, cf. xxii. 8, Jonathan on the other hand was calm and strong, though he foresaw the issue of the unequal conflict between his father and the purpose of God, 1 Sa. xxiii. 17; and when he could not turn him from it by any means he tried, 1 Sa. xix. 4, with xx. 28, foll. &c., he yet clung to the wayward man, even at the risk of personal violence, 1 Sa. xx. 33, and subjected to the bitterest reproaches, 1 Sa. xx. 30, which for his father's and his friend's sake he bore with patience, only once losing self-command and rising "from the table in fierce anger," 1 Sa. xx. 34; and though from the time that the kingly government was turned in the hands of his father into an instrument of private vengeance, instead of a public defence, he could not but foresee dissolution at home and disgrace abroad, he never abandoned his own post, or failed to do what he could to retard the coming ruin, and when it came he went forth to meet it with the calmness of a hero, and the consciousness that his work was done. No truer son, or braver man, or warmer friend, need be looked for in the pages of history than this devoted and self-forgetful heir to a throne.

The details of Jonathan's career furnished in the Bible relate to two events in his life—his exploit at Gibeah, and his attachment to David. He appears first in history, 1 Sa. xiii. 2, as commanding one thousand men in Gibeah of Benjamin, while his father lay with a small army of two thousand more northward at Michmash and along the hills of Bethel. This small command was all the troops the new king could oppose to the overwhelming hosts of the Philistines. Saul's policy was to seize the main passes, and prevent the enemy from penetrating eastward (on the strategic value of Michmash, cf. Is. x. 28), till he gathered together sufficient strength to strike an effective blow at their army. Jonathan was the first to come into collision with the enemy, though the nature of his movement is not easy to ascertain. He smote a נְצִיב (*netzib*) of the Philistines in Geba, ch. xiii. 3, some think an outpost or garrison (E. V.), others a pillar or standard of possession (Bertheau), most probably some officer, or small advanced post, from the accidental way in which the thing seems to have occurred, and the indefinite way in which it is referred to. The collision, however, was the signal for active operations on both sides. The Philistines mustered in great force and seized the Israelitish camp at Michmash, which Saul had perhaps previously evacuated, for the purpose of betaking himself to the old trysting-place at Gilgal, where Samuel had promised to meet him to inaugurate the war, ch. x. 8. It does not seem certain whether Jonathan had abandoned his post in Gibeah, or held it for the purpose of keeping open the communications, in all likelihood the latter, as Saul (the reading in ver. 15 seems false) and he made Gibeah the headquarters of their little army, which had now melted away to six hundred men, the terror of the people, who were without weapons, except Saul and Jonathan and their immediate attendants, ver. 22, being so great that many of them fled over Jordan, ch. xiii. 7. The Philistines greatly harassed the country by sending out marauding parties in various directions, ch. xiii. 17, and the misery and disgrace became so keen, that Jonathan, with the deep religious faith in the God of Israel and in Israel's destinies which marked him, resolved to make some effort in behalf of his country, single-handed—"for there is no restraint to the Lord to work by many or by few," ch. xiv. 6. With the chivalrous devotion of this stormy time, his armour-bearer was ready to second his wildest project, and having, like the servant of Abraham, fixed on a sign whereby they should know that God would prosper them, ver. 10, they clambered over the rocks and discovered themselves to the Philistines. The sign fell out as they had hoped; the Philistines, partly in scorn, and partly with a secret dismay, that sought to conceal itself by boastful words, cried, "Come up and we will show you a thing;" and Jonathan, interpreting the sign as given by God, fell upon them, and slew about twenty men. This discomfiture ended in a panic; thinking themselves outnumbered and surprised by the Hebrews, who were coming "out of their holes," and being assailed at the same time within their own ranks by the Hebrews whom they had with them as captives, ch. xiv. 21, a widespread confusion communicated itself to the ranks of the Philistinian host, and they went on exterminating each other as mutual foes in their blindness and surprise. The Israelitish army immediately fell upon the retreating foe, and being increased to about ten thousand men, a desultory pursuit commenced throughout the forest of Ephraim, which ended only when the Philistines had been driven as far west as Ajalon. Jonathan, unaware of an oath by which Saul, in his eagerness for the foe's extinction, had unwisely bound the people not to taste anything till the evening, put a little honey by his staff to his mouth; and when the priest inquired of God in the evening whether they should renew the pursuit, no answer was vouchsafed. It was found that there was sin among the people, and the lots being cast, Jonathan was found to be the transgressor. Saul, surely not thinking such a thing pos-

sible, had already declared that the offender, even should it be himself or his son, should die; and now, with the sternness of a Roman, he condemned Jonathan to death. In all likelihood the words of Jonathan, ver. 43, imply that he willingly lent himself to death, without repining: "Behold me, I shall (am ready to) die;" but the people, with a diviner instinct than the impulsive king, interposed, and *redeemed* Jonathan out of his hands. The LXX. render "interceded" for Jonathan—a translation which weakens the strong intervention of the people intolerably; and as little ground is there for Ewald's conjecture, that some other victim must have been substituted in Jonathan's stead (iii. s. 48).

The story of the friendship of David and Jonathan is the most pathetic in history. That Jonathan should give so much to David, and that David could bring himself to accept so much from Jonathan, for the difficulty lay most on his side, cannot be explained on anything but their mutual religious insight into the need of the times and the destiny of the nation. The first time the two heroes met was when David returned from the slaughter of the Philistine, and was explaining his early history to the king; his modesty, and youthful beauty, and his unparalleled boldness, charmed the heir-apparent, "and the soul of Jonathan was knit with the soul of David, and Jonathan loved him as his own soul," ch. xviii. 1; and, like Homeric heroes, the two friends exchanged arms (ver. 4, cf. Il. 6, 230-236, Ewald). And thus commenced a friendship which lasted unbroken all the life of Jonathan, and the memories of which lived in David's heart long after death had separated the friends. This affection, which, on Jonathan's part, "passed the love of women," 2 Sa. i. 26, not only in its ardour, but even in its patience and self-sacrifice, was returned by David with a vehemence and tenderness and tearfulness over the sad elements of conflict in the king's heart and in the state, making the life of all so mournful that had to take a part in rule, that even "exceeded" Jonathan, 1 Sa. xx. 41. Jonathan appears after this first meeting with David only four times in history, three of these times in relation to David, and once again on the battle-field of Gilboa. His constant effort was to soothe the ruffled feelings of his father, and moderate his jealousy against David. From the time that the women of Israel sung, "Saul hath slain his thousands and David his tens of thousands," Saul was uneasy in the presence of David, and more than once made attempts upon his life. At every new success of the youthful Bethlehemite, and every new advance he made in popular favour, Saul's dark spirit grew darker and more troubled. Yet he was not yet unsusceptible to the influence of his son; and though he now undisguisedly sought to induce both Jonathan and his servants to take David's life, on Jonathan's representations he was reconciled to him, and sware, "He shall not be slain," 1 Sa. xix. 6. But once more there was war, and once more David was victorious, and Saul "eyed" him with increased suspicion, and David fled to Ramah to Samuel, escaping both the open violence, and, through the faithfulness of Michal his wife, the daughter of the king, the secret plots of Saul. Soon he returned from Ramah, and Jonathan made renewed efforts to appease his father's madness against David, but now without success; and then occurred that scene of terrible violence between Jonathan and the king, to which we have already alluded, when, under the bitter invectives of his father, ch. xx. 30, Jonathan lost command of himself, and left the king's presence in fierce anger, ver. 34; and this scene was followed by that other most touching parting, when the two friends, feeling all hope of reconciliation with the king gone, "kissed one another, and wept one with another, till David exceeded," ver. 41. Only once again did the brothers meet, in the forest of Ziph, where David was in hiding from Saul. Jonathan stole away from the side of his father and found David; and for a time he seemed to entertain brighter hopes, and looked forward to a time when Saul being gone, David should fill the throne, and he himself be happy in subordination to him, ch. xxiii. 17. But Jonathan could not desert his father, even in his extremest folly, nor seek to precipitate his fall in selfishness, nor even in devotion to David. There was a more sacred duty of humanity to fulfil. He could not be unfilial, even for religion's sake, and the curtain falls upon him and Saul—the one baffled, and violent, and wretched—the other calm, and helpful, and thoughtless of himself, and though able now surely to forecast the mournful issue of things, yet resolute to share the ruin which he could not avert—only to rise once more to show them still united, when the noise of battle had been laid among the mountains of Gilboa, 1 Sa. xxxi. And David, in no vein of flattery then, and with no exaggeration, but mindful of the better nature of Saul—a clear and noble soul once, but for long sadly overcast with sudden tempests; and mindful of the deep, pure heart of Jonathan, who, with the tenderness of a woman, had loved him—sung that elegy over their graves, that stands unmatched for pathos and elevation among the effusions even of the sweet psalmist, 2 Sa. i. 18, foll.; and to perpetuate the honour of his friends, he caused the children of Judah to learn it.

Jonathan left a son called Mephibosheth, 2 Sa. ix. 6, called also Meribbaal, 1 Ch. viii. 34, whom David, not forgetful of his covenant with Jonathan, 1 Sa. xx. 14, to show kindness to himself and to all that should survive him, sent for when he was established in the kingdom at Jerusalem, and restored to him all the possessions of Saul, and made him dwell in Jerusalem, and eat at the king's table.

3. JONATHAN [Heb. *Jonathan* and *Jehonathan*]. A son of Abiathar the priest, who took an active part in the troubles during Absalom's revolt, and rendered material service to David as a spy, 2 Sa. xv. 36; xvii. 17, foll. In the troubles that ensued upon the usurpation of Adonijah he appears again, on the side of legitimate succession, like his father, 1 Ki. i. 42.

4. JONATHAN [Heb. *Jehonathan*]. A valiant soldier, son of Shimeah, brother of David, famed for his exploit in killing a gigantic Philistine of Gath, who "had on every hand six fingers, and on every foot six toes," 2 Sa. xxi. 20, foll.; 1 Ch. xx. 7.

5. JONATHAN [Heb. *Jehonathan*]. An uncle of David's, "a counsellor, a wise man, and a scribe," 1 Ch. xxvii. 32, whom critics are inclined to identify with the hero last mentioned (4)—so Ges. (Thesaurus, s. v.)—the word (*dōd*) rendered "uncle," signifying any near relative or friend, Is. v. 1.

6. JONATHAN [Heb. *Jehonathan*]. One of David's mighty men, said to be the son of Jashen, 2 Sa. xxiii. 32, apparently to be identified with the hero (Heb. *Jonathan*) who is called the son of Shage, the Hararite, 1 Ch. xi. 34, from which it appears that he was merely a descendant of Jashen or Hashen.

7. JONATHAN. A person of the tribe of Judah, son of Jada, of whom nothing is related, 1 Ch. ii. 32, 33.

8. JONATHAN. A brother of Johanan, and son of Kareah, Je. xl. 8; cf. 2 Ki. xxv. 23. Of Jonathan little is said, but Johanan was a man of some note, friend of Gedaliah the Jewish governor, left by the king of Babylon, whose untimely fate he sought to avert in vain, Je. xl. 13; cf. ch. xli.

9. JONATHAN [Heb. *Jehonathan*]. A scribe, several times alluded to as the person whose house was the dungeon in which Jeremiah was confined, Je. xxxvii. 15, 20; cf. ch. xxxviii. 26.

10. JONATHAN. The father of Ebed, a chief who returned with Ezra from Babylon, Ezr. viii. 6.

11. JONATHAN. Also an exile; the son of Asahel, one of the commissioners appointed to examine into the case of the men who had taken foreign wives, Ezr. x. 15.

12. Several Levites bare this name; two are called Jonathan, Ne. xii. 11, 14, and a third Jehonathan, Ne. xii. 18; cf. ver. 35. [A. B. D.]

JOP'PA. In the Hebrew יָפוֹ (*Japho*), and יָפוֹא (*Japhoh*); in the Greek Ἰόππης (both in Sept. and N. T.); now Jâfa, or Jaffa, or Yâfa. It is supposed to have got its name from its beauty (יָפָה, to be beautiful, or to shine; and so the name may be from the mass of sunshine which its houses exhibit), like the Schönbergs, the Bellevilles, and Formosas of more recent times (Jos. xix. 46; 2 Ch. ii. 16; Ezr. iii. 7; Jonah i. 3; 1 Esd. v. 55; 1 Mac. x. 74; xiv. 35; xv. 28, &c.; Josh. J. W. ii. 18, 10; iii. 9, 3). It is not to be confounded with Japhia, in the tribe of Zebulon, Jos. xix. 12, near Nazareth, now Yafo.

It is one of the oldest cities in the world, and ranks with Hebron, Zoan, and Damascus; and such is its repute for antiquity, that early geographers ascribe to it an antediluvian paternity, and regard its name as derived from Japheth (Cotovici Itiner. p. 130; Cellar. Not. Orb. Ant. vol. ii. p. 442). Being a city of the Philistines, who were a Mizraimite colony of Caphtorim, Ge. x. 14; De. ii. 23; 1 Ch. i. 12; Je. xlvii. 4; Am. ix. 7, the name may be Egyptian, not Hebrew; and the etymology given above may require to be superseded by another, gathered from the hieroglyphics of Egypt. *Cepheus*, its earliest king, may have been a representative of ancient *Caphtor*, and Ovid's "Cepheia arva" may be the Philistian sea-board, the plain of Sharon. *Phineus*, brother of Cepheus, fabled to have been turned into stone by Perseus, may have left his name to *Phœnicia*, for the usual derivation of that word from the palm is untenable. It is the "local habitation" for the Ovidian myth of Andromeda and the sea-monster, which no doubt has some foundation in the early story of the city, though whether grafted on Jonah's miraculous deliverance is questionable.

It is set down in the inheritance of Dan, who there "remained in his ships," Ju. v. 17, selfishly imperilling the nation's weal in not coming to the help of Jehovah against the mighty. To this Hiram floated down from Tyre the fir-trees of Lebanon, for the temple of Jerusalem; and about five hundred years after, Zerubbabel, acting on the edict of Cyrus, which must have applied to Phœnicia as well as Judea, caused the cedar-trees from the same mountains to be brought. "They gave money also unto the masons, and to the carpenters; and meat, and drink, and oil, unto them of Zidon, and to them of Tyre, to bring cedar-trees from Lebanon to the sea of Joppa, according to the grant that they had of Cyrus king of Persia," Ezr. iii. 7. Here Jonah embarked in his Tarshish-bound vessel—the *Cilician* Tarshish, according to Josephus. Here the Jewish patriots, in the days of the Maccabees, waged not a little of their warfare; for Modin, the place of the Maccabean nativity and sepulchres, was not far off (1 Mac. x. 75; xi. 6; xii. 33; xiii. 11; xiv. 5, 34; xv. 28, 35; 2 Mac. xiv. 21; xii. 3, 7. Here Peter wrought the miracle on Tabitha; here he tarried many days with one Simon a tanner, whose house and stone skin-vat, on the shore, tradition still kindly points out. Here the apostle saw the heavenly vision which told him that Jew and Gentile were one in Christ, Ac. x. 15, 16; and here he received the summons from Cornelius.

Early in the Christian era it became the haunt of robbers and pirates (Strabo, Geog. xvi. 2, 28), whose marine depredations provoked the Romans, that a first time under Cestius, and a second under Vespasian, it suffered destruction (Jos. J. W. iii. 9, 3). It is said to have been early the seat of a Christian bishopric; and it appears in the lists of "sedes suffraganeae" along with Lydda, Ascalon, and Gaza, &c. (Miraei Notitia Patriarchatuum, &c. p. 92). But others mention it as attached to the Church of the Sepulchre, "suberat priori et canonicis S. Sepulchri" (Vitriaco. Sedes Apost. in Terra Sancta, ch. lviii.) It continued to be a port, but did not rise into importance till the era of the crusades, when it became the scene of many a conflict (Bohadin's Vita et Res Gestae Saladini, ch. cxx. &c.); and for more than half a century it was alternately built and destroyed.

The Franks were at last expelled from Syria, and Joppa sank into ruin and poverty, though still a port at which travellers and pilgrims landed for Jerusalem. Here we find De Caumont landing in 1418 (Voyage D'Oultremer en Jherusalem, Paris ed. p. 46), and De Lannoy in 1422, telling us that Jaffa is entirely in a state of decay, "toute desroquie," having only three uninhabited vaults, where the pilgrims lodge, on their way to the Holy Sepulchre" (Survey of Egypt and Syria, p. 55 and 122, London reprint, 1826). Here in 1484 Felix Fabri came with his fellow-pilgrims, in their Venetian galley, singing as they rushed through the rock-gate of Andromeda—*In Gottes nahmen fahren wir*—"cum gaudio magno, altis vocibus," the roar of the breakers drowning the old melody (Evagat. vol. i. p. 194). The description which this last traveller gives us of the port, and of the sufferings of his two hundred brethren, thrust by "the Sarracens" into one of the three great cellars or caves, remnants of ancient Joppa, for nine days, amid filth and damp, and every form of indignity, is very graphic. As they disembarked, the shore was lined with "Sarracens," between whom they were marched slowly in single file, that their names might be taken down. Thrust into these horrid cellars (of which Breydenbach and Cotovicus have given a drawing), they would have been suffocated with the stench, had not some traders got access to the prisoners, and filled the place with sweet odours, "unguentis aromaticis et liquoribus destillatis." Through the kindness of a native, Felix himself was brought out for a little, and shown the ruins of the city, "magnas ruinas," and two towers still standing. Walking another day along the shore, he comes to a fountain of living water—to a jutting rock, where he was told Peter used to sit and fish; he finds on the shore vast numbers of oyster-shells, "pulchræ et mirabiles." But he is indignant at the natives for carrying off a flask of Malvasy wine, which one of the pilgrims had hung on the wall; and annoyed beyond measure at the grins and

jokes which the native urchins poured in upon the company. He almost despairs of even reaching the Holy City.

The description which Felix Fabri thus gives of Joppa in his day applies to a long period both before and after that. The harbour was wretched, the city in ruins, and the natives bent on extorting money from the pilgrims. Two centuries after, the Franks began to be better treated (Le Brun, Voyages, ch. xlv.); and the Armenian convent, in which they were accommodated, was said to contain four or five thousand people. But still in the days of Wey and Sandys, the town was a ruin. After that it began to revive; but it had hardly risen when it was assailed. It was greatly damaged by Ali Bey in 1771, and Mohammed Abudahab in 1776. The French besieged and took it in 1799. It is fortified, as may be supposed from the preceding statements—that is, after oriental fashion, but its battlements are ruinous. Many a siege has it stood—many a conflagration has it experienced, from the days of the Romans to those of the French, who took it, and laid all its gardens waste. By it Napoleon entered

[378.] Joppa (Jaffa).—From a drawing by Archibald Campbell, Esq.

Syria; here he poisoned his sick on his retreat, to prevent their falling into Turkish hands; here he massacred the defenceless inhabitants, encamping hard by the town. Judas Maccabæus, Antiochus, Herod, Cestius, Vespasian, Omar, Saladin, Richard, Godfrey, Napoleon, have all in their turn laid siege to it. Perhaps no city save Jerusalem has seen so many foes, and stood so many assaults. Within this century it has risen considerably, but especially within the last thirty years.

Its geographical position is lat. N. 32° 2′, long. E. of Greenwich, 34° 47′ 25″ (Van de Velde's Memoir, p. 63; Osburne's Palestine, p. 573, 576). It is thoroughly a maritime town, washed by and almost overhanging the sea, like its southern neighbour Askelon, and its northern neighbour Cæsarea; not like some others on the great sea-plain of Philistia, such as Gaza, Ashdod, and Jamnia, removed considerably from the shore. It lies about thirty six miles north west from Jerusalem, and Strabo affirms that from Joppa Jerusalem was visible (Geogr. xvi. 2, 28). This has been affirmed to be impossible, on account of intervening heights, as Josephus' statement of the sea being visible from Herod's tower, Psephinus, has been declared to be so. As this is a question of facts, not of conjecture, nor of reasoning, we shall not attempt to decide the question further than that, as both Jerusalem and Joppa stand high, the thing is not so impossible as some think, especially as the "slacks" or depressions of the hills, at particular places, often reveal the very object which the range as a whole seems bent on shutting out. By moving a few yards east or west, as the case may be, one sees an object which he had concluded was invisible, by reason of the interposing ridges. More than once we had occasion to notice this in the East; as, for instance, in the case of Mount Sinai, which seems alternately to be visible and invisible, as you move through the windings of Wady-Sheikh; or in the case of the Dead Sea, which is seen or concealed from view, according as you may happen to stand a few yards north or south, on the heights around Jerusalem.

In the neighbourhood of Joppa are many of the noted places in Scripture story. The plain of Sharon encircles it. Lydda or Lod, Ac. ix. 38, now Ludd; Ono, Ne. vi. 2, now Auna; Ekron, Ju. i. 18, now Akir; Beth-dagon, now Beit-dejan, are all in its neighbourhood. Being the only sea-port on the southern coast of Palestine, it drew influence round it, and raised up towns; so that, though the notices of it are not minute, we never lose sight of it from the days of Jonah. It figures in the history of the Maccabees, and Josephus refers to it frequently. It comes before us in the history of Peter; in the wars of the crusaders; and in the itineraries of pilgrims and travellers of all ages to the present day. The havens along the Palestine coast are Beirût, Haifa, and Jaffa; at these the French and Russian steamers touch week after week, bringing to the Mediterranean and Ægean something of their ancient traffic and importance. These harbours are poor and unsafe—Jaffa the poorest and most perilous; yet some place of debarkation and embarkation was needful, and on the whole Jaffa was the best.

In front of the harbour the rocks rise, over which the north-west wind dashes the waves in fury; the rocks on which Andromeda was fabled to have been chained, and where according to Josephus the fragments of the iron links remain. They are gloomy and inhospitable. Many a brave vessel has been broken there. They might indeed become a protection, not a peril; and at some cost might be a natural breakwater to the harbour. But with only a small opening through which you shudder to pass, borne upon some shoreward breaker, they only create danger; and indeed with a sea on or a north gale blowing, they render landing impossible; so that the steamer, after lying off for half

a day, passes on to Alexandria or Haifa, without touching at Jaffa. Even with no sea on, it tries one's nerves to be rowed through the narrow rock-gate, upon the Mediterranean swell; for the slightest carelessness or unskilfulness on the part of your Arab seamen may dash you on the rocks.

Joppa is built on an eminence which slopes backward from the sea, and with its castle is reckoned 190 feet high. On it the houses are so placed as to seem to rise up, tier upon tier, irregular, but still beautiful, especially when approached from the sea at sunset. The interior is as displeasing as the exterior is pleasing, though it is not worse than the usual run of oriental towns. Perhaps its steep streets, which, like those of Valetta, you ascend by stairs, are an advantage, as helping to carry off its impurities.

Its environs are exquisite; and the endless groves of olive, orange, lemon, citron, mulberry, fig, and palm, delight the traveller with their shade and their fragrance. Jaffa oranges are the finest specimens of that kind of fruit we ever saw; and Jaffa water-melons equal, if they do not surpass, those of St. Paul's Bay. Its hedges of cactus or prickly pear, some fifteen feet high, are remarkable, though not perhaps beautiful, except when in flower. It is the most formidable of all inclosures, and seems preferred to any other, not here only, but elsewhere throughout Palestine. Each garden has here, as in Egypt, its well, its reservoir, and its wheel—the last worked by a mule or ox, and bringing up water for so many hours each day, to fill the little trenches and irrigate the garden.[1]

Its population is variously reckoned. Ruetschi says 5000; Robinson, 7000; Lynch, 13,000; Dr. Thomson, 15,000. We should be inclined to the second of these estimates, were it not that Dr. Thomson's authority is great. Of these about a half are "Christians;" that is, Greeks, Latins, Armenians, Maronites, Greek Catholics. Of these the Greeks are the most numerous. The Moslems amount perhaps to 4000; the Jews are very few; though not perhaps so few as in the days of Benjamin of Tudela, who only found *one* Jew, a dyer, here. It has three convents—Greek, Latin, and Armenian; and three or four mosques. But certainly Joppa has within the last twenty or thirty years made wonderful advances—commerce as well as population increasing; as in all the towns of the Syrian coast—Haifa, Acre, Tyre, Sidon, and Beyrût. Commerce is returning to Syria as well as to Egypt. The cornfields of Philistia and the pastures of Sharon may ere long become of importance to Europe, and the East again become the granary of the West. Its present exports are a few native productions, such as soap; and these chiefly to Egypt. Its imports are from the manufactories of England. It is likely to rise—especially if modern skill and capital will give it a harbour—for which it possesses first-rate natural capacity and materials—and construct a railway between it and Jerusalem, which competent engineers who have surveyed the ground have pronounced quite practicable.

[Josephus; Jerome; Hegesippus; Fabri; Cotovicus; Ritter; Raumer; Winer; Buckingham; Van de Velde; Stanley;—these will supply ample information.] [H. B.]

[1] "Water to any amount can be procured in every garden. The entire plain seems to cover a river of vast breadth, percolating through the land en route for the sea. A thousand Persian wheels, working night and day, produce no sensible diminution; and this inexhaustible source of wealth underlies the whole territory of the Philistines, down to Gaza at least, and probably much farther south."—Thomson's *Land and Book*, vol. ii. p. 275.

JO'RAM, contracted form of JEHORAM, which see.

JOR'DAN, RIVER OF, almost always in Hebrew with the article, הַיַּרְדֵּן, *the Jarden, the descender*, is now called El Urdan or Esh Sheryah, or the watering-place. (The older derivation from יָאר, *Jor*, and דָּן, *dan*, is now generally abandoned.) It has three sources. Of these the northermost, and geographically speaking the most important, occupies but a small share of the attention either of history or of modern travellers. It is situated near Hasbeiya, between Hermon and Lebanon, and is thus described by Van de Velde (vol. i. 129), "When you have descended the wild ravine of Hasbeiya, for a road I cannot call it, you turn to the right, crossing a grassy plain where the olive-trees offer at all times a most refreshing shade, you then come by a most romantic way along the river to the first bridge built over it. A few yards above is the basin or source, where the water comes bubbling up from under steep projecting rocks. It is of a transparent dark colour, and appears to be of immense depth." The stream from this the highest permanent source is called the Hasbany. The source at Banias (Cæsarea Philippi) is best known of the three, and is described by Josephus (Ant. xv. 10, 3), and Stanley (Syria and Pal. p. 390). At the foot of a high cliff there is a large pool fed by numerous gushing streamlets, which rise near the entrance of a deep cavern, now half filled with rubbish. Out of this pool the Jordan flows, already a fair-sized stream. Here Herod erected a temple in honour of Augustus, and Philip his son the capital of his tetrarchy. Here also,

[379.] The Source of the Jordan at Banias.—Van de Velde, Le Pays d'Israel.

when our Lord himself reached the northern limit of his journeys, was the scene of Peter's confession—"Thou art the Christ, the Son of the living God," Mat. xvi. 16. The third source of the Jordan is at Dan or Tel-el-Kady (Van de Velde, ii. 420). It is thus described by Stanley (Syria and Pal. p. 386), "It is at the foot of a green eminence overgrown with shrubs. From its north-west corner a magnificent spring—the exemplar, so to speak, of all those tributaries that we have seen along its banks from Engedi upwards—bursts forth into a wide crystal pool, sending forth at once a wide crystal river through the valley." The three streams unite near Tell Dafneh, and flow in a sluggish course through a marshy plain into the Lake Merom. (*See* MEROM.)

[380.] Ford of the Jordan between Scythopolis and Pella.—Van de Velde, Le Pays d'Israel.

At its outlet from the lake the river at first flows through a level plain, covered with reeds and abounding in all kinds of water-fowl. The valley soon contracts, and the banks of the stream are like sloping meadows as far as the Jisr Benat Yacobe (the bridge of the daughters of Jacob). This, the traditional site of Jacob's crossing the river on his return from Padanaram, is about a mile and a half from the Lake Merom, and six miles from the Sea of Galilee. Thence a road leads to Damascus over the hills of the Jaulan, and a ruined khan stands at the head of the bridge. From this spot, says Dr. Thomson, the Jordan "commences its headlong course over basaltic rocks down to the Lake of Tiberias, a distance of about six miles, and the descent according to my aneroid is 1050 feet. Of course it is a continued repetition of roaring rapids and leaping cataracts. I once walked and scrambled from the bridge down to the entrance into the lake—a wild stern gorge, fit haunt for robbers, from which it is never free." It is singular that at this, which is well called by Van de Velde the least attractive part of its course, the Jordan must have been best known to Naaman of Damascus, who would commonly cross it here in his incursions into the land of Israel, and who compared it unfavourably with Abana and Pharpar, the rivers of his own country, 2 Ki. v. 12. Continuing its course and flowing through the Sea of Galilee, the exit of the Jordan is at Kerak, anciently called Tarichœa, the naval station of Josephus in his war with the Romans. (*See* GALILEE, SEA OF.) From this point the Jordan commences the third and last division of its course, and rushes into the Dead Sea through frequent rapids and with so many windings, that in 60 miles of the direct distance which it traverses, its actual length is 200 miles. It has twice been fully explored—by Lieut. Molyneux in 1847, and by Lieut. Lynch in 1848. At Tarichœa its stream is 100 feet wide and 4 or 5 feet deep, but in many places lower down it is split up into innumerable rivulets, too small for navigation, while at other times it flows in one tortuous and rapid stream between steep cliffs and high banks. Of this part of its course Lieut. Lynch writes (Narrative, new ed. p. 128), "The stream sometimes washed the bases of the sandy hills, and at other times meandered between low banks, generally fringed with trees and fragrant with blossoms. Some points presented views exceedingly picturesque—the mad rushing of a mountain torrent, the song and sight of birds, the overhanging foliage and glimpses of the mountains far over the plain, and here and there a gurgling rivulet poured its tribute of crystal water into the now muddy Jordan. The western shore was peculiar, from the high calcareous limestone hills which form a barrier to the stream when swollen by the efflux of the Sea of Galilee during the winter and early spring, while the left or eastern bank was low, and fringed with tamarisk and willow, and occasionally a thicket of lofty cane and tangled masses of shrubs and creeping plants giving it the character of a jungle." Two streams of importance join it on its way, the Hieromax or Jarmuk, and the Jabbok, both from the eastern side. There were anciently four fords of the Jordan—the first at Tarichœa, the second at the confluence of the Jabbok, and the other two near Jericho. But its bed must have undergone considerable changes, if we are to believe the observation of Lieut. Molyneux, who says, "There are many hundreds of places where we might have walked across without wetting our feet, on the large rocks and stones."

The site of our Lord's baptism is now generally placed at Bethabara, Jn. i. 28, the second of the above-mentioned fords, near Succoth, near also to "Enon near to Salem," where we read of the Baptist afterwards, Jn. iii. 23; and the wild scenery of this spot would agree far better with St. John's character and life, than that of the traditional site near Jericho, which was no doubt chosen as being near to Jerusalem, and so more convenient to the pilgrims who frequent it. At this latter spot, or in its neighbourhood, the passage of the Israelites took place, Jos. iv.; and afterwards the passage of Elijah and Elisha, followed by Elisha's return, 2 Ki. ii. 8, 14. The Jordan is here about eighty feet broad and nine deep. It rushes in a turbid stream between high banks covered with tamarisks and willows, so that there are few places of access to its waters. At one of these, on Monday before Easter, the pilgrims of the Greek church, often 8000 in number, who have come down from Jerusalem escorted by the pasha and a guard of Turkish soldiers, perform the well-known

THE RIVER JORDAN.

NEAR THE FORD ON THE ROAD FROM NABLOUS TO ES-SALT

ceremony of bathing in the sacred stream. A short distance below this the river loses itself in the clear and lifeless waters of the Dead Sea. (*See* SALT SEA.)

The Jordan is emphatically The River of Palestine, as the Nile is The River of Egypt. No other stream of importance was known to the Israelites; and in one passage it is used as the representative of all great rivers, "He trusteth that he can draw up Jordan into his mouth," Job xl. 23. In consequence of its long course, direct in the main, though winding, throughout the country from north to south, it naturally formed the great eastern boundary, at first of the land promised of old to Abraham, and afterwards, when the two tribes had settled in the territory of Sihon and Og, of Palestine proper, the home of the remaining ten tribes. To this may be traced the frequency of such expressions as "on this side Jordan," "on the other side Jordan," "beyond Jordan," &c.

There are two phenomena connected with the Jordan that remain to be noticed.

1. *Its annual rise.*—It is easy to account for this taking place so late in the year as "barley harvest," when it is borne in mind that it rises in permanent springs, which are not affected by the early winter rains; nor is it till the snows on Lebanon or Hermon begin to melt that its tributary streams attain their full volume. Then there is a further delay while the Lakes of Merom and Gennesaret are being filled, before at length they pour their accumulated waters into the lower Jordan. Another difficulty however arises from the statement of Mr. Williams, in Dr. Smith's *Dictionary of Geography*, that he "visited the river at all seasons of the year, but he never witnessed an overflow, nor were the Bedouins who inhabit its banks acquainted with the phenomenon." On the other hand, Lieut. Molyneux remarks of the country above Beisan (p. 116), "From seeing a quantity of deposit in the plain of the Jordan to-day, and marks of water in various places at a distance from the river, it was evident that the Jordan widely overflowed its banks, and the sheikh informed me that in winter it is occasionally half an hour across, which accounts for the luxuriant vegetation in this part of the Ghor." And Lieut. Lynch under date April 14 (Narrative, new ed. p. 132) writes, "The river was falling rapidly, the banks showed a daily fall of about two feet, and frequently we saw sedge and drift-wood high up on the branches of overhanging trees, above the surface of the banks, which conclusively proves that the Jordan in its swelling still overflows the plain, and drives the lion from his lair, as it did in the ancient time;" see Je. xlix. 19; l. 44. It is probable that in the neighbourhood of Jericho the channel has become deeper in the course of ages, and the fall of the river being rapid the inundation is now scarcely perceptible. Van de Velde also (vol. ii. p. 272) suggests that "in the days of old, when Mount Hermon and the hills to the right and left of the Jordan were much more abundantly drenched with rain and snow than since the forests have disappeared from the face of the land, the river, from a greater accession of water, must naturally have been broader than it is at the present day." Another alternative is to interpret the words in Jos. iii. 15 and 1 Ch. xii. 15, which are translated "overflow his banks," to mean literally "was filled up to all his banks." Such an increase would be scarcely perceptible to an occasional visitor, or even to the wandering Bedouins of the Ghor (Porter, Handbook, vol. i. p. 197).

2. *Its rapid descent.*—The Lake of Galilee is but sixty miles from the Dead Sea in a direct line, and yet the difference of level is no less than 1000 feet. This has been explained by the expeditions of Lieuts. Molyneux and Lynch, who found no less than twenty-seven rapids in this part of its course; and moreover the latter writes (p. 170), "The great secret of the depression between the Lake Tiberias and the Dead Sea is solved by the tortuous course of the Jordan. In a space of 60 miles of latitude and 4 or 5 miles of longitude the Jordan traverses at least 200 miles." [C. T. M.]

JORDAN, VALLEY OF. This name is generally applied to the country between the Lake of Tiberias and the southern end of the Dead Sea. Its Old Testament name was הָעֲרָבָה (*the desert*), translated in most places "the plain;" in De. ii. 30, "the champaign;" in Jos. xviii. 18, "Arabah;" and in Eze. xlvii. 8, "the desert" (Syria and Pal. App. p. 481). By Josephus and the later Jews it is called Aulon, which Jerome (Liber de situ et nom.) tells us is not a Greek, but a Hebrew word. Its modern Arabic name is El Ghor. It is a deep sunken plain, sixty miles long, gradually sloping from the level of 650 feet to that of 1300 feet below the Mediterranean. In most places it is about eight miles broad; but at the northern end of the Dead Sea the mountains recede and leave a space twelve miles in width, the western portion of which is often called "the plains of Jericho." Its general appearance is that of a wide valley shut in by mountains on either side—those on the west continuous like a wall, but rent by deep wild chasms; those on the east more varied, often receding, and intersected with fertile plains. The valley is divided across by a low ridge called Kurn Surtabeh, situated one-third of the distance from the Dead Sea to the Lake of Tiberias. Longitudinally it is divided into terraces two or three in number on each side of the river. The upper of these terraces on each side, immediately under the hills, is covered with vegetation; the middle terrace is the wide desert plain, the *arabah*, properly so called, which in its southern part is barren, except where large springs fertilize it. Its northern part is fertile and cultivated, bearing its harvest earlier than other parts of Palestine, but on account of its great heat requiring irrigation. It is inhabited by fellahin where fertile, elsewhere by Bedouins. The lowest terrace is occupied by a jungle of agnus castus, tamarisks, and willows, sometimes fringed by a brake of reed and cane at the banks of the river itself. From this jungle the lion of old was driven by "the swelling of Jordan," Je. xlix. 19, and the traces of other wild beasts may in modern days be found in it. But the distinction of these terraces cannot be traced throughout its course. The jungle of willows and tamarisks is alone continuous, and sometimes occupies the whole valley. Further details of its appearance at different places may be found in the following extracts from the account of Lieutenant Molyneux's expedition, in the *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society*, vol. xviii. At p. 108 he writes of the neighbourhood of Kerak, at the outlet of the Jordan from the Lake of Tiberias, "The Ghor, or great valley of the Jordan, is here about eight or nine miles broad; and this space is anything but a flat—nothing but a continuation of bare hills, with yellow dried-up reeds, which look when distant like corn stubbles. These hills, however, sink into insignificance when

compared to the long range of mountains which inclose the Ghor; and it is therefore only by comparison that this part of the Ghor is entitled to be called a valley."

Lower down, near Jisr Mejamia, he writes (p. 112), "The Ghor or valley now began to bear a much better and more fertile aspect. It appears to be composed of two different platforms—the upper one on either side projects from the foot of the hills which form the great valley, and is tolerably level, but barren and uncultivated. It then falls away in the form of rounded sand hills, or whitish perpendicular cliffs, varying from 150 to 200 feet in height, to the lower plain, which should more properly be called the valley of the Jordan. The river here and there washes the foot of the cliffs which inclose this smaller valley, but generally it winds in the most tortuous manner between them. . . . . About this part of the Jordan the lower plain might be perhaps one and a half or two miles broad; and so full of the most rank and luxuriant vegetation, like a jungle, that in a few spots only can anything approach its banks. Some of the bushes and ferns are very beautiful, particularly a feathery-leaved tree (something like the cedar of Lebanon), of which there is a great quantity."

Again, above Jericho he writes (p. 123), "The lower valley is about three quarters of a mile broad, and within these bounds the river winds extremely, The cliffs on either side have still the same whitish chalky appearance, and fall away abruptly from the upper land; which both to the east and west of the river, for the last thirty miles of its course, has a barren and desolate appearance, and is but little cultivated. Near Jericho the formation of the ground becomes less regular: the western mountains in one or two places jut out considerably into the Ghor; the cliffs less exactly mark the bounds of the lower plain; and just abreast of Jericho, near the bathing-place, the descent from the higher ground is by a number of rounded sand hills."

The Jordan valley fell to the lot of several of the tribes. Its eastern terraces were pastured by the flocks of Gad and Reuben; and its western plains were occupied by Issachar, Jos. xix. 22, Manasseh, Jos. xvii. 9, and Benjamin, Jos. xviii. 18. Its history is that of the river whose name it bears; and most of the remarkable events which took place in it are referred to in the preceding article, and in that on Jericho. [C. T. M.]

JOS'EDEC. *See* JEHOZADAK.

JO'SEPH [either *a taker away*, viz. of reproach, or *he will increase, add*]. 1. The eldest of the two sons of Jacob by Rachel. His mother had been married for a long time without bearing children—a circumstance which had most deeply grieved her, Ge. xxx. 1. And on the birth of her first-born child, she gave him a name indicative at once of her gratitude for the removal of the reproach which was attached to childless women in Israel, and of her earnest hope that the birth of at least another son would add still further to her happiness and respect, ch. xxx. 23, 24. This double etymology of the name (from אָסַף, to *take away*, and from יָסַף, *to add*), is plainly indicated in the verses just referred to. Our authorized version, in ver. 24, "the Lord *shall add* to me another son," would probably be better rendered by putting it in the form of a hopeful prayer, "may the Lord add to me another son." This is in perfect agreement with the usage of the Hebrew, and is more suitable to the circumstances of Rachel, who could not certainly know, but might well pray and hope, that God would grant to her a second son.

His father Jacob was about ninety-one years of age when Joseph was born, compare ch. xli. 46, 47; xlv. 11; xlvii. 9. This in part accounts for the endearing expression which calls him "the son of Jacob's old age," ch. xxxvii. 3. But it does not seem to account for it altogether. He had another son, Benjamin, born to him at a still later period of life. Not only, however, was Joseph a son of his old age, he was also the stay and comfort of his old age in a manner which none of the older sons were, and which Benjamin could not at this time be, on account of his extreme youth. But Joseph, at the age of seventeen, was the great comfort of his father, and gave promise even then of that sincere, pious, and prudent disposition, which marked his career through life.

For these reasons Joseph became, at a comparatively early period, the chief object of endearment to his aged father, and the more so, probably after the death of the beloved Rachel, ch. xxxv. 19. Joseph's moral courage and rectitude appear strongly marked from the opening years of his manhood. Living chiefly with his half-brothers, the sons of Bilhah and Zilpah, all of them older than himself, he resolutely refused, though alone, to join in the evil practices in which they seem all to have indulged, and had even the courage—arising probably from a sense of duty—to tell his father of their evil practices, ch. xxxvii. 2. As an especial mark of his love and favour, Jacob made for his son a garment, which the authorized version, following some ancient authorities, renders "a coat *of many colours*." The Hebrew (פַּסִּים, *passim*), however, from its etymology, seems rather to denote a long flowing robe, reaching down to the ankles, and so the best authorities consider it (see Gesenius, Fuerst). The word only occurs here, and in 2 Sa. xiii. 18, 19, where we are told that it was such a garment as the royal virgins of the house of David were accustomed to wear, whence we may infer it to have been a badge at once of modesty and of dignity. We take it then in the case of Joseph to mean a long flowing robe, indicative of the modesty of his character, and of the elevation which, from his strength of purpose and other noble qualities, his father thought him destined to attain among his brethren. The peculiarly strong love and apparent partiality evinced in the bestowal of such a garment, drew forth the hatred of Joseph's brothers against him; nor was it a silent hatred, but a hatred which perpetually displayed itself in contumely and reproach, ch. xxxvii. 4. But another and still higher distinction now added to their hatred. In heaven-sent dreams God now signifies to Joseph his future pre-eminence. The distinction which had been conferred upon him by his earthly father is ratified by his Father in heaven, and pointed to a greatness such as Jacob had never dreamed of for him, and such as indeed, when it was first mentioned, he did not desire. The first of his dreams indicated that he was to be at a future time a lord and ruler over all his brethren; the second, that his father and his mother, to whom by right of birth he was himself subject, should, with his brethren, come and bow down themselves to him to the earth, ch. xxxvii. 10.

Joseph is sometimes charged with vaingloriousness for relating the dreams thus indicative of his future greatness. It is possible of course that he may have felt unduly elated, but nothing of this appears in the

narrative; nor does his conduct expose him at all to the charge. God did not give him a revelation to hide but to make known, and it would only have argued false modesty and a disregard of the divine favour, if he had kept the supernatural intimations hidden within his own bosom. What God had made known to him it was his duty to make known to those whom the information concerned, and this he accordingly did. His father was at first at least disposed to view Joseph's indication with anger, as subversive of the submission which a son ought to render to his parents; but afterwards he came to a wiser mind, and "observed the saying," as being perhaps, and very probably, from God, and therefore not to be resisted. The feelings of his brothers towards him would seem to have been of a mixed and varied kind. There was great anger at what they chose to regard as the arrogance of a younger brother; there was envy at a distinction which, it sometimes occurred to them, might be in store for their brother; and there was also unbelief in the truth of the claims which, through his dreams, he made to future pre-eminence, ch. xxxvii. 8, 11, 19. There may appear to be contrariety between some of these feelings, but it is a contrariety which is very often met with in human nature, and which need not therefore surprise us.

Joseph's ready obedience to his father's wishes, even when the execution of them might be personally disagreeable to himself, appears as the narrative proceeds. When Jacob proposed to send him to his brethren to Shechem, to inquire after their welfare and that of the flocks, there is no reluctance displayed, but the ready answer is, "Here am I," ch. xxxvii. 13. Joseph's happiness and peace were in his father's house, while in mixing with his brethren he had nothing to expect but reproaches and contumely, if not worse; but he at once and unhesitatingly proceeds on the disagreeable mission. Its object was not only to see how his brothers were, but also how the flock, of which they were in charge, was, and to report on both matters, ver. 14. This mission it was which led directly to all the strange events that marked the future life of Joseph. It put him within the power of his brethren, and led to his trials, his exaltation, and to his consequent capacity to benefit those who had injured him. After some trouble in looking for his brethren, for they had wandered in search of fresh pastures from Shechem, he finds them at last in Dothan, ver. 17. No sooner is the opportunity afforded them than they resolve to take it. Even before he came up to them, while he was yet a distance, they resolved to kill him. And their principal reason for doing so is told us, ver. 20. It was for the express purpose of putting an end for ever to that future pre-eminence which his dreams foretold. "We will see," they said, "what will become of his dreams." These dreams were their grand cause of hatred and envy, and they determined at any risk, and at all cost, to defeat their signification. Various providential circumstances, however, alter their *method* of injuring their brother, and their final treatment of him, intended by them to destroy all his hopes, while at the same time it relieved them of the guilt of shedding his blood, led to the very supremacy against which they were vainly striving. Reuben first persuades them not to kill him, but to cast him into a pit, which they do; while he goes away, intending after they had left the place to return, take up Joseph, and restore him to his father unhurt. But neither is Reuben's plan, however well meant, to succeed. While he is absent, a company of Ishmaelites, or, as they are also called, Midianite merchants, came from Gilead, with their camels, the ships of the desert, bearing down to the great centre of traffic, Egypt, spicery, and balm, and myrrh. At once a new thought occurs to one of the brothers, Judah. He proposes a plan which is to relieve them of blood-guiltiness, and throw upon those strange merchants the onus of removing Joseph for ever from their sight, and from his own hopes of future greatness: "let us sell him to the Ishmaelites," he says, "and let not our hand be upon him." This proposal was accepted; for twenty pieces of silver Joseph is sold as a slave, carried off into Egypt, and when Reuben returned to the pit, he found that he was gone, and that his plan of deliverance had wholly failed.

Joseph's anguish of mind at his separation from his father is not told us in the direct narrative. It appears incidentally, however, at a later period, from a conversation that occurred among his brethren in Egypt: "we are verily guilty concerning our brother," they said one to another, "in that we saw the anguish of his soul, when he besought us, and we would not hear," ch. xlii. 21. His being sold into slavery into a strange land wounded the best and strongest feelings of his heart. It was separation from his father—from all the love which that father had from infancy shown to him—separation from the home with which all his feelings were closely bound up. Nor were his feelings in this respect stronger than his father's were at losing him. When his brethren came back to the old man with their artful and cruel tale, showed him Joseph's coat stained with blood, which they insinuated was his, and persuaded him of his violent death, his sorrow was a sorrow that refused to be comforted. All his sons and all his daughters sought to comfort him, but they could not do so. His thoughts were all with the son of his heart, his best loved son, who, in obeying his command, had been lost to him, and he said, in reply to all the motives of comfort that were urged, "I will go into the grave for my son mourning; thus his father wept for him."

The price at which Joseph was sold to the merchants, viz. twenty pieces of silver, appears to have been the sum at which a slave was valued at that time and subsequently. We find from Le. xxvii. 5, that such was the estimated value then of a male from five years old to twenty, and we have every reason to suppose that Joseph had not at this time reached his twentieth year. If he had arrived at that time of life his estimated value would have been fifty shekels of silver, Le. xxvii. 3. Of course the sum for which he was sold in Egypt to Potiphar was considerably over twenty pieces of silver, as the only object of the merchants in buying him was to make a profit by his sale.

When Joseph arrived in Egypt he was sold by the Ishmaelites to one of Pharaoh's officers, called Potiphar. This man occupied a very important office in the court of Egypt. He is first designated "an officer of Pharaoh," Ge. xxxix. 1—the word for officer, סָרִיס (*sarîs*), being that which is elsewhere commonly used for *eunuch*, although from Potiphar being a married man, eunuch, in the strict sense, cannot possibly be meant; and chief officer, or court attendant, must be understood; he is also called "captain of the guard," more properly of the executioners (טַבָּחִים, *tabahim*)—the trusty head of the military force, who had the charge of executing

capital punishment on offenders. (But see under POTIPHAR).

Wherever Joseph was, he seems to have applied himself diligently and faithfully, and without useless repining, to the duties of his post. He did so in the house of Potiphar, and God prospered his efforts to such a degree as to attract towards him in an especial manner the attention of his master. Potiphar, after due and careful consideration of Joseph's conduct for a considerable time, ch. xxxix. 3, saw that he was a man who might well be trusted in a higher office, and accordingly he made him overseer over his house, and all that he had he put into his hand. His confidence in his integrity and his capacity was unbounded. From the time he made him overseer, so thoroughly did he rely upon him in both these qualifications, that he ceased to exercise any personal supervision over his property or domestic affairs, and gave himself up wholly to other business. His fields, and gardens, and cattle, and fisheries, and servants, all were placed under the control of Joseph; and he truly and ably fulfilled his trust, and, through God's blessing, everything prospered in his hands. He laboured as a steward with the same zeal, fidelity, and discretion, that he would have done as though all had been his own property; and in doing so he probably incurred the resentment of some at least of those under his charge, as dishonesty was one of the chief failings of Egyptian servants.

In this state of comparative prosperity the sorest trial of Joseph's obedience to God was successfully endured. It is harder to bear prosperity than adversity; but Joseph, through his fear of God and the divine grace, was able to bear the temptations of prosperity as he had borne those of adversity. He was now in a situation of power, in all the vigour and beauty of early manhood, as eminently endowed with the graces of person as he was of mind, ch. xxxix. 6. Female profligacy would appear, from ancient written accounts, and from the evidence of the Egyptian monuments, to have been fearfully common. In perfect agreement with this we find the conduct of Potiphar's wife. Induced by Joseph's beauty, this shameless woman openly and unblushingly, and with repeated importunity, solicits him to sin. In such a situation most would have fallen, but Joseph held fast to his integrity. His reasons were twofold. The first was the gratitude he felt towards a confiding master; the second, and chief, was his reverential fear of that God who saw all secret things, and who regarded adultery as a terrible sin, ch. xxxix. 8, 9. And in guarding against this sin he used the only means by which he could hope to succeed. He would not remain in the situation of temptation, fearful lest he should be overcome; "he hearkened not unto her to lie by her, *or to be with her*." He hated the sin, and he shunned the society that would necessarily lead to it. And so he was able to endure the solicitations of unlawful pleasure when every circumstance would induce to it.

The unholy love of Potiphar's wife was by Joseph's conduct turned into the bitterest hatred. The garment which he had left in her hands, when escaping from her presence, is used by her as an evidence of his guilt. She first summons the men of her house, and with this in her hands she rouses up their strong Egyptian prejudices against a foreigner, and probably with ease succeeds in persuading them of Joseph's guilt, ch. xxxix. 14. The belief of the household would have weight with their master. She then awaits her husband's return, and the same artful tale succeeds with him. Joseph doubtless denied the crime, but he was not listened to. Potiphar throws him into the prison over which he had personal control, with what ultimate views we are not told.

The narrative in Genesis tells us nothing of Joseph's treatment when he was first cast into prison. From Ps. cv. 18, however, we learn that it was severe. We will use the translation in the English Book of Common Prayer, as more agreeable to the Hebrew than the authorized version; it runs thus: "whose feet they hurt in the stocks; the iron entered into his soul." This verse certainly intimates that Joseph's treatment in the beginning of his imprisonment was severe; nor can we suppose it to have been otherwise in a prison over which Potiphar had direct control, and in the first burst of his resentment for a great supposed wrong. The second clause of the verse seems to us to intimate the length of the imprisonment, which was so long continued that the iron entered into the prisoner's soul, as the stocks had hurt his feet. And there are other circumstances which lead to the opinion that his imprisonment was of very long continuance. At the time when the chief butler and baker of Pharaoh were put into prison, ch. xl. 3, 4, there would appear to have been a new captain of the guard in the place of Potiphar. He is no longer called Potiphar, while his conduct in reposing confidence in Joseph is quite inconsistent with the supposition. If he thought him innocent, he would have brought him out of prison; if he still thought him guilty, he would have shown him no mark of trust. Very probably Potiphar lost his post ere the "keeper of the prison" would have shown so high a mark of favour to Joseph as to commit to his care all the prisoners that were in the prison. He could scarcely have done so while Potiphar was still the captain of the guard. The imprisonment of Joseph would seem then to have occupied a very considerable portion of that period of thirteen years which elapsed between the time when the history of Joseph commences and the time when he stood before Pharaoh, ch. xxxvii. 2; xli. 46.

In the prison Joseph's great administrative powers and fidelity were again made so manifest that the entire prison discipline was put under his control. And here another extraordinary event occurred in his life, which led, not immediately indeed, but remotely, to his advancement. "After these things," we read, ch. xl. 1, *i.e.* after the period of time already spent by Joseph in prison, during which the change in his personal treatment took place, two of Pharaoh's great officers, his chief butler and his chief baker, had in some way offended the king, if not in the same way, yet about the same time, and were both cast into prison, and placed by the captain of the guard under Joseph's charge. They continued "a season" (יָמִים, *yomîm*) in prison, an expression which probably means an entire year, and they had each then a dream. We are all familiar with the dreams, and there is no occasion to enter into them. They were similar in structure, but were indicative of a very different issue to each of the dreamers. They tell their dreams to Joseph, and he, being informed of their meaning by God, interprets them. The event was according to his interpretation. The chief butler was in three days restored to his office; the chief baker was hanged. Ere the chief butler left

the prison Joseph made to him a very pathetic appeal to intercede for him to Pharaoh, and to bring him out of the prison. This great officer in all probability promised to do a kind office to his benefactor; but, like many other courtiers before and since, in the sunshine of courtly favour he forgot the prisoner and his appeal.

Two more weary years in full were spent by Joseph in his prison. At first he would look for his delivery through the intercession of the chief butler; but as time wore on he must have given up hope from this source. At length God's time came. In dreams of the night the great king of Egypt stood by the banks of "*the river*." The river, in the mind of an Egyptian, could only mean that mighty stream the Nile, which, swollen by the rains in the mountains of Abyssinia, overflows its banks in Egypt and enriches the old land of the Pharaohs. By this river the king stood, and saw what perplexed his mind sorely when he awoke. In the first dream, seven fat kine came up out of the stream and fed in the meadow on its banks. While they were feeding, seven lean kine came up out of the river, ate up the fat kine, and yet seemed no fuller or fatter than they were before. And again, in his dream he saw seven ears of corn come up in one stalk, full and good, and after them sprung up seven ears, withered, thin, and blasted with the east wind, and these latter devoured the seven good ears. The dream was intended by God to effect a great purpose, and therefore Pharaoh did not dismiss it, and could not dismiss it, from his thoughts. He felt, and rightly, that it indicated some important event affecting the welfare of the kingdom. He accordingly sends for "the magicians" (*see* MAGICIANS) and all the wise men of Egypt, to learn from them the meaning of his dream. Their inability to interpret it makes the chief butler remember Joseph, not from any kindness towards him, but merely to gratify the king, and probably advance his own interest. He relates the prison dreams and their fulfilment, and at once Pharaoh sends to bring Joseph out of the prison. He only delays to make himself presentable at court. He had allowed his beard to grow while in the prison, which was a sign of mourning in Egypt, and therefore ought not to appear in the presence of the king; he shaves himself, therefore, and puts off the prison dress for one suitable for a court, and came in unto Pharaoh. The young Hebrew stood in the royal presence, calm and self-possessed, for he was ever used to feel himself in the presence of the King of the whole earth, and Pharaoh addresses him. He tells him that he hears he can interpret dreams, and Joseph, denying that any such power was in him, tells him that God will give him an answer of peace. Upon this Pharaoh tells Joseph the dream, and he interprets it as signifying the immediate approach of seven years of extraordinary plenty, to be followed by seven years of famine. He then suggests the appointment of an officer to provide for the coming famine by laying up during the years of plenty one-fifth part of the produce of the land, storing it up in the cities of Egypt, ch. xli. 34. Pharaoh on this wisely judges that none could be so fit for this office as he who had God's wisdom to guide him, and at once makes him the lord over Egypt: "Thou shalt be over my house," he says to him, "and according unto thy word shall all my people be ruled; only in the throne will I be greater than thou. And Pharaoh said unto Joseph, See, I have set thee over all the land of Egypt; and Pharaoh took off his ring from off his hand, and put it upon Joseph's hand, and arrayed him in vestures of fine linen, and put a gold chain about his neck; and he made him to ride in the second chariot which he had; and they cried before him, Bow the knee (אַבְרֵךְ, *abrek;* by Luther rendered 'the father of the country'); and he made him ruler over all the land of Egypt. And Pharaoh said unto Joseph, I am Pharaoh, and without thee shall no man lift up his hand or foot in all the land of Egypt."

On any remarkable change of position or fortune it was usual in the East to change the name. We find many instances of this in Scripture. On Joseph's exaltation Pharaoh changed his name to Zaphnath-paaneah. This would seem to be an Egyptian word, corrupted in the Hebrew, and its most probable signification is, "the revealer of what is secret" (Salvator-em Mundi, Vulgate). It bore reference of course to what Joseph had done, and that which struck Pharaoh's mind chiefly was his power of revealing the unknown (see Gesenius on the word, and Fuerst). The marriage of Joseph followed immediately on his elevation. The king, to do him honour, himself provided him with a wife, doubtless one of the noblest virgins of the land. Her name was Asenath, the daughter of Potipherah, priest of On. The name of this Egyptian grandee (פּוֹטִי פֶרַע), signifying, "he who belongs to the sun," is very common on the Egyptian monuments (Hengstenberg, ch. 1.) Ra, or "the Sun," was the chief god of On, which is the same city as Heliopolis, or the city of the sun; and the chief priest of On, which this Potipherah was, was the chief priest of Egypt, and therefore ranked very high in the land. Idolatry doubtless existed at this time in Egypt, but it does not seem to have attained to anything like the height at which we find it afterwards in the time of Moses; nor can we judge exactly to what degree Joseph's father-in-law was tainted with it. The worship of the sun was probably the earliest lapse into idolatry in Egypt, and probably the grosser forms of Egyptian idolatry were now absent. The sun may have been only venerated as a symbol of the deity. Some, however, instead of "priest," translate "prince," and the Hebrew is certainly at times used in a civil sense (see Fuerst, and 2 Sa. viii. 18). We prefer, however, to regard it here as signifying a minister of religion.

Joseph loses no time in providing against the coming famine. He first made a careful survey of the entire land, ch. xli. 46. He then, during each one of the seven years of plenty, when the earth brought forth by handfuls, took as a tribute or tax from the people the fifth part of the produce of the land, as he had recommended, ch. xli. 34. This is the meaning of the Hebrew word (חֹמֶשׁ), which the authorized version translates "taking up a fifth part." It is very possible, and indeed very probable, that he collected a far greater part of the produce, either by gift or purchase, than this fifth part; for, if that was at all able to supply the wants of the seven years' famine, the remaining four-fifths would far exceed the wants of the people in the years of plenty, and would be sold at a very low price, ch. xli. 48.

During the years of plenty Joseph had two sons born to him by Asenath, and their names, and the reasons they were given, shows us that his feelings as a father were equally strong with his feelings as a son. The eldest he called Manasseh (*a forgetter*), meaning that

the joy at his birth made him forget his past toil and the misery of his separation from his father's house. The younger he called Ephraim (*fruitful*), indicative of the abundance of blessing which God, by giving him a second son, had given him in the land where he had suffered so much.

And now the years of plenty were over, and the years of famine began. It was a famine at once extensive in its sweep, and lasting in its operation. It not only afflicted Egypt, but it affected "all lands," ch. xli. 57. It is quite sufficient for all the purposes of language that we understand by this expression all the countries in the neighbourhood of Egypt, and closely connected with it in the way of commerce, and as deriving from it in ordinary years a portion of their food, as Ethiopia and Canaan. These lands suffering from famine, and all sending from every quarter to Egypt for relief, would fully justify the expression from an Egyptian point of view. This famine affecting Canaan, where Joseph's father and his brethren dwelt, becomes the means of accomplishing the dreams dreamed so long ago, as well as of carrying forward generally the purposes of God towards his people Israel. Joseph was already in the position of power, the famine reduces his father and his brethren to the most abject want, and brings them as suppliants for life to his feet. The granaries of Egypt are thrown open to supply the wants of every people; there is abundance there not only for Egypt but for all suffering lands; none are refused who apply; death awaits those who do not come; but all who do come find abundance to nourish life. In the terrible want to which Jacob and his family were brought by famine—in their looking to Egypt and to Joseph as the sole means for sustaining life—in their praying him for their necessary food, and his supplying it to them—we find the full accomplishment of Jacob's own true interpretation of his son's second dream, that "father and mother and brethren would all come and bow down themselves to him to the earth," ch. xxxvii. 10. They were all as dead men, looking to him for life, and receiving it at his hands. The father and the mother bowed down before the governor of Egypt when their sons, sent by them and for them, literally and in person did so, ch. xlii. 6. With the story of Joseph's brethren going down to Egypt for food—their standing in the presence of their brother without knowing him—his rough treatment of them—his finally making himself known to them, and bringing down all his family into Egypt—every child is familiar. To go through all this in detail would be useless; while to attempt to describe it in any other words than the simple touching words of Scripture, would be to spoil its effect. We will only attempt to classify the narrative, and to account for what may appear strange and cruel in the conduct of Joseph.

The visits paid by Joseph's brethren to Egypt were three in number. The two first were for the purpose of procuring food for their households in Canaan, and at the second, Joseph made himself known to them; the third visit was made in company with their families, and bringing with them all their possessions, for the purpose of taking up, at least during the remainder of the famine, ch. xlv. 11, their abode in Egypt. On the first of these visits Joseph put on an appearance of great roughness to them; accused them of coming to spy out the land for the purpose of invading it at its weak side towards Canaan; affects not to believe their account of themselves; insists that they shall, in proof of their truth, bring at their next visit the younger brother of whom they spoke; and that, in order to retain a hold over them, he will put them all in prison save one, who is to go and fetch this brother. During seven days he puts them all in prison, but at the end of it he tells them that his fear of God—the God whom they worshipped—will not allow of his treating them with cruelty, that he will accordingly send them all away with food for their families, retaining only one of them as a pledge of their return. This is done, and they depart, carrying with them, at first without knowing it, their money, which Joseph had commanded to be put into their sacks. Their treatment by Joseph in Egypt had the effect of bringing to their memory their treatment of him long ago, and of convincing them that their guilt was being now visited upon them, ch. xlii. 21.

The terror of Joseph's brethren at finding their money in their sacks was very great, as they thought it would expose them to bad consequences on their return visit; and the anguish of Jacob on finding that the governor of Egypt, incensed with his sons already, demands that Benjamin shall also go, is excessive. He says that nothing shall induce him to permit him to go. But the pressure of famine, and the earnest assurances of Judah, at length change his mind; and with gifts to the governor, and double money, they present themselves the second time before Joseph. He is overcome by the sight of his brother, and hastens to a secret place to weep, and then commands an entertainment, after the Egyptian fashion of separation, to be made, at which his brethren, and Benjamin in particular, are treated with great distinction, to their utter astonishment. He after this directs them to be provided with corn, and directs that his own silver cup and the purchase money of Benjamin's corn shall be placed in the sack of the latter, in order that he may have the pretext of keeping his favourite brother with him while the rest of his brethren return to their father. They all depart, are pursued, the cup is found with Benjamin, and all the brothers return to Joseph. Whatever had been his intention, the agony of his brethren prevents his carrying it out, and induces him to make himself known sooner than he had intended, ch. xlv. 2. He commands all his attendants to go out while he makes himself known. He tells them who he is; asks at once for his father; comforts them with the assurance that all the past had been God's own doing for the merciful purpose of preserving their lives; tells them that they are to return to his father and bring him and all they had into Egypt, there to be nourished; and finally, with the sanction and co-operation of Pharaoh, sends them back laden with the good things of Egypt and the means of carriage for their household and their goods. So ended their second visit. Jacob at first does not believe the good tidings; but as soon as he is convinced of their truth, he is overpowered with joy. No delay is made to return. Any doubts in his mind as to the propriety of going are removed by God himself, who tells him of his purpose in bringing him down, ch. xlvi. 3, 4; and in the border land of Egypt, in Goshen, the long separated father and son meet again. The hatred of the Egyptians for shepherds, which was the occupation of Joseph's brethren, enables him to place them permanently in Goshen, one of the extremities of Egypt, yet near to the royal city, and fit for cattle, and rich in agricultural produce; and thus Joseph, through the

wrong done him by his brethren, is the means of saving their lives by a great deliverance.

The motives of Joseph in his treatment of his brethren are variously considered by different commentators. They certainly were not those of either a cruel, or a careless, or a revengeful, or an unloving spirit, ch. xlii. 24; xlv. 5, 15. They appear to have been these. In the first place, they seem designed for chastening, to bring them to a sense of the terrible sin they had been guilty of towards himself, and of which he had no reason to think they had repented. His treatment of them had this effect, ch. xlii. 21. He seems also to have wished to keep between him and his father's house an additional bond beside the famine, and for this purpose to have wished always to retain one of them with himself. During this period he was maturing his plans as to what he was to do for his father and his family. It does not appear that he had intended from the first to bring down his family to live in Egypt. He may have had his doubts on this, as his father had, ch. xlvi. 3, 4. And when he had intended to bring them down, he probably was planning how to do so, and where to place them. There were difficulties in the way. The shepherd was an abomination to the Egyptians, and it would offend the prejudices of the latter to have Israel dwelling among them, ch. xlvi. 33, 34. Nor was it every part of Egypt that would suit the requirements of a pastoral people. The land of Goshen seems to have been the only place that would answer every purpose. It afforded good pasturage, and lay away from the central parts of Egypt on the borders of Canaan, ch. xlvii. 1. In order to place them there Joseph had to consult Pharaoh, and to be guided by his wishes, ch. xlvi. 31-34; xlvii. 1-6. Now a provident mind like Joseph's must have been planning all these things, and therefore he probably required that delay in making himself known, which may appear cruel, but which was demanded by prudence. Considerations of this kind in all likelihood influenced Joseph in his treatment of his brethren.

Joseph's administration of the government of Egypt remains to be considered. It was marked with great prudence. The provision which he had made was ample for all the wants of the country itself, as well as of the neighbouring countries. His method had the effect of bringing power to Pharaoh, while it sustained the people, and finally placed them in a condition of comfort. While their money lasted he gave them corn for it. When their money was expended he gave them corn in exchange for their cattle. When this resource was expended he bought them and their land, brought them out of the country parts into the cities where the supplies were, and fed them; and finally, he placed them again as tenants to Pharaoh on their lands, requiring from them the very moderate rent of one-fifth of the produce, while the remainder was for their own use, ch. xlvii. 24. This one-fifth, while it was a small rent, most probably exempted them from any other tax, and left the occupiers of the land in a state of comfort.

Joseph's prosperity continued down to the close of his life. The mourning for his father on the part of the Egyptians, ch. l. 7-10, seems to have been almost as great as if it were for one of their own kings, doubtless from honour to Joseph. His filial piety continued to the close of his father's life; he was still in grandeur, as he had been in youth, the child of his old age, ch. xlvii. 29; xlviii. 1. In token of the divine favour Jacob declared to him that he should have two parts, instead of one, in the future fortunes of the great people that were to spring from him, his two sons being constituted heads of two tribes, ch. xlviii. 5. Joseph's kindness to his brethren also survived his father's death, and continued unabated, ch. l. 18-21. And when he himself died, at the age of one hundred and ten years, he displayed the same faith in God, which was the mainstay of his whole extraordinary life, by reminding his brethren that the time was surely coming when God would visit them, and bring them to the land of their fathers, and by taking an oath of them that when that time came, they would carry up his bones out of Egypt with them. In the hour of death he looked on with firm faith to that which God would do for him and his people, and has therefore been ranked among the great examples of faith which are to stimulate and encourage the Christian church, He. xi. 22.

Joseph is now to be briefly considered as a type of Jesus Christ. Even the prophets of the Old Testament sometimes spoke unconscious of the full import of their words, 1 Pe. i. 11. But to that Holy Spirit who spoke by historian, and psalmist, and philosopher, and prophet, Jesus Christ, the representative of humanity, was ever present. Where we find, then, in the great characters or occurrences of the Old Testament, striking resemblances to Christ, there we are to take them as the testimony of the Spirit to the coming Saviour. It is remarkable how much of this we find in the life of Joseph.

In the first place, Joseph, marked out by his father's choice from all his brethren as the son of his love, calls to our mind Jesus Christ marked out from his brethren as the well-beloved Son of the Father, in whom he was well pleased (He. ii. 11, 12; Mat. iii. 17; Pascal, Pensees, 2, P. A. ix.) The hatred of Joseph's brethren caused by this distinction, and their unbelief in his claims to be a revealer of God's secret will, points to him who came to his own, and his own received him not, and whose nearest kinsmen in the flesh rejected his supernatural claims, Jn. i. 11; vii. 5. The sending of Joseph by his father to visit his brethren, and to examine how they were, and how their flocks were, Joseph's ready obedience, and the issue of this in placing Joseph in the power of his brethren, are indicative of God sending Jesus Christ in the fulness of time to visit his people and his brethren, the ready submission of the Son to the Father's will, and its issue in placing him in the power of those who hated him. The separation of Joseph from his father and his father's house, by him so bitterly lamented, and resulting from his father's mission, brings to mind the overpowering sorrow of Christ, when, as the consequence of that work which his Father had sent him to perform, he felt himself separated from that Father, and exclaimed, "My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me?" Mat. xxvii. 46; Ps. xxii. 1. The wonderful elevation of Joseph from his great depression, and brought about by that very means, his becoming lord over a mighty empire, his saving the lives of its inhabitants, and of those of other lands, and especially saving the lives of those who had been the guilty means of oppressing him, his supremacy, and the bowing down to him even of his parents, is the exact parallel to the elevation of Christ to his mediatorial throne, his becoming through his suffering the Saviour of the whole world, and first of all his becoming such to the people who had oppressed him, his supremacy over the whole human family, his

earthly parents calling him Lord and Saviour, and deriving from him life and salvation just as much as any others, Lu. i. 47. The opposition of Joseph's brethren to his supernatural claims, and the means they took to overthrow them, Ge. xxxvii. 20, resulting in their perfect establishment, calls to mind that the very means the Jews took to prove that Jesus Christ was not the Son sent by God to make known his will, were the means by which he was proved to be the Son of God, and by which God's will in sending him was accomplished, Ro. i. 4; v. 6-10. The endeavour of Joseph's brethren to throw upon the Ishmaelites the oppression of their brother, calls to mind how the Jews threw upon the Romans the burden of crucifying Christ, Lu. xx. 20; Mat. xxvii. 2. And lastly, the permanence of Joseph in the favour of Pharaoh, and his retention of that favour while he lived, is a sign of that mediatorial kingdom of Christ which the Father gave him, and of which there was to be no end, Lu. i. 33.

We might enumerate more particulars, but we deem it better not to refer to what might be disputed, or might appear weak. The circumstances just referred to are the leading events of Joseph's life from the time we first read of him to his death. They certainly form striking illustrations of the life of Jesus Christ in his capacity as mediator between God and man, partaker of our nature, and Saviour of our race.

The life of Joseph is also of great interest and importance in another point of view, namely, as illustrative of the history and manners of Egypt at the period of which it treats. So far as they go, the incidents of his life throw as much light upon Egyptian history as do the unveiled temples and monuments of the land. And their testimony is the more satisfactory, inasmuch as it is undesigned. It is established that the names of some of the tombs of Egypt have been altered from vanity or other reasons, but the account of Egypt and its manners incidentally given to us in the life of Joseph is open to no such suspicion. We shall very briefly sketch Egyptian life as it images itself before us in the narrative of Genesis. We find Egypt, then, at this time one of the great centres of traffic, to which the products of various countries, spicery, and balm, and myrrh, and human slaves, were brought, and found a ready market. We also gather from our narrative that Egypt was at this time under the dominion of a single monarch of some native line of kings. Some writers indeed think they have evidence that Egypt was now governed by several dynasties, and that among these the shepherd kings bore pre-eminence. The whole tone of the narrative in Genesis is opposed to this. We there read of but one king, who represents himself as ruler over "all the land of Egypt," and appoints Joseph to rule over this whole land under him, Ge. xli. 43. Instead of this monarch being one of the shepherd kings who cruelly oppressed the Egyptians, and wounded all their most sacred feelings, we find him to be one who had native Egyptians, ch. xxxix. 1, employed in the most trusted offices near his person; whose prime minister, Joseph, is surrounded with native Egyptians, ch. xliii. 32; that he is a king who, if he did not personally share in the hatred and scorn which the Egyptians entertained *for all shepherds*, yet did most strictly and scrupulously respect their prejudices *in this respect*, which no shepherd king could or would have done, ch. xlvi. 31-34. We find from this latter passage that Egyptian prejudices against shepherds were now strong, universal, *and consulted* by the ruling monarch. All this is inconsistent with the idea that Egypt was now under the rule of the shepherd kings. The time seems to have been shortly after the rule of these shepherd kings had been terminated, when Egypt keenly remembered their cruelty, and had still strong apprehensions lest they might again be invaded by them through that open border of Canaan by which they had come before, ch. xlii. 12. We also find that at this time the law seems to have been administered in a very despotic way. Not only does Pharaoh cast into prison from his own will, and bring out of prison, his officers, without any appearance of a trial of their guilt or innocence, ch. xl. 1-23, but Pharaoh's officers do much the same. Potiphar throws Joseph into prison without any trial, retains him there, leaves him there to his successor, and Joseph's only hope of deliverance seems to lie, not in any appeal to the laws of the land, but to the man date of Pharaoh, procured through the intercession of a favourite minister, ch. xxxix. 20; xl. 14. The ready submission of the Egyptians too in the time of the famine, their parting with money and cattle, and land and liberty, apparently without a murmur, point to a despotic rule and an abject people. We find that before the time of Joseph the whole land of Egypt was owned in fee by its occupying cultivators, being divided into the royal lands, the lands of the priests, and the lands of the cultivators; but that the famine reduced these latter from being owners in fee to being tenants of the king. With respect to the religion of Egypt, we find it at this time much less pure than it seems to have been in the time of Abraham, but less corrupted than it afterwards appears in the time of Moses. The worship of the sun, perhaps only as a visible symbol of the unseen Deity, is the form of idolatry which is brought before us in the life of Joseph. This was probably the earliest form of idolatry, Job xxxi. 26. Again, Joseph openly professed the worship of the true God without molestation, Ge. xlii. 18. Again, Pharaoh seems to acknowledge as the true God the God of Joseph, and calls him by the same name, ch. xli. 32, 38, 39. Again, an order of idolatrous and superstitious ministers, who figure in the history of Moses (the מכשפים, Ex. vii. 11), do not appear in the history of Joseph: and while we find at both times those whom our authorized version calls "magicians," (חרטמים, literally "writers" or "engravers," Ge. xli. 8; Ex. vii. 11), the *kartumim* of Genesis do not appear to have used the same idolatrous and superstitious rites of the *kartumim* of the book of Exodus. The power of the priesthood in Joseph's time was very great, Ge. xli. 45; xlvii. 22. We also find that the cities of Egypt were then so numerous and large that they were capable of holding the entire population, ch. xlvii. 21; that the danger of invasion lay in the direction of Canaan, ch. xlii. 9; that Egypt depended on the Nile for its food, and that the blast of the east wind was what was chiefly dreaded as producing blight, ch. xli. 6. We also gather that female seclusion was at this time not strict in Egypt, and that female morals were very low, ch. xxxix. 7-14. We infer that at this time the vine was cultivated in Egypt, ch. xl. 10; that a usual mode of carrying articles was in baskets on men's heads, ch. xl. 16; that the custom of shaving the beard was practised, and that not shaving was the sign of mourning, ch. xli. 14. We find that sitting was the Egyptian posture at table, and that the Egyptians carefully avoided eating in the company of

foreigners, ch. xliii. 32, 33. We find that the investiture of a high official in Egypt was performed with the ceremony of a ring, a garment of fine linen, a gold chain about the neck, and the causing him to ride in a royal chariot, ch. xli. 42, 43; that on such occasions a change of name was not uncommon, ch. xli. 45; and that the Egyptian grandees had many physicians in their household, ch. l. 2. We find that seventy days was the time of mourning in Egypt, that it was then the practice to embalm the body, and that funeral processions on a great scale accompanied the burial of great men, ch. l. 2, 3, 9. And we also learn that famines in Egypt sometimes extended to other countries, ch. xli. 57.

This is a great deal of information to learn in the incidental way in which it is brought before us in the book of Genesis. Some of it has appeared so strange and unlikely that it has been objected to as disproving the claims of Genesis to inspiration, or even to ordinary historic truth. But history and the discoveries of recent explorers have shown that what was once thought improbable or impossible, is an exact account of ancient Egyptian life and manners. Thus we learn that the superintendence of executions belonged to the most distinguished of the military caste, as we saw in the case of Potiphar (Rossellini, ii. p. 201, 273); that the morals of the Egyptian women were scandalous, and their seclusion not at all so strict as was common in the East, ladies and gentlemen mingling together with the social freedom of modern Europeans (Herod. ii. 111; Wilkinson, ii. p. 167); that the art of baking was carried to a very high degree of perfection, while the custom of men's carrying burdens on the head is spoken of by Herodotus as peculiar to the Egyptians (ii. 35). We find, in accordance with Pharaoh's dream, that the cow was considered as the symbol of the earth and its cultivation, and it therefore represents plenty or famine according to its condition (Clem. Alex. Strom. v. p. 671, ed. Potter). The custom of consulting wise men and magicians, common to many countries, was especially so in Egypt (Jablonski Panth. Prol. p. 314). While other eastern people allowed the beard to grow, it is mentioned as a peculiar trait of the Egyptians that they shaved, while when mourning they suffered the beard to grow, and slovenly persons are represented by their artists with beards (Herod. ii. 35; Wilkinson, iii. p. 357, 358). Pharaoh's investiture of Joseph is in exact agreement with the account given by Herodotus. The gift of the seal-ring was common in the East, the garment of fine linen was the badge of purity and rank, and the gold chain put round Joseph's neck is well illustrated in the tombs of Beni Hassan, where a slave is represented as carrying a necklace belonging to a man of high rank, and over it is written, "necklace of gold" (Rossell. ii. 2, p. 404). The name of Potiphera, meaning "he who belongs to the sun," is very common on the ancient monuments of Egypt; and On, or Heliopolis, took precedence in a religious point of view of all other Egyptian cities: while the priesthood were in a manner hereditary princes, who stood by the side of the kings, and enjoyed almost equal privileges, and when they are introduced in history they appear as the first persons of the state. As the Pharaohs were themselves invested with the highest sacerdotal dignity, they could of course bring about the marriage of Joseph with the daughter of the priest of On, more especially as Joseph had been naturalized by the king, had assumed the Egyptian dress, and taken an Egyptian name. (See authorities in Heugs. Eg. and Books of Moses, c. i. p. 33-35.) The storing up by Joseph of the corn, and the measuring of its quantity, is brought vividly before us in the paintings on the monuments, where we find men carrying the corn from "the writer or registrar of bushels" to the store-houses, where they lay them down before an officer, who stands ready to receive them (Rossell. ii. p. 324, &c.) The extending of the famine in Egypt to other countries is known to be quite in accordance with natural laws; the tropical rains which fall upon the Abyssinian mountains, and on which the rising of the Nile depends, having the same origin with those in Palestine; while there are scarcely any countries where famines have raged so often and so terribly as in Egypt. (See in Hengs. p. 37.) The ascribing the blast to the east wind is alleged to be a proof of ignorance on the part of the writer of Genesis, since it is the south wind which is the hot wind of Egypt; but from the accounts of modern travellers we find that a wind, generally called by them the south-east wind, and sometimes simply the east wind, occasionally blows, when the heat becomes insupportable, the doors and windows of the houses are closed, the fine dust penetrates everywhere, everything dries up, even the wooden vessels warp and crack. (See in Hengs. p. 10, 11.) With regard to their entertainments, we are told that the Egyptians carefully abstained from familiar intercourse with foreigners, for the especial reason that these latter slew and ate the sacred animals of Egypt, while, from the sculptures we see that sitting, not reclining, was their posture at table (Herod. ii. 41; Wilkinson, ii. p. 201). The practice of divining by cups was an ancient one in Egypt, and traces of it remain even to the present time. (*See* DIVINATION.) With regard to the hatred for shepherds entertained by the Egyptians and mentioned in Genesis, the monuments afford abundant proof of it. The artists of Upper and Lower Egypt vie with each other in caricaturing them (Wilkinson, ii. 16; Rossell. i. p. 178). The account of the land of Goshen given by Moses agrees in all its particulars with the geographical features of the country, as the eastern border land of Egypt, lying in the neighbourhood of its chief city, Ge. xlv. 10, affording excellent pasture, and also fit for tillage, and agreeing in all these particulars with the region east of the Tanaitic arm of the Nile as far as the Isthmus of Suez or the border of the Arabian desert. (*See* GOSHEN.) The proprietorship of the land of Egypt, as brought before us, and accounted for in Genesis, agrees with the accounts of profane writers, who represent a rent as paid by the tillers of the soil to the king, while the land belonged either to the priests, or the kings, or the military caste, while the same fact appears from the sculptures (Herod. ii. 109; Diod. Sic. i. 73). The practice of embalming is universally known to have been ancient in Egypt; while the custom of having many physicians attached to a single household, unknown in other countries, appears to have been usual in Egypt, where Herodotus tells us they had a physician for each kind of sickness, and these physicians it would appear in Joseph's time practised the art of embalming. The seventy days' mourning, and the funeral procession of Genesis, derive abundant confirmation from the accounts of classical writers, Diodorus and Herodotus giving narratives in exact agreement; while on the oldest tombs at Eilethyas we see representations of funeral processions which call to mind that which accompanied the dead body of Jacob from Egypt to

the cave of Machpelah (Herodotus, ii. 84-86; Diodorus, i. 91; Rossellini, ii. p. 306).

We thus find from other sources proof, if we wanted it, of the truth of the narrative of Moses, and of his perfect acquaintance with what he professes to tell us. For further information we refer to Sir Gardiner Wilkinson's *Ancient Egyptians*, and to Hengstenberg's *Egypt and the Books of Moses*, English translation.

The date of Joseph's arrival in Egypt is variously given by different writers. Wilkinson places it in the sixteenth dynasty, that of Tanites, B.C. 1706; this also is adopted by Hengstenberg. [H. C.]

2. JOSEPH. One of the spies who were despatched to search out the promised land—the representative of the tribe of Issachar, Nu. xiii. 7.

3. JOSEPH. A person of the family of Bani, who was among those that had married heathen wives after the return from Babylon, and were compelled by Ezra to part with them, Ezr. x. 42.

4. JOSEPH. No fewer than four of the ancestors of Christ bore this name, Lu. iii. 23, 24, 26, 30, the only one of whom that may be said to have historical importance is the last in point of time—the Joseph son of Heli, who was the husband of the Virgin Mary, and the reputed or legal father of Jesus. For the relation in which this Joseph stands to the question of our Lord's descent from David, and the differences in tracing that descent between the evangelists Matthew and Luke, see GENEALOGY OF JESUS CHRIST. Of his personal history next to nothing is known, except what is recorded in connection with the birth and childhood of Jesus. Even this comprises but a limited number of particulars: he was in humble circumstances, though of royal lineage; resident at Nazareth, though retaining a civil connection with Bethlehem, where he sought to have his name taken at the general enrolment (*see* CYRENIUS); followed the trade of a carpenter; was a man of devout and upright character; by divine admonition received Mary, to whom he had been previously espoused, as his wedded wife, knowing her to be with child of the Holy Ghost; fled with her and the infant Jesus to Egypt (having been so instructed), to escape the violence of Herod; on returning, deemed it prudent to pass beyond the jurisdiction of Archelaus, and settled again at Nazareth; and there, after the mention by St. Luke, ch. ii. 41-52, of a visit paid by him to Jerusalem together with Mary and Jesus, when the latter had reached his twelfth year, we altogether lose sight of him. When the period arrived for Jesus showing himself to Israel, we read not unfrequently of Mary, and of the brothers and sisters of Jesus, but never of Joseph. The natural inference is that he had meanwhile died; which is rendered in a manner certain by the charge given by our Lord on the cross to John to view Mary henceforth as his mother —a charge which he carried out by taking her to his own home, Jn. xix. 27. We cannot imagine such a thing should have taken place, or have even been thought of, if Joseph had been still alive. This reserve in gospel history is remarkable, and contrasts strikingly with the numerous legends concerning Joseph which sprung up in after times, and which have found a record in some of the apocryphal gospels. It shows how intent the evangelists were on their one grand theme, and how little they thought of gratifying the curiosity of their readers on points but incidentally connected with it. For the questions which have been raised respecting the family relations of Joseph, see MARY.

5. JOSEPH OF ARIMATHEA. A singular obscurity hangs around this person, considering the part he acted in the great crisis of our Lord's history. The place with which his name is associated occurs in no other connection, and has never been identified. (*See* ARIMATHEA.) Joseph himself belongs to that class of persons, who appear for a moment on the stage of sacred history, to teach some great lesson or perform some special service, and then cease to be heard of. All we know of him is simply that he was of Arimathea; that he was a man of wealth and a member of the supreme council of the Jews; that he was a person of enlightened views and godly character, secretly, indeed, a disciple of Jesus; that the fear which had hitherto prevented him from avowing his belief gave way when he saw the things which happened at the close of Christ's earthly career, so that he received courage to ask from Pilate the dead body of his Master, and had the unspeakable honour (along with Nicodemus) of laying it in his own new tomb, that had been hewn from a rock in the immediate precincts of the city, Mat. xxvii. 57-60; Lu. xxiii. 50-53; Jn. xix. 38. In him, it is seen, how at times faith, when it really exists, though only as a feeble germ, can rise with the occasion to confront the most formidable difficulties—how again such faith, with its mighty action and triumphant results, is at times found in quarters where by men it may have least been expected; and, viewed in connection with the predetermined and even formally announced purpose of God respecting Christ, the example shows how certainly the means and instruments will be forthcoming (however apparently impossible) at the proper time to execute the counsels of Heaven. It had been written centuries before the gospel age, that somehow the promised Messiah, even when despised and rejected of men, and amid the darkest signs of condemnation and grief pouring out his soul an offering for sin, was yet to be with the rich in his death, Is. liii. 9. Up till the moment, when it became necessary to dispose of our Lord's mortal remains, it seemed as if this announcement had failed to come in remembrance, and as if it were impossible in the circumstances that any one could be found to do the part it indicated. But, lo! precisely at that crisis there appeared in Joseph of Arimathea, with his associate Nicodemus, the very instrumentality needed for the occasion; so that, in the face of all appearances to the contrary, the word of God was found to stand sure, and meet respect was at the same time secured toward the lifeless body of the now offered and perfected Redeemer.

6. JOSEPH, called BARSABAS (most probably son of Sabas), and surnamed Justus. He was one of the two persons named by the apostles and their companions at Jerusalem, one of whom was to be chosen by the Lord's lot to supply the vacant office of Judas, Ac. i. 23. The lot fell, not upon him, but upon Matthias. He was, therefore, not numbered with the apostles; although, as he had, according to the testimony of Peter, "companied with them from the baptism of John unto the day that Jesus was taken up from them," it is more than probable that he continued still to be much with them, and to lend his aid toward the establishment of Christianity in his native land. His name, however, is not again mentioned, and the traditions given by Eusebius, that he was one of the seventy disciples, and also that having drunk some deadly poison he sustained no harm, however probable, cannot be deemed certain.

JO'SES [probably a variation of 'Ιησοῦς, Jesus]. 1. A progenitor of Joseph, the husband of Mary, the fifteenth in descent from David, Lu. iii. 29. 2. A brother of Jesus, Mat. xiii. 55. Whether a brother in the strict sense, or in that more general application which was sometimes made of it to relations of the second or third degree, has been and still is a matter of dispute. (*See under* JAMES.) 3. Surnamed BARNABAS. (*See* BARNABAS.)

JO'SHUA (יְהוֹשֻׁעַ), more fully JEHO'SHUA, also JE'SHUA (יֵשׁוּעַ) in the later books, whence JESUS, 'Ιησοῦς. 1. The son of Nun. He was of the tribe of Ephraim, as is repeatedly mentioned in the Pentateuch; and his genealogy is given at full length in the passage which ends in 1 Ch. vii. 27, though there is some difference of opinion as to the way of interpreting the context, so as to fix the line of descent and the number of generations. The earliest occasion on which we read of him is the time of the attack on Israel in Rephidim by the Amalekites, Ex. xvii., and there he is abruptly mentioned, as if he were a person so well known that no description of him to the reader was necessary. But probably his first public service was the command which he took of a chosen body of Israelites that day: and his work was so well performed, that the Lord virtually pointed him out as the successor of Moses, who was to lead on the people in a career of victory, as he bade Moses write in "the Book" what Amalek had done, and rehearse it in the ears of Joshua. It is on the whole most probable that this was also the time at which he received from Moses his name Jehoshua, meaning "he whose help or salvation Jehovah is," by a modification of his original name, Hoshea, "salvation," although this change is mentioned incidentally only at a later period, when he was chosen to be one of the twelve spies, Nu. xiii. 16. And there are other brief notices which point out that he was a young man; an intimate friend of Moses and attendant upon him; and of excellent principles, who would not depart out of the tabernacle which Moses was to pitch for himself, as a meeting place for God and the people after the sin of making the golden calf, by which act of apostasy he was wholly untainted, Ex. xxiv. 13; xxxii. 17; xxxiii. 11. He is there called "Moses' minister," and he is introduced to us by the same title in the book which bears his name; while the expression is varied and explained, De. i. 38, "Joshua, the son of Nun, which standeth before thee;" and again, Nu. xi. 28, "Joshua, the servant of Moses, one of his young men." This last passage mentions his excessive attachment to Moses, to an extent so unwarrantable that he would have restrained the Spirit of the Lord in his acting on some persons, who prophesied in an irregular manner, and were in some measure disrespectful to Moses.

On occasion of the next great act of national provocation, which drew down the curse of wandering and dying in the wilderness, Joshua and Caleb alone were excepted, and had the noble testimony borne to them that they had fully followed the Lord, both in their work as spies, and in their endeavour, at the risk of their own lives, to recover the people from unbelief, Nu. xiv. 6-10, 30, 38; xxxii. 12; compare Jos. xiv. 6-9. Hence, on a third occasion of great dishonour done to God, when Moses himself had been found wanting at the waters of Meribah-Kadesh, and was solemnly warned that even he must be excluded from the land of promise, Joshua was set apart to be his successor. And the Scripture describes him as already a man in whom the Spirit was, though Moses was to lay his hand upon him, that he might be eminently qualified for his work, Nu. xxvii. 15-23. And several times in the book of Deuteronomy it is recorded that God ratified this appointment, and encouraged Joshua to undertake the great task assigned to him, of conquering the land of Canaan and dividing it among the tribes of Israel.

In his person and his work there has been often noticed a singular combination of completeness and incompleteness. His office and its work was one of completion: for Moses had only commenced to execute the plan of God, by bringing the people forth from Egypt and conducting them through the wilderness; but Joshua led them into the land of promise, defeated all their enemies with terrible destruction, divided all the land, set up the tabernacle with its services of public worship, and was able to call the people to witness that nothing had failed of all the goodness which the Lord had promised to them, Jos. xxi. 43-45. His personal and official life is also without a blemish recorded in Scripture, unless when he envied the unruly prophets for Moses' sake, to which act allusion has already been made, and again when he precipitately or heedlessly permitted a covenant to be concluded with the Gibeonites. Nor had he in one single instance, so far as known, any tumult or disobedience of the people to contend with, as Moses often had: but on the contrary, they gave him willing and uninterrupted support in all his labours, unless an exception is to be made on account of a certain "slackness" in taking possession of the allotted land, Jos. xviii. 3. So that it may be affirmed that the actual Israel with their earthly head never came nearer the ideal of the people of God than during the administration of Joshua, Jos. xi. 15; xxiv. 31. And it is said again and again that the people honoured and obeyed him not less than they had honoured and obeyed Moses; as it is also said that the Lord magnified him by the working of miracles as stupendous as those of Moses. On the other hand, the perfection is only that of a person occupying a subordinate position. It is always Moses who is put forward as the model whom he imitated and approached, but to whose position he never attained. From the first, the account of his appointment bears that he was to continue to be "Moses' minister," carrying out his written law, as he had personally done service to him. And whereas Moses had been himself the great organ of communication between the Lord and the people, Joshua was to make his inquiries and to receive his instructions through Eleazar the high-priest. Therefore he had only *some* of Moses' honour put upon him, Nu. xxvii. 20. And while he is declared to have been full of the Spirit of wisdom, in consequence of the imposition of Moses' hands, and to have met with all the respect which it was competent for him to receive, it is expressly added that there had not arisen a prophet since in Israel like unto Moses, De. xxxiv. 9, 10. Neither were the Canaanites so destroyed by him, and the land so fully taken into possession, as to allow the Israelites to say that the work was complete: rather it might be said that Joshua's work was essentially imperfect, a mere commencement and introduction, which never was succeeded by anything more perfect in the history of Israel, because

they suffered roots of bitterness to spring up and trouble them.

The general conviction of the Christian church has always been that Joshua was very eminently a type of our Lord Jesus Christ, whose prerogative alone it was to bring things to perfection which the administration of the law of Moses could never perfect. Even in his office of captain of the Lord's host, Joshua did homage to him to whom this office rightfully belongs, whom he saw in vision as he was commencing his enterprise, Jos. v. 13-vi. 2. And, moreover, there seems evidently an instance in his case of what we meet with from time to time, an *outward* correspondence of the type and antitype, since his new name Joshua, in later Hebrew pronounced Jeshua, is that which was given to our Lord, though the fact is partly disguised to us owing to the Greek form of it, Jesus, to which we are accustomed. We may be the more satisfied that this is not a fanciful or accidental resemblance, since we have express warrant from Scripture for considering the other famous Joshua, the high-priest at the time of the second national redemption of Israel, a type of our Lord in his priestly office, Zec. iii. The reason has been already suggested why there is no such resemblance in the name among the prophets also, namely, that our Lord was *the* prophet emphatically like unto Moses.

The particulars of Joshua's public history may be more suitably noticed in the article on the book which bears his name. He received a special mark of the affection of the people, after he had completed the allotment of the land among the tribes; for they granted him a piece of ground which he selected to be his own inheritance, Timnath Serah, or Timnath Heres, in Mount Ephraim, where he built the city that bears this name, where also he died and received a public burial, as it would seem, after he had attained the age of 110, Jos. xix. 49, 50; xxiv. 29, 30; Ju. ii. 8, 9; the same age as that of his great ancestor Joseph, and only ten years less than that of Moses. [G. C. M. D.]

2. JOSHUA, or JESHUA, son of Josedech, or Jozadak (who was probably the high-priest carried captive by Nebuchadnezzar, 1 Ch. vi. 15, though in this case scarcely the literal *father* of Joshua), the high-priest at the time of the return from Babylon, who appears as the ecclesiastical head of the people side by side with Zerubbabel, their civil head, Ezr. ii. 2; iii. 2; iv. 3; v. 2. He is chiefly remarkable as the person, along with Zerubbabel, who had to bear the anxieties connected with the rebuilding of the temple, to whom therefore comfort and direction were administered by the prophets whom God raised up in that critical period, Hag. i. 1, 14; ii. 2, 4; Zec. iii. 1, 8, 9; vi. 11. His typical character, as set forth in the two last-named passages, has been alluded to towards the end of the article on the history of Joshua (1). Some genealogical statements in connection with him are made in Ne. xii. 1–26.

3. JOSHUA appears as the name of certain persons known to us only in the most casual way; the owner of the field at Beth-shemesh, in which the ark was set down on its return from the land of the Philistines, 1 Sa. vi. 14, 18; also a governor of Jerusalem, at whose gate there were idolatrous high places, which king Josiah broke down, 2 Ki. xxiii. 8.

4. JESHUA is in like manner the name of one of the twenty-four priests at the head of the courses appointed by David, 1 Ch. xxiv. 11; Ezr. ii. 36; also of certain Levites, 2 Ch. xxxi. 15; Ezr. ii. 40; viii. 33; Ne. viii. 7; ix. 4, 5; x. 9; xii. 8, 24; also a man, Ne. iii. 19, perhaps the same as in ch. vii. 11.

5. JESHUA is the name of a city of Judah, Ne. xi. 26. (*See under* JESHUA.) [G. C. M. D.]

JO'SHUA, THE BOOK OF. The object of this book, as Keil expresses it, is to glorify the truthfulness of Jehovah in his covenant which cannot fail, by a historical proof of the fulfilment of his promises. And the opening paragraph of the book, he says, may be taken as a table of the contents, ch. i. 2-9; the promise of assistance from the Lord till the land should be conquered, ver. 5, as fulfilled, ch. i.-xii.; the promise that Joshua should divide the inheritance, ch. i. 6, as fulfilled, ch. xiii.-xxii.; and the direction as to the means of success, by studying the law of Moses, ch. i. 7, 8, repeated and enforced at large upon the people by Joshua before he died, ch. xxiii. xxiv. Adopting this threefold arrangement, we might give some such analysis of the book as the following:—

I. The conquest, ch. i.-xii.

1. (ch. i. ii.) The call of Joshua, and preparations for entering the land, including the mission of the spies. This latter event is scarcely to be put before some of the events of the first chapter, as in the margin of our translation; that is to say, the three days in ch. i. 11 seem to refer to the time till the crossing should begin, or till the people should be ready for crossing, at least there are great difficulties in the way of identifying them with the three days in ch. iii. 2.

2. (ch. iii. iv.) The actual miraculous crossing; marked by twelve stones set up in the channel of the river where the priests had stood with the ark, and by other twelve carried out of the bed of the river and set up on the western side.

3. (ch. v. 1–12.) The renewal of the Lord's covenant of circumcision; the consequent rolling away of the reproach of Egypt, owing to which the place was called Gilgal, that is, rolling; and the ceasing of the manna.

4. (ch. v. 13–vi. 27.) The appearance of the Son of God in his character of Captain of the Lord's host, and his directions to Joshua regarding the miraculous capture and utter destruction of Jericho, which was the key of the country: and the accomplishment of this.

5. (ch. vii. 1–viii. 29.) The sin of Achan; the removal of this defilement; and the consequent capture of Ai, and probably Bethel; the first firm footing in the central country, after coming up from the deep valley of the Jordan.

6. (ch. viii. 30–35.) The solemn renewal of the covenant and reading of the law at Shechem, between Mounts Ebal and Gerizim; this central country being now in the hands of Joshua, and this district being not improbably the locality in which we are to look for that Gilgal at which the camp appears in the subsequent history.

7. (ch. ix. x.) The great southern confederacy against Joshua, which he utterly destroyed. It included all the Canaanitish tribes to the south of his position, except the Gibeonites, who made a league with the Israelites by a stratagem, but were reduced to servitude in connection with the tabernacle.

8. (ch. xi. 1–20.) The great northern confederacy; similarly broken up; so that the Canaanites were everywhere discomfited. The war lasted "a long time," ver. 18, which is interpreted to be about seven years from the time of crossing Jordan, by comparison with the dates furnished by Caleb, ch. xiv. 7, 10.

9. (ch. xi. 21–23). Apparently a third war carried on with the broken forces of the Canaanites in the south, reinforced and commanded by the dreaded giants the Anakim. The result of Joshua's successes was, that "the land rested from war," when Joshua had taken the whole land, not by utterly exterminating the natives, as some have fallen into the mistake of supposing, but "according to all that the Lord said unto Moses," ver. 23, namely, that he would drive the enemy out by little and little, not all at once, Ex. xxiii. 27-30; De. vii. 22.

10. (ch. xii.) A list of the conquests, including those of Moses beyond Jordan.

II. The distribution of the land, ch. xiii.-xxii.

1. (ch. xiii. 1–xiv. 5.) The directions for dividing the land, including a notice of what Moses had done. It is here expressly stated that Joshua was to divide land which was not yet in actual possession, but from which the Lord would drive out the Canaanites, ch. xiii. 1, 6.

2. (ch. xiv. 6–15.) The preferable claim which Caleb presented on his own behalf, supported by the elders of Judah, and sustained by Joshua.

3. (ch. xv.–xvii.) The allotments to Judah and to Joseph in the two tribes of Ephraim and Manasseh.

4. (ch. xviii. 1–7.) The setting up of the tabernacle in Shiloh within the tribe of Ephraim, by the entire congregation; their slackness in proceeding with the allotments; and the command of Joshua to make a survey of the land, so as to allot the portions of the remaining tribes at once, and without the risk of further mischievous procrastination.

[It is of little use to speculate as to the immediate causes of this delay or change of plan in the division. These may possibly have been jealousies of the two great houses of Judah and Joseph; or a certain sacrifice of the interests of the other tribes to theirs; or a general carelessness of the people about settling down in separate homes, after long living together a wandering life in the desert; or fear of attacks by the enemy if they separated. Possibly Joshua's third war with the Anakim in the south may have intervened unexpectedly, and interrupted the allotment; a new campaign in the south might make the people better aware of the excessive size of the portion assigned to Judah, whose *position* was therefore to remain, ver. 5, since the lot from God had determined it; while the *magnitude* was reduced by giving a portion to Simeon after the survey had been made, ch. xix. 9.]

5. (ch. xviii. 8–xix. 51.) The allotments to the seven remaining tribes, in accordance with the survey. The descriptions of all of these, except Benjamin's, are comparatively brief, and these northern tribes never did take the place in the history of Israel which they might have taken; so that the Spirit of God has adjusted the history and the geography to one another. And there are difficulties in understanding how some of the boundaries ran, and in reconciling the number of cities belonging to a tribe, as given in the *sum* and in *detail*, which our ignorance incapacitates us for wholly removing.

6. (ch. xx.) The cities of refuge.

7. (ch. xxi.) The cities of the Levites; completing the promised apportionment.

8. (ch. xxii.) The dismissal of the two tribes and a half to their land beyond Jordan, after they had faithfully aided their brethren; and the removal of danger of a civil war in connection with their supposed tendency to idolatry.

III. The parting addresses of Joshua before he died, ch. xxiii. xxiv. There is a considerable similarity between these; but the second seems to have been of a more public and solemn kind, before the Lord in Shechem, ver. 1, 25, 26, where the first altar in the land had been erected by their father Abraham, Ge. xii. 6, 7, where Jacob had purified his household in preparation for the renewal of his covenant with God, Ge. xxxv. 2-5, and where they themselves had built an altar and renewed the covenant, as they were commanded to do, on their first taking possession of Canaan, Jos. viii. 30, 33. In agreement with this view, the second address is more historical, going into all the details of the covenant with their fathers as well as with themselves; and altogether it is perhaps tinctured with gloom, as if Joshua foresaw approaching evil, and suspected that the leaven of wickedness was already at work. It makes little difference if we prefer to reckon this *third* division a part of the *second* division of the book, as is more commonly done; such numberings are almost always to some extent artificial.

The sceptical criticism which has busied itself with all the books of the Old Testament, has not neglected to attack the book of Joshua; but its efforts have been singularly ineffective. For a considerable time it was the fashion to assert that this book was a compilation more recent than the Babylonish captivity, an opinion held indeed by Masius, a learned Roman Catholic, whose posthumous work on Joshua appeared in 1574, but chiefly urged into notice by the father of modern pantheism, Spinoza, and from him transmitted to the unbelieving critics, by whom it is defended with arguments, or assumed without arguing, down to the days of Maurer, Gesenius, Ewald, Bleek, and Knobel. The arguments in favour of this, from peculiarities of the language and grammatical construction, are of the most insignificant value; so unquestionable is this, that eminent later sceptical critics have rushed to the opposite extreme, and on the same grounds of language and grammar have pronounced it to be originally a part of the same work as the Pentateuch. Of course it is to be remembered that this concession is not quite so remarkable a change of opinion as at first sight it appears to be, since these men do not admit that the Pentateuch is the work of Moses, at least as a whole and in its present form. Accordingly, most of the speculations of De Wette, Ewald, Stähelin, Bleek, &c., upon the composition of the Pentateuch, especially the hypothesis of two documents wrought into one another with certain enlargements, have been reproduced in dealing with this book of Joshua. They have been circulated in England, chiefly by Dr. Davidson; but if any one wishes more minute refutation of them than his own good sense might supply, he may find the materials briefly and comprehensively arranged in Keil's *Introduction to the Old Testament*. In general it is enough to say here that such notions are mere unsupported hypotheses; that so far from any trace occurring of the book of Joshua having once belonged to the document which (as they fancy) lies at the basis of our Pentateuch, it is plain throughout the book that the law of Moses already existed in a written form, and was the acknowledged standard of all faith and practice; and, in the words of Keil, that "the book contains neither traces of fragments, nor contradictions of matters of fact, nor varieties of thinking and expression, which could justify hypotheses of this kind, but is closely bound together

in all its parts, and pervaded and directed by one and the same idea, so that its original as well as its actually existing unity lies under no well-grounded suspicion."

In fact, the chief objections made to the antiquity and unity of the book, are on account of the miracles which it records, while it has been assumed that miracles are impossible. Hence the attempt to thrust the date of composition down to a comparatively recent age, as Bleek and Ewald venture to fix its authorship and that of Deuteronomy so far down as the time of Manasseh; and others, with as little reason, have made it later than the days of Ahab, so that Joshua's curse upon the man who should rebuild the walls of Jericho may be regarded as a *vaticinium post eventum*. Any fair sceptic must allow that it is grievously wrong thus to prejudge a case of criticism on account of a determination to reject what is miraculous. And the believer in revelation will rather have his faith confirmed when he sees the miracles of the days of Moses terminating gradually in the hands of his successor, especially when he considers what the nature of them is. The drying up of the Jordan, as the people passed through it from the wilderness into Canaan under Joshua as their leader, is the counterpart of the drying up of the Red Sea as they passed out of Egypt into the wilderness under Moses. And the overthrow of the walls of Jericho, the first-fruits of those conquests which were as a whole to be "not by their own sword, nor by their own arm," but by God's "right hand, and his arm, and the light of his countenance," was parallel to the overthrow of the Egyptians, whom they never saw again after that day when they stood still and saw the salvation of the Lord, as he fought for them and they held their peace. The standing still of the sun and moon at the word of Joshua is certainly a miracle without a parallel, and is declared to be so in the passage which records it; and it is in several respects so astounding, that we do not wonder at many sound expositors preferring to consider it a poetical description extracted from the hymn in the book of Jasher, to be understood like the descriptions of the eighteenth psalm and other such portions of Scripture. And there are difficulties in the grammatical construction of the narrative and in its geography, which stand in the way of those who interpret it as a simple statement in prose. Yet we do not consider it a settled point that the common opinion of those who read the Scriptures is erroneous; and it has been agreed by some of the ablest scholars of our day, like Baumgarten, that there was a special fitness in such a miracle being wrought by the word of Joshua, so that the glory of divine working in the economy of the Old Testament might culminate in this act of his. Certainly no believer in the word of God will hesitate to admit that such a miracle might be wrought in perfect conformity with the plans of him who subordinates the firmest physical laws to the purposes of his moral administration, and who asserts that heaven and earth shall pass away, but that his word shall not pass away. Moreover, there is no lavishing of miracles in this book; there is that economy of them, if we may so speak, that might be expected from other books of Scripture. After this astounding miracle (assuming that it is such), throughout the chapter in which it is related, and the following one, we read only of the ordinary exertions of an energetic general and his army. The passage of the Jordan struck such terror and amazement into the hearts of the enemy, that the Israelites enjoyed the quiet and freedom which were requisite for observing the passover and the preparatory rite of circumcision. But when that terror had been renewed and deepened by the downfall of the walls of Jericho, no further miracle was wrought; but, on the contrary, the very next city, Ai, had to be taken by the ordinary attacks and stratagems of war.

The author of the book cannot be positively determined; and in this respect it is like the other historical books of its class to which the Jewish church gave the name "the former prophets," that is, the books of Judges, Samuel, and Kings. The prevalent opinion of the older writers, borrowed perhaps from writers in the Talmud and several of the fathers, yet confirmed so far by internal evidence, is, that Joshua himself was the writer. To this the learned, pious, sober-minded Witsius gives his approbation, while he admits that there are difficulties in the way of the supposition. These difficulties have restrained some of the most trustworthy among our latest writers from going further than Hävernick, who asserted that the first half was written by Joshua; and Keil, who thinks that Joshua supplied the materials for the most part, which were put together by a companion and eye-witness after his death. The nature of the book is such, that the minute details of places, times, and numbers, &c., favour the supposition of a writer at first hand; and the importance of an authoritative statement of the boundaries of the tribes was such, that we cannot well suppose either Joshua or the people to have been negligent in preparing one. Yet there is no trace, direct or indirect, of any other than this book, or of any dissent from the authority of its statements. Again, some weight is due to the use of the *first* personal pronoun, ch. v. 1, 6, about the Canaanites hearing how the Lord "dried up the waters of Jordan from before the children of Israel, until *we* were passed over;" and about that generation dying in the wilderness, "to whom the Lord sware that he would not show them the land which the Lord sware unto their fathers that he would give *us*." These might be expressions of the writer identifying himself with a past generation, as in Ps. lxvi. 6; but the balance of probability must lean towards the first impression from the simple historical language; to avoid which, perhaps, a transcriber unconsciously gave rise to the various reading in the first verse, "until *they* were passed over." And once more, in ch. vi. 25, it is said of Rahab the harlot, that she and her family and property were saved alive, "and she dwelleth in Israel *even unto this day*;" a statement which must have come from a contemporary, and one in which the phrase, "unto this day," cannot refer to any great length of time, any more than it can in some other passages of the book, although many objectors fancy that it is evidence of much more recent composition.

But the simplest and strongest possible evidence that Joshua was the author, would seem to be his own subscription, like that of Moses in De. xxxi.; these subscriptions being in both cases followed by a brief appendix giving the account of the author's death. It is said, Jos. xxiv. 26, "And Joshua wrote these words in the book of the law of God, and took a great stone, and set it up there, under an oak that was by the sanctuary of the Lord."[1] Yet it is not certain that this

[1] More literally, this clause would run, "The oak that was in the sanctuary of the Lord," comp. ch. viii. 30-35; Ge. xii. 6; De. xi. 30, in which two last passages "plain" is a mistranslation

testimony is decisive, because it is alleged by many good authorities to refer, not to our book of Joshua, but to the covenant which Joshua made with the people, and the statute and ordinance which he set for them that day in Shechem, as mentioned in the foregoing verse. Certainly it is difficult to demonstrate that this construction is erroneous, though we look on the other as more natural.

The circumstance which has chiefly led to hesitation in ascribing the whole book, or more than the materials of the book, to Joshua himself, is, that a comparison of some of its statements with statements in the book of Judges, favours the belief that *the events therein recorded are later than the death of Joshua.* Chiefly this applies to the conquests of Caleb and his nephew Othniel, ch. xv. 13-19, which appear to be expressly dated after Joshua's death, Ju. i. 1, 2, 10-15; in connection with which we have, in ver. 8, the account of Judah fighting against Jerusalem, taking it, burning it, and putting the inhabitants to the sword; whereas it is said, Jos. xv. 63, that the children of Judah could not drive the Jebusites out of Jerusalem, but dwelt along with them "unto this day." Yet the difficulty might disappear if we had fuller knowledge of the details; for plainly the first chapter of Judges is a very condensed tabular statement of the relative position of the children of Israel and the Canaanitish nations at the time of Joshua's death, when he left his people in that loosely organized condition in which they appear throughout the time of the Judges. Such a tabular statement can scarcely be distinct and comprehensive if it be confined to a mere point of time like that of Joshua's death; and the impression has been common that there is some going back to a point a little earlier, as well as forward, perhaps, to a corresponding distance, so as to give a view of a period of several consecutive years. This has been expressed on the part of our English translators by the use of the pluperfect tense, Ju. i. 8. No surprise need be felt at the mention in Jos. xvi. 10; xvii. 11–13, of Gezer, and Beth-shean, and neighbouring towns, being left by the children of Joseph unmolested on account of a payment of tribute, facts which are repeated in the first chapter of Judges. Joshua may have mentioned the continuance of these wealthy and powerful states, not as in itself remarkable or wrong, for the general declaration by God was that the Canaanites should be only gradually extirpated; but as remarkable in this respect that there was a certain degree of peaceful recognition of these by receiving tribute from them, a policy which he could not help considering dangerous, and which was abundantly proved to be so during the period of the Judges, and against which he appears to have endeavoured to rouse these two tribes, who were his own kindred, ch. xvii. 14-18. The difficulty is greater when we read of the children of Dan seizing the town of Leshem, and calling it Dan, ch. xix. 47; for the full account in Ju. xvii. xviii. of the taking of Laish, unfolds to our view a state of society which we scarcely expect to find till after the death of Joshua. Some writers have denied that these expeditions are the same; and this is not an unfair position to assume, considering the diversity of name, the extreme brevity of the statement in Joshua, and the frequency with which we may believe that inroads were made by the hostile races on each other, and familiar and endeared names were given to new settlements, as happens continually in our own colonies—yet we incline to identify them, as is commonly done. Nevertheless it is confessed on all hands that the narrative in Judges cannot be dated long after Joshua's death; and it may be only our preconceptions which have led to the assumption that it is unsuitable to his lifetime. The last speech of Joshua, ch. xxiv., has a certain anxiety, foreboding, gloom, and suspicion of idolatry being cherished secretly by the people; which state of mind does not appear in his former speech, though it has warnings too, perhaps occasioned by that tribute taken from the Canaanites, to which allusion has been made. And the idolatrous worship of Micah, mentioned in Ju. xvii., was plainly, to some extent, a secret thing, practised by him in domestic privacy, and perhaps intended to be subordinate to, and consistent with, a supreme reverence for Jehovah. The same state of mind may have existed among the six hundred Danites who stole his idols; and at all events, this lawless company, passing on to settle in the very outskirts of civilized and sacred society, like the squatters in some of our colonies, must not be taken as a sample of the religious sentiments which prevailed among the tribes of Israel. In short, Joshua must have been aware that there was evil at work, the particulars of which he might never know, but which was such as to ripen very quickly after he and his fellow-elders had passed away.

In fact the death of Joshua is often placed earlier than we think likely, though the materials for an absolute determination are not within our reach. He must have been more than twenty years old when he was sent to be a spy, else his surviving to enter Canaan would not have had the exceptional character which is attributed to it, Nu. xiv. 29, 30; xxvi. 64, 65. Yet, as he is again and again called a *young* man, we should take him to be the junior of Caleb, to whom that epithet is never applied, and who at that time was forty, Jos. xiv. 7. Suppose him midway between these ages, or thirty; then at the death of Moses he would be sixty-eight, De. ii. 14; and as he was one hundred and ten when he died, by this calculation he lived forty-two years in the land of Canaan. This would afford ample time for his writing all these things, with the record of many changes before his death; though it is likely that he was little inclined for active interference in the government during the last years of his life, if indeed his commission did not expire when he had divided the land among the tribes, leaving him at liberty to spend the evening of his days in retirement.

There is certainly nothing in the book of Joshua which requires us to place the composition many years after his death, and there is much that gives probability to the opposite opinion. Besides the considerations already adduced, there are some minor ones which may be merely enumerated. (1.) The repeated use of double names for places, as in a period of revolution, Hebron and Kirjath-arba, Debir and Kirjath-sepher, and Kirjath-sannah, and others. (2.) The title of "the great," given to Sidon, ch. xi. 8; xix. 28, a city which, at a very early period, became eclipsed by Tyre. (3.) The inclusion of these cities among the towns to be taken

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for "oak." Attention to this would have obviated objections which have been made to the verse, as if it were inconsistent with the account of the sanctuary being fixed at Shiloh, ch. xviii. 1. *That* was the ordinary sanctuary, where the people assembled at the tabernacle; but *this* was a solemn place of meeting, proper for a parting memorial of the covenant, on account of historical associations. See also Ge. xxxv. 4.

by the Israelites, and their inhabitants of course to be destroyed, ch. xiii. 6; xix. 28, 29; whereas, by the time of David and Solomon, they were recognized as intimate allies, and no attempt was made to reduce them to bondage like the remainder of the Canaanites proper. (4.) The antiquity of the names of towns assigned to Simeon and to Levi, compared with the names as given in 1 Ch. iv. 28–33, and vi. 54–81, though these must also have been taken from pretty ancient records, probably in David's or Solomon's time.

In the same way there are one or two circumstances which ought to make it impossible for even a sceptical critic to place the composition later than the time of Saul or David. Such are, (1.) The account of the Gibeonites, as bond-servants to the tabernacle, which we have no reason to think they were still compelled to be after the massacre by Saul; and the silence as to any settled place for that tabernacle, whereas such a place existed notoriously from the time of David. (2.) The fact that Bethlehem is not mentioned among the cities of Judah, which it would have been, if at the time of composition David had come to the throne; that is, on the supposition that our Hebrew text is to be preferred to that of the Septuagint, which inserts Bethlehem and ten other cities after ch. xv. 59. (3.) The account of the Jebusites and the men of Judah dwelling together in Jerusalem, on account of the inability of the latter to dispossess the former; whereas David stormed it in the very commencement of his reign over all Israel. (4.) The like may be said of Gezer, which Pharaoh took, and burned, and gave as a dowry to his daughter, whom Solomon had married, 1 Ki. ix. 16.

The Samaritans had a work, not however reckoned canonical among them, to which they gave the name of the book of Joshua. There was a copy of it obtained and conveyed to Europe by Scaliger in 1584, of which an account has been given by many writers; and this manuscript has at last been published at Leyden by Juynboll in 1848. It is written in Arabic, contains a paraphrastic account of the life of Joshua, and is mixed up with multitudes of fables, and contains a chronicle of Samaritan and Jewish history, written in a spirit which suited the purposes of the sect. It is said to be a very late production, long posterior to the age of Mohamed.

[Further information upon the subject of the person and book of Joshua may be found by consulting the commentaries; the latest and best being by Keil (Erlangen, 1847), translated into English in Clark's series, reproduced in a somewhat condensed form in the *Biblical Commentary* which he and Delitzsch are at present editing; and Knobel (rationalist) in the *Exegetisches Handbuch*, which has been publishing for a number of years, and is now complete; also in the Introductions to the Old Testament of Keil, Bleek, and Davidson—the first eminently sound, the second very far from sound, but the last much more advanced in its critical views; also Ewald, *Geschichte.*] [G. C. M. D.]

JOSI'AH [properly *Yoshîahu*, יֹאשִׁיָּהוּ, *supported* or *healed by Jehovah*], in the Sept. and New Testament Josias. 1. A king of Judah, the fifteenth in order, son of Amon, who reigned thirty-one years, B.C. 641–610 (or, as some make it, 639–609). By the untimely death of his father, who was murdered by his servants, after a brief reign of two years, Josiah came to the throne when a mere child, eight years old. The history of his times is comparatively brief, and very little insight is given us into the chain of events or moral influences which contributed to render his character what it became. Notwithstanding the corruptions which prevailed at the time, and the extreme wickedness of those who had immediately preceded him on the throne, God-fearing and pious persons must have been around him in his youth; for, in the eighth year of his reign, when he was still but sixteen years old, he began, we are told, to seek after the God of David his father, 2 Ch. xxxiv. 3. Four years later, when he had reached his twentieth year, he proceeded to carry out his convictions of duty in religious matters to the general purgation of the land from the grosser forms of superstition and idolatry. Images of Baal and Ashtaroth, which appear to have existed in great number, and all the implements of idolatry connected with the places of false worship, were broken in pieces, and treated as objects of pollution. For several years this reforming process was carried on; and when he reached the eighteenth year of his reign, he took the further step of getting all the leading persons of the land assembled at Jerusalem, and, after the solemn reading of the law, engaging them in a formal covenant before the Lord, to walk in the commandments, and be faithful to the testimony they had heard. Nor did he rest with that, but proceeded to purge out whatever he found still remaining of former pollutions; and taking advantage of the disorganized and comparatively desolate state of the kingdom of Israel, he waged the same vigorous war against idolatry in Bethel, and many parts of the Israelitish territory, 2 Ki. xxiii. 20. It is in the book of Chronicles, 2 Ch. xxxiv., that the successive stages of this work of reformation is most distinctly related, and connected with specific years in the reign of the king. In the book of Kings the account in the earlier part is less minute; and we are simply told in a general way, that he did what was right in the sight of the Lord, and walked in all the way of David his father; after which we have a detailed representation of what took place in the eighteenth year of his reign, much as in the corresponding passage of Chronicles, 2 Ki. xxii. xxiii. It is quite clear, however, even from the account in Kings, that a great deal must have been done of a preparatory kind, toward the correction of abuses and restoring the institutions of the law, before Josiah could, with the slightest probability of success, have attempted to carry out the public measures which distinguished the eighteenth year of his reign. For, the idolatrous abominations which had come in from the different quarters of heathenism, and to a large extent supplanted the service of Jehovah, were now of old standing; they had continued for the best part of two generations; and that all at once the tide should have been so completely turned, that the necessary repairs and purgations upon the temple should have been executed, the mass of the people brought to renounce the corruptions in which they had been nursed, and covenant together before the Lord, induced also to engage in a hearty and nearly unanimous celebration of the feast of the passover, all in the course of a single year, is not to be conceived. We are rather to suppose that the detailed account of the reforms executed by Josiah is connected with that particular year, because it was the period when things were brought to a kind of formal consummation; it being understood from the very nature of the case, that much in the same line had already preceded, and that the general description given of the pious and God-fearing disposition of Josiah, had found its realization in a suitable course of action

from his youth upwards. There is, therefore, no inconsistence between the two accounts—only the one is somewhat more specific than the other, in regard to the progress made by the youthful king, and the successive steps in his reforming agency.

Taking, then, the more particular, to supplement the more general account, and regarding Josiah in his sixteenth year as already a sincere worshipper and servant of the God of David; in his twentieth as a zealous reformer of abuses and restorer of the pure worship of God, both in Jerusalem and throughout the country, as far north even as Naphtali, it is clear that he must have come at an early period to a considerable acquaintance with the law of God. He should otherwise have wanted both the spirit to enter on such a reforming career, and the information needed to direct it into a proper channel; and, as a necessary consequence, the book of the law, which, in the midst of repairs upon the temple, was discovered by Hilkiah the priest, can only be understood to have been the temple-copy—the copy by the hand of Moses (as it is said in 2 Ch. xxxiv. 14), that is, either of his handwriting, or standing in the nearest relation to his hand, what bore on it the full impress of his authority—not the only copy at the time existing or known in the land, far less such a copy as Hilkiah and those about him then for the first time invented. This latter idea, which many rationalist writers have eagerly taken up, is utterly at variance as well with the plain import of the narrative, as with the whole probabilities of the case. The historian does not say Hilkiah produced or forged the book, but that he found it; and both he and Huldah the prophetess had no difficulty in recognizing its proper character—as the authoritative record of what God had spoken to their fathers by Moses. The very ground on which Huldah proceeded to announce the coming judgments of the Lord, was, that the king and people had failed to observe what was written in this book—a book, therefore, which they are presumed to have all along had in their possession, and stood bound to obey. A more palpable misreading of the narrative in question than that made in this rationalist hypothesis, cannot well be conceived. But apart from this, and looking merely to the probabilities of things, the conduct of the king and those about him, as justly remarked by Hävernick, "would be inexplicable, on the supposition of their having now for the first time heard of this book. We find no sign in the narrative of mistrust or astonishment on their part at the existence of such a book. Would the king have been seized with such terror when he heard the words of this book? Would he immediately have adopted such energetic measures, if he had not recognized it at once as authentic? Not only so, but it is read out of in the presence of the priests, the prophets (2 Ki. xxiii. 2; but 2 Ch. xxxiv. 3 has Levites, which is the more probable reading), and the whole people. What a conjoint plot must this concerted scheme have been! Who are the persons deceived here, since all appear to have nothing else in view than to deceive?" (Introd. to Pent. sect. 35). To these improbabilities have to be added, as the author just quoted goes on to state, the want of any conceivable motive in the men of that generation to practise the deception in question, or fall in with it when attempted. For, the age was one sunk in idolatry, and pervaded by the vices which idolatry never fails to engender, while here was a book which unsparingly denounced all these, and proclaimed the heaviest woes against them! Was this a book to have met with general recognition, and to have produced on the minds of all a solemn awe, unless there had been the evidence of the highest authority and the most indubitable certainty on its side? It is altogether incredible.

The discovery of this book, indeed, is represented as coming with a certain surprise on the parties immediately concerned; and the king in particular, as if something new had fallen upon his ear, when he first heard the words of the book, rent his clothes, and sent to ask counsel at the prophetess. But this by no means argues an entire strangeness on his part in regard to the contents of the book; it only indicates that these were now brought more fully or continuously before him, and, from the circumstances of the moment, made a greatly deeper impression upon his mind than had been produced by his previous reading or instruction. He could not but have already known much that was written there, as his past course indeed had rendered manifest; but by the discovery of this book in the chambers of the house of God, he was suddenly and unexpectedly brought into a kind of immediate contact with the great lawgiver of the nation, and the God whose mind he revealed. No wonder that in such a case the things written in the book of the law came with a freshness and power to his soul he had not felt before, and that he seized the occasion as a fitting one for summoning the whole nation to his side, and concerting measures with them for consummating the work of reformation. If hitherto Josiah had himself read little in the law, there certainly were those about him who knew it well, and there can be no reasonable doubt that the prophetess Huldah, the prophet Jeremiah (who began to prophesy in the thirteenth year of Josiah's reign, five years before the period in question), and others of like spirit in the land, had in their possession copies of the law, by which they could compare and verify the book found by Hilkiah.

We see from the earlier writings of Jeremiah, which relate to much about the period of the finding of the book of the law, how far the spirit of apostasy and corruption had spread, and how entirely the foundations had come to be out of course. It was by no means likely that, in such a state of things, a reform originating in high quarters, would ever penetrate to the core of the evil, and restore the constitution on a solid basis. Many indications of this are given in the utterances of that earnest, but, from the first, almost despairing, prophet; and the prophetess Huldah, in the message she sent back to Josiah, plainly intimated that matters had gone too far in the wrong direction to leave room for a thorough and abiding reformation being at that time effected. The tenderness of heart displayed by Josiah should not, indeed, be without its reward; he should go to his grave without seeing his land becoming a scene of desolation; but the curses written in the law should still certainly be accomplished, and the provocations by which God had been so long and so grievously offended, must be visited with their deserved recompense. Discerning spirits even then saw, that the apparent readiness and good-will with which the people fell in with the reforming plans of Josiah, had no living root of godliness in it, and was to a great extent but a servile compliance with the altered spirit of the times; nay, that amid the fair show of outward conformity, there was no doubtful evidence of the old spirit still holding

possession of the hearts of most. If there was any marked defect in the character of Josiah, it was his failure (no doubt somewhat natural in the circumstances) to perceive this, and his want even of due regard to the distinct announcements made respecting it by those endowed with prophetical gifts; whence he presumed too much upon the external reformation that had been accomplished, and adventured into a course which he should never have meditated without the express warrant and the promised aid of Heaven. We refer to the hostile attempt made by him to arrest the progress of Pharaoh-Necho, when on his way to join battle with the king of Assyria at Carchemish. No motive is indicated in the history for this rash interference, which implies that none of a proper kind could be assigned; the rather so, as we are told of the kindly remonstrance of Pharaoh, who sent to Josiah to dissuade him from the conflict, on the ground that it was another, not he, against whom the present enterprise was directed, 2 Ch. xxxv. 21. The remonstrance, however, proved in vain, and Josiah, persisting in his purpose, but disguising himself in battle, with the view of better securing his protection, received in the valley of Megiddo a mortal wound, of which he died, though not exactly on the field of battle, yet apparently not long after he left it on the way to Jerusalem. A memorable example and warning for future times! It was the calling of Israel then, as of the church now, to exercise a potent influence in the world, and even to rule in the affairs of men; but not by descending to the world's level, and for such ends as the world aims at wielding the world's own weapons. In such conflicts the church is sure to be the loser; by mingling in them she profanes her sacred banner, and has reason to expect nothing but that she shall be in turn profaned, and ignominiously cast to the ground. Josiah fighting with the king of Egypt and falling at Megiddo, was the symbol of a church, not altogether, it may be, without a zeal for God, but deeply inwrought with carnal elements, prompted by carnal motives, and without having had her own controversy with God properly adjusted, going needlessly to embroil herself in the strifes of men. Such precisely is the spiritual use made of this unhappy case in the symbolical delineations of the Apocalypse; the battle of Armageddon there (*i.e.* of the hill of Megiddo, with reference to the scene of Josiah's downfall), is the conflict in which Babylon, the corrupt church of modern times, falls before the embattled forces of the worldly power, Re. xvi. 14-18.

Though Josiah fell in battle, yet the word spoken concerning him by the prophetess Huldah was not falsified; for his remains were buried in his fathers' sepulchres in peace, and he did not see the evil which was destined soon to fall on Judah and Jerusalem. It was natural that so good a king, meeting such an end, should be much lamented, Zec. xii. 11.

2. JOSIAH. A son of Zephaniah, in whose house the symbolical crowning of Joshua the high-priest was represented by the prophet Zechariah as going to take place in the presence of the representatives from Babylon. But nothing is known besides respecting either Zephaniah or his son Josiah, nor why the house of the latter in particular should have been chosen for such an action, Zec. vi. 10. In ver. 14 other sons of Zephaniah are mentioned, some of them with quite peculiar names; and, perhaps, as the action was symbolical, probably also to be understood as taking place only in vision, the names were symbolical too; in that case Josiah [*Jehovah supports* or *establishes*], and Zephaniah [*Jehovah conceals*], must be viewed simply with reference to their import.

JOT'BAH [*goodness*]. The native place of Haruz, and of his daughter Meshullemeth, wife of Manasseh, and mother of Amon, kings of Judah, 2 Ki. xxi. 19. The mere fact of such an alliance as is here indicated, shows this to have been an important city; and, independently of other considerations, disproves its supposed identity with Jotbath, which was the name, not of a city, but of a district and watering-place in the desert. The Arabic equivalent for Jotbah is et-*Ṭaiyib*, or et-*Ṭaiyibeh*, and no less than three sites of this name are met with in modern Palestine. One is considerably south of Hebron (Bib. Res. ii. 472); another to the west of that city (ib. 427-429); and the third is north of Jerusalem, in the country of Benjamin. This last is most likely to answer to Jotbah, for two reasons: (1.) The two first-named places are very insignificant, and never can have been of much importance; whereas this is described by Dr. Robinson as crowning a conspicuous hill, skirted by "fertile basins of some breadth, ... full of gardens of olives and fig-trees. The remarkable position (he adds) would not probably have been left unoccupied in ancient times" (B. R. ii. 121, 124). In a subsequent visit to the place, he was struck both with the depth and quality of the soil, which were "more than one would anticipate in so rocky a region" (Later Bib. Res. p. 290). These extracts explain while they justify the signification "goodness," which belongs both to Jotbah and Ṭaiyibeh. (2.) Of the many persons mentioned in Scripture who bear the name of Meshullam (the masc. form of Meshullemeth), nearly all are either Levites or Benjamites. If, therefore, as is likely, Meshullemeth belonged to one of these two tribes, the probabilities are greatly in favour of the royal house of Judah contracting an alliance with the ex-royal tribe of Benjamin, rather than with the priestly tribe of Levi.[1] [E. W.]

JOT'BATH, or JOTBATHAH [*goodness*]. One of the stations of the Israelites during their wanderings in the wilderness, Nu. xxxiii. 33. It is evidently the name of a district, not of a particular spot; for it is called "a *land* of winter-torrents (*nachalim*) of waters," De. x. 7. Slender as are the Scriptural notices of this locality, they furnish three landmarks which enable us to fix its position with moral certainty: (1.) The signification of the name, "goodness;" (2.) The abundant water-supply; (3.) Its relation to the two Israelitish stations between which it occurs. It will be found that these several conditions are completely satisfied by the modern Wady-el-'*Adhbeh*. (1.) It is described by Dr. Robinson as a "broad sandy wady or rather plain," which falls into the great Wady-el-Jerâfeh (Bib. Res. i. 261). The name is identical in meaning with Jotbath; the Arabic root (like the Hebrew) signifying "good." (2.) Dr. Robinson, on reaching this spot, remarks on the unwonted appearance of vegetation, "indicating that more rain had fallen here than farther south in the peninsula." Then he speaks of a collection of rain water in a deep gully, which is "one of the chief watering-places of the Arabs in these parts," and observes, "This

[1] One instance only is recorded of the latter, in the case of Jehosheba. See Dr. Stanley in Smith's *Dict. of Bible*, i. 952. This, too, favours the hypothesis which locates Jotbah in the territory of Benjamin.

was the second time we had seen grass since leaving the region of the Nile. The Jerâfeh (he adds) exhibits traces of a large volume of water in the rainy season, and is full of herbs and shrubs, with many Seyâl (acacia) and Turfa (tamarisk) trees" (B. R. i. 261-266). (3.) The Israelites are represented as journeying from Hor-ha*gidgad* (=*Gudgodah*, now Wady-el-*Ghudhâghidh*) to Jotbath, and from Jotbath to Ebrónah ("a pass," = the Nukb or Pass, west of Ailah). Now it is very remarkable that Dr. Robinson, when travelling from Ailah to Bîr-es-Seb'a, had, during two days, precisely the same halting-places, only in the opposite direction. One day's journey began at the Pass en-Nukb, and ended at 'Adhbeh; while the next began at 'Adhbeh, and ended at Ghudhâghidh.[1] [E. W.]

JO'THAM [*Jehovah is upright*]. 1. The youngest son of Gideon, who escaped with his life when his sixty-nine brothers fell under the murderous hand of Abimelech, Ju. ix. 5. That he was a person of some discernment and foresight may be inferred from the parabolical speech he addressed from Mount Gerizim to the people of Shechem. Nothing is known, however, of his future history, except that he took up his abode at Beer.

2. JOTHAM. The son and successor of Uzziah, king of Judah. From the time that his father was smitten with leprosy, Jotham had the administration of affairs much in his hand, 2 Ch. xxvi. 21, but on his father's death, and at the age of twenty-five, he ascended the throne, and reigned sixteen years, B.C. 758–742. He is represented as walking uprightly before God, and being prospered in his reign. He made some addition to the defences of Jerusalem, and in various parts of the country built fortifications. In a war with the king of the Ammonites he was successful, and imposed on them a tribute, 2 Ki. xv.; 2 Ch. xxvii.

3. JOTHAM. A descendant of Judah, of whom nothing is known except that he was the son of Jahdai, 1 Ch. ii. 47.

JOZ'ABAD, contracted for JEHOZABAD [*endowed* or *gifted by Jehovah*]. The name of a considerable number of persons belonging to different tribes, but of whom nothing very particular is known, 1 Ch. xii. 20; xxvi. 4; 2 Ch. xvii. 18; xxxi. 14; xxxv. 9; Ezr. viii. 33, &c. It was also the name of one of the servants in the royal household, who conspired against Joash and slew him, 2 Ki. xii. 21. His mother is said to have been a Moabitess, 2 Ch. xxiv. 26. Both conspirators were afterwards slain by Amaziah, 2 Ki. xiv. 5.

JOZ'ACHAR [*remembered by Jehovah*], the son of an Ammonitess, Shimeath, and the person who conspired with the Jozabad last mentioned to kill Joash. Being both by the mother's side the offspring of a foreign and hostile race, it is more than probable that this had something to do with the wicked conduct they pursued toward their master. Very possibly, the deed was committed in revenge for some insult done, or supposed to be done, toward themselves, or the people to whom they respectively belonged. In 2 Ki. xii. 21, the name Jozachar is given, but in 2 Ch. xxiv. 26 it is Zabad. This is understood to be a corruption of the text. The *Jo* of the preceding word (עליו) being confounded with the *Jo* of this, it came to be omitted in the latter case, and the other two letters *daleth* and *resh* in the proper name are so like the corresponding ones, which have been substituted for them, that the one might readily be mistaken for the other.

JOZ'ADAK. *See* JEHOZADAK.

JU'BAL [from יָבַל, *yabal*, to *exult*, to *shout jubilantly*], son of Lamech by Adah, of the Cainite branch of Adam's family, celebrated as the inventor of the harp and organ, Ge. iv. 21—not organ, however, in the modern sense, but some simple wind-instrument, probably a sort of fife or flute—so the word by its etymology appears to import. Cultivating a natural taste for music, Jubal succeeded in making some stringed and wind instruments for the purpose—both, no doubt, of a comparatively rude description.

JUBILEE. The law of the year of jubilee is so closely connected with the other law of the seventh year, commonly called the sabbatical year, that it has been usually found convenient to treat of them together: and so we shall do in this article.

I. *Law of the Sabbatical Year.*—This is first given somewhat briefly, and without applying a special name to it, in Ex. xxiii. 10, 11, "And six years thou shalt sow thy land, and shalt gather in the fruits thereof: but the seventh year thou shalt let it rest and lie still; that the poor of thy land may eat: and what they leave, the beasts of the field shall eat. In like manner shalt thou deal with thy vineyard, [and] with thy oliveyard." It is however repeated at greater length in Le. xxv. 1–7, yet without any inconsistencies such as the perverse ingenuity of the self-styled critical school has endeavoured to establish. This latter passage presents new matter, (1) By fixing the time for the law coming into operation: "When ye come into the land which I give you." (2.) By giving prominence to the sacred nature of this rule: "Then shall the land keep a sabbath unto the Lord." (3.) By assigning a kind of moral character to the promised land of Canaan: "In the seventh year shall be a sabbath of rest unto the land, a sabbath for the Lord," "it is a year of rest unto the land." (4.) By explaining that the kindly provision in Exodus was not to be strained, as if it excluded the owner of the soil from sharing with the poor in that which was the common good of all: "The sabbath of the land shall be meat for you; for thee, and for thy servant, and for thy maid, and for thy hired servant, and for thy stranger that sojourneth with you," &c.; in which enumeration we have first the proprietor, then his household, and then the hired servant and the sojourning stranger, who, of course, were not counted in the household, see Ex. xii. 45, but constituted the "poor," more usually translated "needy," in the shorter form of the law. The distinct prohibition to sow can scarcely be considered new matter: it is probably included grammatically in the law, as briefly given in Exodus, but at least it is included inferentially, since no one would labour to cultivate that which he was prohibited from turning to account.

There are also two passages in Deuteronomy which bear upon the observance of the sabbatical year; though, like other regulations occurring in this book, they present features which evince its dependent and supplementary character. The first and more important of

[1] On these several identifications see *Jour. Sac. Lit.* April, 1860, p. 47-49; *Negeb*, p. 130-132, 165. That of Jotbath with 'Adhbeh is disputed in Smith's *Dict. of Bible*, iii. 1765, on the ground that the Arabic letter ع is not represented in the Hebrew by the corresponding ע. Such instances, however, as Jattir (now 'Aṯṯîr), Ophni (Jufna), Askelon ('Aṣḳulân), Beth-Horon (Beit-'Ûr), &c., prove conclusively that the letter *ain* is not so tenacious a radical as is commonly supposed, and that it regularly interchanges with certain other letters.

these passages is ch. xv. 1–11. It bears a character of tenderness and provision for the poor, as may be inferred from the connection in which it stands, between the directions for spending the triennial tithe in behalf of the poor, and those for displaying liberality to the Hebrew servant at the end of his or her six years of hard service. But more manifestly is it a law which contemplates the welfare of the poor (exhibiting, it will be noted, a tendency towards a state of society in which there should be no poor, yet a tendency never wholly successful, ver. 4, 11), inasmuch as it concentrates attention upon a single circumstance, "At the end of [every] seven years thou shalt make a release. And this is the manner of the release: every creditor that lendeth [aught] unto his neighbour shall release [it]; he shall not exact [it] of his neighbour or of his brother; because it is called the Lord's release." Plainly this release from debt was in consequence of the interruption to sowing and reaping, which deprived the debtor of the means by which, in other circumstances, he might have expected to discharge his debt; whereas this favour was expressly withheld from the foreigner, ver. 3, who acknowledged no sacredness in the year, and whose occupations were likely to be unconnected with the land of which the Israelites held exclusive possession. This enactment is perfectly clear and natural, on the supposition that the debts were merely not liable to be enforced during the course of the sabbatical year, which was then a blank year in this respect, as the Sabbath-day has in like manner been enjoyed by debtors as a day of freedom from arrest; while the indebtedness remained, and was sure to be enforced when the year of rest was over. And this is all that the terms of the law fairly imply, as most modern scholars agree. Yet there are some who prefer to understand that debts were absolutely cancelled every seven years, which is also the prevalent view among the Jewish authorities, from Josephus downwards (Jos. Antiq. iii. 12, 3). And in a matter which admitted of some doubt, it is conceivable that a later age, anxious to observe every formality of the law to the uttermost, may have preferred to establish this wider interpretation by human usage, though not indisputably by divine right; a course, too, which might be the rather preferred, if this more comprehensive arrangement was regarded as a certain compensation for the loss of the year of jubilee in these later times. The *name* of sabbath is not applied to the year in this passage, and hence a double error might arise, against which a passing caution is needed. On the one hand, this seventh year regularly returning might be confounded with that seventh year spoken of in the next law; which however was the year at the end of six years' service by a Hebrew, no matter when it came; which is still further indicated to be different from the sabbatical year, by the reference to the produce of the floor and of the wine-press, ver. 14. On the other hand, the absence of the sabbatical name might lead some one to question the identity of this seventh year with the sabbatical year; but its sacred character, like the sabbath of the land to the Lord, is made prominent by this being emphatically named *the Lord's* release, ver. 2; and the very peculiar word for "release," used both in its verbal and its nominal form, sufficiently identifies this law with that in Exodus, where the word occurs differently translated, "thou shalt let it *rest*." The name given to the year in De. xv. 9, "the year of release," is of course taken from this regulation as to debts. And the same name is given in the remaining passage, De. xxxi. 10-13, where the additional direction is given, that "at the end of [every] seven years, in the solemnity of the year of release, in the feast of tabernacles, when all Israel is come to appear before the Lord thy God in the place which he shall choose, thou shalt read this law before all Israel in their hearing."

II. *Law of the Year of Jubilee.*—The law on this point is given once for all, with the exception of some very few additional notices, which may be called incidental, in Le. xxv. 8–55. When the sabbatical years had returned seven times, that is, after seven times seven years, there was to be observed a still more remarkable year, the jubilee. The two great features in this observance are given in ver. 10, "Ye shall return every man unto his possession, and ye shall return every man unto his family." In other words, it was a year of restoration or restitution, which extended not only to *persons*, the children of Israel, but also to *land*, the land of Canaan, which was their promised possession, and which had a moral significance on their account: and we have already seen that the common sabbatical year had the same twofold aspect, to the land and to the people.

(1.) As for the land, ver. 13-19, there was properly no sale of it permitted to the children of Israel—what was called a sale of the land was nothing more than a sale of the produce of it for an unbroken series of years, from the date of the transaction to the year of jubilee at the farthest. This was a transaction which admitted of easy settlement on equitable principles, according to the number of years till the jubilee; but solemn warnings were given not to entangle and oppress any one, perhaps some simple-minded peasant to whom this calculation might be intricate. The only real cause of intricacy, however, over and above the usual uncertainties about weather and crops, arose from the chance of the original proprietor resuming possession before the time of the jubilee; for he had a right to do this if he pleased, and had the pecuniary ability, and the same right belonged to any of his kin. But if it were not redeemed sooner, at all events in the year of jubilee, without any payment, it reverted to the original proprietor. "The land shall not be sold for ever; for the land is mine; for ye are strangers and sojourners with me. And in all the land of your possession ye shall grant a redemption for the land," ver. 23, 24. The particulars in working out this principle are explained in the following verses, ver. 25-34. Two of these alone call for special notice. The one was, that this regulation as to the land which their God had given to them was not applicable to houses in walled towns, which ought to be regarded as so thoroughly artificial, that they were reckoned the mere work of man, alienable like anything else which he made for selling; and as to these, therefore, a right of redemption was conceded only for a single year, and they were unaffected by the jubilee. The other noticeable particular was that the possessions of the Levites were a public trust, which might not be sold for ever; even though they were houses within walled cities, they were redeemable at any time, and at all events they did revert to their owners at the jubilee. The following, however, are additional regulations, which we learn from other passages of Scripture. *First*, Le. xxvii. 16-24, If a person chose to sanctify a field to the Lord, this gift was treated on the same principle as a sale of land: that is to say,

the produce was the Lord's until the year of jubilee. But as it might neither be convenient nor decorous to have patches of ground throughout the country in the hands of the priests for purposes of cultivation, there was a fixed price at which the proceeds were to be converted into money—fifty shekels of silver for a homer of barley seed, that is, for the entire forty-nine years; for a shorter period it would be proportionably less. This was the case whether the field which the man had sanctified was his own originally, or whether he had bought it from another; and in the latter case, at the jubilee it returned to the proper owner. But if it was originally his own, he who made the vow had the ordinary right of redemption earlier than the time of the jubilee; yet burdened with the condition, which applied to all cases of redeeming anything sanctified to the Lord, that he must pay a fine of twenty per cent. Further, if he did not choose to redeem it (which he could have done the year before the jubilee at a most trivial cost), and had sold it to another man, he was reckoned to have deliberately renounced all right to it; and in the jubilee it did not return to him, but was treated as "a field devoted," and became the perpetual possession of the priest, in the name of the Lord (see as to devoting, in the article ANATHEMA). *Secondly*, We learn from Nu. xxxvi. that an instance of heiresses in their own right occurred among the Manassites, whose elders made an application to the Lord through Moses, on the ground that this provision for land at the jubilee would be no safeguard for its restitution, but the very contrary, if the heiress married into another tribe; since she would be counted to that tribe, and, at least in the case of a marriage without children, it would pass into the hands of her husband's relatives. In consequence, the rule was laid down that an heiress might not marry beyond her own tribe. *Thirdly*, We have nothing in the law of Moses bearing on the case of a gift of land, though analogy suggests the same rule for it as for a purchase. Such cases might become frequent and important under the kingly government, see 1 Sa. viii. 14; xxii. 7; 2 Sa. ix. 9; xvi. 4; xix. 29; and we have no means for determining whether the kings arrogated the power of perpetual gift or not. In the directions for the renovated church and state, Ezekiel touches on this matter, ch. xlvi. 16-18, in such a way as to imply that the people had been thrust out oppressively, and scattered from their possessions. And for the future, he distinguishes two cases: a gift by the prince to any of his sons, expressly said, however, to be from his own inheritance, and this might be in perpetuity; and a gift to one of his servants, which reverted to the prince at "the year of liberty," that is, the jubilee.

(2.) As for the persons, while a sort of bond-service was permitted, which in some of its features bore a resemblance to slavery, there were other points of essential difference: first, in special provisions tending to prevent a person becoming so reduced as to need to sell himself; next, in acknowledging no bond-service but that of voluntary sale of oneself (at least the case of penal servitude is not noticed here); and thirdly, in maintaining throughout the bondsman's rights as an Israelite, one of God's people whom he had redeemed from Egypt, that they might be *his* servants, and might *not* be sold as bondmen. This principle secured that he should all along be treated like a hired servant, like one whose normal state was liberty; and also that at any time the bond-servant might redeem himself, or be redeemed by his friends, on the same plan as that on which the redemption of land proceeded, at least this right was secured to him in the case of having a stranger or sojourner for his master; but above all, that at the year of jubilee he should depart in freedom, "both he and his children with him, and return unto his own family, and unto the possession of his fathers shall he return." This subject is expounded, ver. 35-55.

(3.) A third characteristic of the year of jubilee must be mentioned in connection with these two, as in the law it is stated very briefly, ver. 11, 12, between the short general announcement of them and the fuller explanations which follow, "Ye shall not sow, neither reap that which groweth of itself in it, nor gather the grapes in it of thy vine undressed, for it is a jubilee; it shall be holy unto you; ye shall eat the increase thereof out of the field." In this respect, in fact, it followed the pattern of the sabbatical year—a circumstance which coincides with what we might have anticipated, from the intimate relationship of the one institution to the other, and from the consideration that it would be almost impossible to cultivate the soil amidst so many changes, both among the occupants and among the servile tillers of the land. Josephus, in the place before referred to, states that debts were remitted in the jubilee year, which would be an additional resemblance, in fact it would assimilate them entirely. This, however, is not stated in Scripture, and it is said to be contrary to the teaching of the rabbins. Indeed, on his understanding of the sabbatical law, as cancelling all debts the year before, it is not easy to conceive that there could be many new debts contracted to give an opportunity of cancelling them; but on the other view, to which we incline, that the debts were merely not to be enforced during the sabbatical year, it is intelligible enough that the same rule might be applied, and for the same reason.

According to ver. 9, the jubilee was announced on the day of atonement, the tenth day of the seventh month (afterwards called Tisri), by sounding through all the land "the trumpet of jubilee," *yobel* in Hebrew, from which the name has passed into other languages without translation, chiefly perhaps through the influence of the Latin Vulgate. The precise meaning of the word is indeed uncertain. The old Jewish traditionary rendering, adopted by the authorized version in the account of the fall of Jericho, is "the trumpet of rams' horns;" and this is still defended by a few scholars, such as Fürst, to some extent, though most scholars would shrink from rendering it so in a passage like Ex. xix. 13. On the other hand, the favourite explanation of recent writers is, that the word is merely imitative of the loud sound of a horn. Finally, the prevalent opinion of earlier Christian scholars is, that it suggests a protracted sound as it swells out from the trumpet, which is the view still of many, for instance Keil and Oehler; although the latter scholar suggests that it may possibly mean "free emission," and hence "liberty," two significations which would make it precisely synonymous with *děror*, the word applied to the liberty proclaimed in the year of jubilee, ver. 10, as also in the spiritual jubilee, Is. lxi. 1, and from which the year received a name, Eze. xlvi. 17, "the year of liberty." Certainly "liberty" is the explanation of the word which Josephus gives in the passage already noticed; and the Septuagint uses ἄφεσις, "dismissal," for both *děror* and *yobel* in Le. xxv. 10.

There are chronological disputes in regard to both these years. (1.) The jubilee came in at the close of seven sabbatical periods; was it then the seventh sabbatical year, or the year following? In other words, was it the forty-ninth or the fiftieth year? One class of Jews, called the Geonim, adopted the first view, as did also the eminent Christian chronologers, Joseph Scaliger and Petavius; and it is still the opinion of Ewald, whose learning and subtilty are sometimes the means of misleading him, as for instance here, where, by making the jubilee begin in autumn—six months later than the sabbatical year, he hopes to escape from the force of ver. 8–11, which speak of the jubilee as the fiftieth year. But the impression left by these verses upon the great majority of readers of the Bible, both plain men and scholars, has been that it was the year after the seventh sabbatical year, that is, the fiftieth year. And this opinion is confirmed by Jewish authority, including Philo and Josephus; as it is also by the analogy of computation for the feast of weeks, which fell on the fiftieth day from the passover, that is, the day after seven times seven. (2.) The feasts of the Jewish church were arranged in a year that began about the spring equinox; and the opinion has been gaining favour more and more, that what was called the *civil* year, as opposed to the *sacred* year, which began about the autumnal equinox, and by which we find calculations made in the later books of the Old Testament, was not in use among the Jews till they learned it from the neighbouring nations of Asia, probably during the Babylonish captivity. Nevertheless, it is impossible to avoid admitting that there was some earlier knowledge of a year beginning in autumn; although it may not have been used in any book-calendar, either for sacred or civil purposes, yet it must have been known to the people as the most natural year for agricultural calculations, beginning with ploughing and sowing about September or October, and ending with the ingathering of fruits, &c., in August or September. Observe the expression, "the feast of ingathering which is in *the end of the year*, when thou hast gathered in thy labours out of the field," Ex. xxiii. 16; and the like at ch. xxxiv. 22. According to which calculation did the jubilee and sabbatical years begin? About the year of jubilee, it can scarcely be doubted that it began upon the day of atonement, the tenth day of the seventh month (counting as usual from about the spring equinox), when the trumpet sounded through the land, Le. xxv. 9. At least there is something unnatural in supposing that this sacred year was half over before the proclamation of its advent took place; and especially as the work of restitution would ill agree with being crushed into the last six months of it. About the sabbatical year it is less easy to pronounce dogmatically. Yet it is most natural to think of it as beginning at the same period as the jubilee, which succeeded it immediately, and in fact sprang out of it, and reproduced its peculiarities in a higher form. The language used in describing it, Le. xxv. 3, 4, is also favourable to the belief that it was calculated according to the agricultural year. There were six labouring years in the corn-field and the vineyard, succeeded by the seventh of rest from the round of agricultural employments. Some confirmation of this may perhaps be derived from the last words of De. xv. 2, "because it is called the Lord's release," which may as well be rendered, "because they have *proclaimed* a release in relation to the Lord," like the *proclamation* of the year of liberty on the day of atonement, Le. xxv. 10. Even assuming, however, that it began in autumn, as we have no doubt it did, it might be questioned whether the day of atonement was the beginning of it, or indeed whether that loose agricultural year had any fixed new-year's day whatever; certainly good living authorities, like Knobel and Keil, are averse to the common opinion that the feast of tabernacles, at which the law was read this year, De. xxxi. 10, fell at the beginning of the year, instead of at the end of it, according to the ordinary computation, Ex. xxiii. 16, &c. The uncertainty as to the commencement of the sabbatical year has not been removed by three verses which treat of the case in which the sabbatical year was followed by the jubilee, Le. xxv. 20-22. "And if ye shall say, What shall we eat the seventh year? Behold, we shall not sow, nor gather in our increase. Then I will command my blessing upon you in the sixth year, and it shall bring forth fruit for three years. And ye shall sow the eighth year, and eat [yet] of old fruit until the ninth year; until her fruits come in, ye shall eat [of] the old [store]." Most simply, however, we may reckon thus:—

Sixth year,	from spring to spring,	first half of sixth	ingathering.
Seventh year,	,, ,,	second half of sixth, first half of seventh — sabbatical year,	blank in agriculture.
Eighth year,	,, ,,	second half of seventh, first half of eighth — jubilee year,	blank in agriculture.
Ninth year,	,, ,,	second half of eighth	sowing.
		first half of ninth	ingathering.

How far were these laws carried into effect in the subsequent history?—This is a question not easily answered. Some sceptical writers have doubted whether to look upon them as more than an ideal arrangement; and on their principles this opinion is not surprising, since it would be difficult to believe that the nation could obtain food with fallow years so frequently returning, and sometimes two of them together; not to speak of the difficulty of bringing a nation to consent to such a hazardous experiment. Yet others, even of rationalist interpreters, have shrunk from denying the historical truth of the institution, and have admitted that there are cases on record which go to prove that tolerable crops were not impossible, and that the legislation might be carried into effect by a process of frugal and provident storing. Of course we take higher ground, and insist upon the promised special blessing of God, and upon the faith of a people who had good grounds for trusting in him. Neither do we feel much difficulty from the silence of Scripture in the course of the history; for this is explicable according to the manner in which that history is written, and there are parallel examples of silence. In addition to this there are incidental notices which confirm the belief that the laws were carried out so far, at all events, and were known and acknowledged to be laws even when they were disregarded. The history of the redemption of the land which Naomi had sold, Ru. iv., and the transaction between Jeremiah and his uncle's son, Je. xxxii., are instances of the right of recovering sold land in the

manner prescribed by the law of the jubilee: and the inalienable possession of the soil as allotted to him by the Lord, was the ground on which Naboth refused to sell (in our sense of the word) his vineyard to be a kitchen garden for king Ahab, 1 Ki. xxi. 3, 4. The disregard of these laws is the burden of many prophetic denunciations, see Mi. ii. 2. The promise given by Isaiah to Hezekiah and the sign connected with it, Is. xxxvii. 30, "Ye shall eat this year such as groweth of itself; and the second year that which springeth of the same; and in the third year sow ye, and reap, and plant vineyards, and eat the fruit thereof," in its language throughout is at least an allusion to the laws for the sabbatical year and year of jubilee; nay, it is an opinion natural in itself, and not easily refuted, that the prophet speaks of the current year as sabbatical, and of the coming one as the year of jubilee. In ch. lxi. 1, 2 he describes the work of the coming Saviour in language full of reference to the jubilee, as to an institution familiar to the people. Whether "the thirtieth year" in which Ezekiel, ch. i. 1, dates the commencement of his visions, be counted from the last jubilee, is extremely doubtful; if it be so, it is indeed a very strong testimony in favour of the jubilee being observed with considerable regularity. But Ezekiel certainly refers to it, as he threatens the cessation of all its blessings, ch. vii. 12, 13; and the same reference seems to be made in the corresponding promise, ch. xi. 15-17, to the men of the prophet's "kindred," or more correctly, of his "redemption." And notice has been already taken of his incorporating the law of the jubilee in his visions of the future, ch. xlvi. 17.

On the other hand, we have no reason to think that a law so peculiar, and requiring the exercise of so much faith and truthfulness and self-denial, was thoroughly and uninterruptedly obeyed. Some of the passages to which we have referred rather suggest the contrary. And Moses himself expressly couples the desolation of the land of Israel during their captivity with their guilt in robbing it of the sabbaths which the Lord had given to it, Le. xxvi. 34, 35, "Then shall the land enjoy her sabbaths, as long as it lieth desolate, and ye [be] in your enemies' land: [even] then shall the land rest and enjoy her sabbaths. As long as it lieth desolate it shall rest: because it did not rest in your sabbaths, when ye dwelt upon it." And this is noticed accordingly in the history of the event, 2 Ch. xxxvi. 21, "until the land had enjoyed her sabbaths; [for] as long as she lay desolate she kept sabbath, to fulfil threescore and ten years." Yet the meaning is overstrained by those, like Bertheau, who calculate 7×70 or 490 years as the time during which the sabbatical and jubilee years had been neglected, which they therefore trace back to about the time of the commencement of the kingdom.

After the return from the captivity, we have an unmistakable testimony to the practice of observing the sabbatical year, in the engagement of the people, under the guidance of Nehemiah, to respect the rest of the seventh year and to leave the *exaction* of debts, just as much as they would observe the rest of the seventh day, Ne. x. 31 (32 in Heb.) Reference to its observance is made in the history after the close of the Old Testament canon, 1 Mac. vi. 49, 53, as also in Josephus, Antiq. xiii. 8, 1; xiv. 10, 6; xiv. 16, 2; xv. 1, 2; and Jewish War, i. 2, 4. Some of these passages indicate the regularity of the observance, as when remission of taxes was granted to them by their heathen masters for that year; and another passage (Antiq. xi. 8, 6) evinces that it was observed also by the Samaritans. But there is no evidence of any attempt to carry the law of the jubilee into execution after the return from Babylon.

What was the object of this law?—Plainly it was an extension of the sabbath, or a regulation analogous to it: the six working days were succeeded by the seventh, a day of holy rest to the Lord, and so with the working years. The natural, moral, and spiritual uses of the sabbath-day suggest those of the sabbath-year: and as the tenderness with which God has provided the sabbath-day that the toiling multitude may secure their rest has been sometimes put very prominently forward, De. v. 14, so in like manner his provision for the wants of these classes was noticed in the terms of the institution of the sabbatical year, Ex. xxiii. 10, 11, compare verses 9, 12. A sabbath-year cannot however be carried out in a country which is not under the special care of the Lord as its King as well as its God, who can secure a blessing adequate to meet the strain which this law laid upon the productive energies of the country, Le. xxv. 18-22; and because the land was his, he claimed a moral character for it as well as for the people, and gave a sabbatical rest to it as well as to them. Nor should it be overlooked, as Keil says, that in the year of holy rest the ground returned as it were to its primeval state, and yielded its increase to man as it did before the curse was pronounced upon it and him, that he should wring a subsistence out of it only by the sweat of his face. When its spontaneous produce, unconnected with his labour and his anxiety, yielded him what was necessary, in consequence of the promised special blessing of God, the true Israelite had opportunity of being impressed by the truth, De. viii. 3, "that man doth not live by bread only, but by every [word] that proceedeth out of the mouth of the Lord doth man live," as strikingly as his forefathers who were nourished on manna in the wilderness. Yet the concession of the rest in its highest form, at the jubilee after seven sabbatical years, was rendered glorious by being united with the nobler blessing of restitution. God, who instituted the sabbatical year, among other reasons, as a kindly provision for the poor and the sunken, and with the tendency towards limiting their distress and lessening their numbers, De. xv. 4, did much more than this when he revealed himself as the Redeemer of his people, who recovered them from poverty and bondage, who made the solitary dwell in families and gathered the dispersed of Israel, and brought them even back as near as might be to the condition in which they were when he first settled them as his ransomed people in the land of promise. The full meaning of this jubilee could not indeed come out in the administration of the "beggarly elements" of the old economy; it was reserved for our dispensation of grace and truth, now that the Son of God has come as our Kinsman and Redeemer. This illustrates the beauty and value of the description of him, Is. lxi. 1-3, "The Spirit of the Lord God is upon me, because the Lord hath anointed me to preach good tidings unto the meek; he hath sent me to bind up the broken-hearted, to proclaim liberty to the captives, and the opening of the prison to them that are bound; to proclaim the acceptable year of the Lord, and the day of vengeance of our God; to comfort all that mourn," &c. And the Saviour read and appropriated to himself

this passage, when in the synagogue of Nazareth he said, "This day is this scripture fulfilled in your ears," Lu. iv. 21. To this there are many allusions in the New Testament; for instance, Ro. viii. 19, &c., the deliverance and redemption of creation from the bondage of corruption into the glorious liberty of the sons of God; Mat. xix. 28, 29; xxv. 34, the regeneration and the glorious kingdom to be inherited by Christ's people with himself, when they shall receive back a hundred fold all that they have lost; 1 Pe. i. 4, the inheritance incorruptible, undefiled, unfading, reserved in heaven for those who are kept by the power of God through faith unto salvation; Ac. iii. 19-21, the times of refreshing and the times of restitution of all things, spoken of by all the prophets, and granted in Christ Jesus. And there are three circumstances in connection with the law of the jubilee which sufficiently mark its spiritual nature, and carry us forward from the forms of Judaism to the realities in the gospel of Christ. (1.) It began on the day of annual atonement for all the sins of the people, the tenth day of the seventh month, Le. xxv. 9. For only when sin had been blotted out and reconciliation had been secured and announced (typically on that great day to Israel, really to all men by the obedience and satisfaction of Christ), was there a possibility that "the acceptable year of the Lord" should begin. (2.) It was announced by the sound of "the trumpet of jubilee," the same expression we have noticed in Jos. vi. 4, &c., in the account of the Lord going before his people to overthrow the walls of Jericho and give them possession of the land of promise; and earlier, Ex. xix. 13, in the directions for the people to meet their Redeemer and Lawgiver, whose approach or presence this trumpet announced. Precisely in like manner, on the occasion of the fulfilment in the antitype, "The Lord himself shall descend from heaven with a shout, with the voice of the archangel, and with the trump of God; and the dead in Christ shall rise first: then we which are alive [and] remain shall be caught up together with them in the clouds to meet the Lord in the air; and so shall we be ever with the Lord," 1 Th. iv. 16, 17. (3.) The rules for the jubilee occur in the second part of the book of Leviticus, in a position entirely corresponding to the position of the rules for the day of atonement in the first part of that book; see the analysis in the article LEVITICUS. Thus the written word made it manifest that what the day of atonement was in the sacrificial system of the church of Israel, that same thing the year of jubilee was in the history of the nation as called to a life of fellowship with the Lord. And in like manner it is said of all who have trusted in Christ for forgiveness in his blood, after hearing the word of truth, the gospel of their salvation, "In whom also, after that ye believed, ye were sealed with that Holy Spirit of promise, which is the earnest of our inheritance, until the redemption of the purchased possession," Ep. i. 13, 14.

It only remains to add, that these years of sabbath rest and of jubilee may have been laid aside in the history of Israel, not only through their want of faith to trust in God amidst so peculiar a mode of living, but also through the moral corruption of the people, wearying of a year of sacred rest (compare as to the *day* of rest, Am. viii. 5), or turning it to purposes of idleness and then of profligacy, till they became like Sodom, Eze. xvi. 49. But this evil would be avoided so long as the commands of God were obeyed in the spirit in which he gave them. The year of jubilee would present sufficient occupation in its work of recovery and restoration. And the sabbatical year ought to have been a *holy* rest, though not excluding occupations which are unsuitable for the shorter and more sacred rest of the Sabbath-day. Ewald may be right in conjecturing, for instance, that much time might be devoted to school and the general instruction of the people. The religious services also would be more fully attended and more deliberately improved in such a year of leisure. And a special charm, at once sacred and patriotic, would be thrown around the year by the reading of the law to the assembled multitudes in the feast of tabernacles already mentioned, whether we reckon the year to have commenced at this solemnity, as is commonly thought, or whether, with Keil and others, we consider that feast to have crowned this year like any other, and in the solemnity see the consummation of all its privileges.

[Information upon these years will be found in the commentaries upon the passages relating to them; in books of Jewish Antiquities, such as Ewald and Keil; in Bähr's *Symbolik*, and Fairbairn's *Typology*, briefly; and in a lucid and comprehensive article by Oehler, "Sabbat- und Jobel-Jahr," in Herzog's *Encyklopaedie*, xiii. 204-213. He and others refer to two prize essays, published at Göttingen in 1837, *De Anno Hebræorum Jubilæo*, by Kranold and Wolde, which we have not seen.] [G. C. M. D.]

JU'DAH [properly *yehuda*, יְהוּדָה]. 1. The fourth son of Jacob by Leah. His name was grounded upon the thanks and praise presented by his mother to Jehovah on account of his birth: "Now will I praise (אוֹדֶה) the Lord; therefore she called his name Jehuda," Ge. xxix. 35, which means celebrated or praised. He was the most distinguished of all the sons of Jacob with the exception of Joseph, but although Joseph rose to greater personal honour and wielded princely authority over all the land of Egypt, yet in connection with his father's family Judah occupied the most prominent position, and became the founder of the most powerful of the tribes of Israel. From the very first, although he was younger than Reuben, Simeon, and Levi, he took the lead in all transactions that concerned the general interests of the family.

The earliest affair with which we find Judah connected, is highly honourable both to him and to Reuben. When their brethren, through envy of the favour with which their father regarded Joseph, and displeasure at the dreams which seemed to portend his elevation above them all, were plotting to kill him, first Reuben prevailed upon them rather to cast him into a pit, intending to come secretly and rescue him, and then Judah, afraid apparently that the original purpose of murder might still be carried out, advised them to sell him to certain Midianitish merchantmen who were passing at the time on their way to Egypt. And thus the life of Joseph was saved, and that connection of Israel with Egypt began, which exerted so mighty an influence upon their whole subsequent history. The argument employed by Judah, while pleading with his brethren for Joseph—"What profit is it if we slay our brother and conceal his blood? come, let us sell him to the Ishmaelites, and let not our hand be upon him; for he is our brother, and our flesh," Ge. xxxvii. 26, 27—has sometimes been viewed as indicating a mercenary disposition; but there is nothing in the subsequent life of Judah to warrant this idea. He preferred that Joseph should be sold rather than cruelly murdered, and he suggested the one course as the means

of preventing the other more dreadful alternative. What he says of profit and selling is descriptive not so much of the motives that influenced himself, as of the considerations by which he conceived he could best move his brethren. And yet his words embody an appeal to their brotherly feelings, which should be viewed as indicating what his own motives really were. Doubtless both he and Reuben were sincerely desirous of saving their brother's life, both for his own sake, and out of regard for the feelings of their venerable father.

For a time Judah resided at Adullam, in the district of country which was afterwards called by his name, and became the seat of his descendants. Here he married a Canaanitish woman, the daughter of Shuah, by whom he had three sons, Er, Onan, and Shelah, Ge. xxxviii. 2-5. And it is in connection with them that we find the first trace of the Levirate law, which was afterwards embodied in the Mosaic code, and brought under fixed regulations. (*See* MARRIAGE.) Er having died childless, his wife Tamar was married to Onan at the instance of Judah himself; and Onan also having been cut off for his unnatural sin, the widow expected that the youngest brother Shelah would become her husband, to raise up seed to the two who were gone. Judah however delayed complying with her wishes, on the plea that Shelah was of too tender age; and as the delay was protracted long, it seemed as if he were disposed to withhold him from her altogether. When Tamar began to suspect that this might be his design, she fell upon a stratagem, under the influence apparently of that ardent desire for offspring which was common to eastern women, to accomplish her wishes, and at the same time to make Judah sensible of his fault. Disguised as a harlot she waylaid her father-in-law, now a widower, on the road to Timnath, whither he was proceeding to superintend the shearing of his sheep; and having obtained from him his signet, bracelets, and staff as a pledge for the kid which he was to send to her from the flock, she disappeared, after consenting to his wishes, and returned home to resume the garments of her widowhood, so that she was not found by Judah's messenger, Hirah the Adullamite. After a time the rumour spread that Tamar was with child by whoredom, and when it reached the ears of Judah he was highly incensed at the dishonour brought upon his family, and in the exercise of that patriarchal authority with which he was invested, he was about to inflict upon her the punishment of death by fire. But when she produced the articles which had been given to her in pledge as a token who was the father of her child, he acknowledged that she was more righteous than he, and that he had been wrong in not giving her to Shelah, according to his promise, Ge. xxxviii. 26, and the custom in such cases, Ge. xxxviii. 11. From this connection, which brought so foul a blot upon the character of Judah, sprang twin sons, Pharez and Zarah, who, although illegitimate, yet became the leading men in the tribe of their father. From Pharez was descended the royal house of David, and in the fulness of time the great Messiah himself, Ge. xlvi. 12; Mat. i. 3.

The influence of Judah among his father's family becomes very apparent in connection with the visits to Egypt which were rendered necessary by the widespread famine that visited the land. When Jacob refused to allow Benjamin to accompany the rest of his sons on their second journey for corn, it was Judah who convinced him of the necessity of parting with his favourite for a season, and who also undertook to be responsible for the safety of the lad, Ge. xliii. 3-10. When again Benjamin was about to be detained in Egypt as the servant of Joseph on account of the cup found in his sack's mouth, it was Judah who, alarmed at the thought of the anguish with which the loss of Benjamin would wring his father's heart, offered himself as a bondman in the room of his younger brother. What a beautiful picture is exhibited of his filial piety in the eloquent appeal which he made to the supposed Egyptian prince! His touching declaration that he could not return home and witness his father's gray hairs brought down with sorrow to the grave, quite unmanned Joseph, so that with tears and sobs he made himself known to his conscience-stricken and terrified brethren, Ge. xliv. 18-34; xlv. 1-4. And when Jacob came down to Egypt at the invitation of the sovereign himself, to meet the long-lost Joseph, and to spend the few remaining years of his life beside him, it was Judah whom he sent before him unto Joseph, that he might be directed to the place where it was most desirable for him to reside, Ge. xlvi. 28. And when at length the dying patriarch summoned his numerous family around his bed for a final interview, and moved by the Spirit of prophecy exhibited to them a glimpse of the destinies which awaited them "in the last days," it is a conspicuous place which he is led to assign to Judah: "Judah, thou art he whom thy brethren shall praise; thy hand shall be in the neck of thine enemies; thy father's children shall bow down before thee. Judah is a lion's whelp: from the prey, my son, thou art gone up: he stooped down, he couched as a lion, and as an old lion. Who shall rouse him up? The sceptre shall not depart from Judah, nor a lawgiver from between his feet, until Shiloh come, and unto him shall the gathering of the people be," Ge. xlix. 8-10. Accordingly it is declared long afterwards that Judah prevailed above his brethren, and that of him came the chief ruler, 1 Ch. v. 2. (*See* SHILOH.)

The tribe of Judah in point of numbers always kept considerably ahead of the others. At the first numbering, after the exodus, they counted 74,600 males, about 8000 above Dan, which stood next; while at the close of the wilderness-sojourn they had grown to 76,500, Nu. i. 26, 27; xxvi. 22. Their position in the march through the wilderness was on the east of the tabernacle, and in the van of the host, bearing, according to rabbinical tradition, the emblem of a lion's whelp on their standard. [W. L—y.]

2. JUDAH. A person apparently of some note among the Levites, whose sons Jeshua and Kadmiel, with their families, are mentioned with honour for the part they took in helping to build the house of God after the return from Babylon, Ezr. iii. 9. In two other passages, Ezr. ii. 40; Ne. vii. 43, Jeshua and Kadmiel are again noticed, but as the sons, in the former, of *Hodaviah* (הוֹדַוְיָה, *praise Jehovah*), and in the other of *Hodevah* (הוֹדֵוָה)—the latter probably a modification of the former—and both, there is reason to think, variations of the original name *Judah*.

3. JUDAH. A Levite in the time of Ezra, whose name occurs in the list of those who had married heathen wives, and who agreed to put them away, Ezr. x. 23—probably the same that is mentioned also in Ne. xii. 8, 36.

4. JUDAH. One of the Benjamites who in the time of Nehemiah resided in Jerusalem, and stood second in charge over the members of his tribe, Ne. xi. 9.

JU'DAH, TRIBE AND TERRITORY OF. Before the conquest of Canaan the descendants of Judah, as stated at the close of the article on Judah (1), exceeded in number those of any other tribe; yet the difference was not very great between them and Dan —the former possessing 76,500 grown men, and the latter 64,400; or even Issachar, who numbered 64,300, Nu. xxvi. 22, 25, 43. It could not, therefore, have been inferred from the relative position of the tribes, that Judah was to hold in Canaan any place of peculiar predominance among the tribes of Israel. And when the inheritance came to be divided by lot, the portion which fell to Judah only seemed to surpass the rest in extent of surface; while in richness of soil, and many natural advantages, the territories of Ephraim, of Zebulon, Naphtali, and some others, rose greatly above it. But the very extent of Judah's possession bespoke a relative superiority—reaching, as it did, from the mountains of Edom on the south-east, up by the head of the Dead Sea and Jerusalem to Ekron on the Mediterranean, and southwards to the wilderness of Sin, Kadesh-Barnea, and the river of Egypt, Jos. xv.; in short, the whole of that division of Palestine which lies south of the line that passes from Joppa to the top of the Dead Sea. This large territory, however, the tribe of Judah was not allowed to enjoy altogether alone; for the tribe of Simeon had its inheritance assigned "out of the portion of the children of Judah," Jos. xix. 9. This is stated to have been because "the part of the children of Judah was too much for them." But the question naturally occurs, Why then assign them a territory so large, and so much beyond their proper wants? Why especially appoint a whole tribe to become, in a manner, swallowed up, by obtaining a settlement within their borders? Simeon was certainly one of the smallest of the tribes—next to Levi, indeed, the very smallest, numbering only 22,200 grown men at the period of the conquest; so that a comparatively limited territory might have sufficed for them. Yet this could not of itself have accounted for the peculiarity of the whole region in question being regarded as properly Judah's, while Simeon was merely as a matter of convenience received to a place in its proper domain. It can only be explained by the valiant part performed by the tribe of Judah in subduing the warlike occupants of this more southern district, and getting possession of its strongholds. A somewhat detailed account of their particular conquests, in some of which they were associated with Simeon, is given in the first chapter of Judges. They did not succeed in every case; but in the great majority of instances their arms triumphed; and the more hilly portion of the district, which necessarily to a large extent commanded the rest, became nearly their undivided possession, Ju. i. 19. It is possible that this very circumstance contributed to their future prosperity and greatness; for, dwelling chiefly in the more elevated and bracing parts of the country, and obliged there also to maintain the vigilant attitude of conquerors, who had still powerful adversaries in their neighbourhood, they were in the best position for retaining their pristine vigour and making successive inroads on the still unsubdued territory around them. Then, the vast extent of this territory, and the large tracts of pasture-land, in the direction of Egypt and Arabia, to which it gave them access, formed sources of wealth beyond what most of the tribes had at their command.

It was doubtless in good measure owing to the circumstances just mentioned, that the tribe of Judah came to be reckoned very much by itself; and though little noticed in some of the earlier struggles of the nation, yet it came by and by to play the most prominent part. Othniel, the first judge, was of this tribe; but no mention is made of it in the great conflicts with Barak, Gideon, or Jephthah, which more directly concerned the middle and northern divisions of Israel; while from the time of Saul, and especially of David, it rose into great prominence and power, and appeared to occupy a place above that of a single tribe. Thus even in Saul's time, when the available force of fighting men was ascertained with a view to the approaching war with Ammon, Judah was numbered apart from the other tribes—300,000 of the children of Israel were numbered at Bezek, and 30,000 of Judah, 1 Sa. xi. 8. In like manner, at the unhappy numbering which took place toward the latter part of David's reign, the returns were presented by Joab for Judah separate from the others; and the proportion for Judah also had now vastly increased (reaching even to about 500,000) doubtless from the singular prosperity of David's reign, and the desire of many to be associated with the tribe and region that stood nearest to him. The fortress of Jerusalem and nearly all the remaining strongholds within the territory of Judah fell under his arms; their former possessors, in many cases probably as in Jerusalem, becoming converts to Judaism, and consequently reckoned in the tribe of Judah, 2 Sa. xxiv. 20-25; Zec. ix. 7. But this vast influx of power and greatness, still further increased and confirmed in the hand of Solomon, proved too much for the other tribes, especially for the once ascendant and still powerful and jealous tribe of Ephraim, to bear with equanimity. And as soon as Solomon was removed from the scene, the fire that had been smouldering for two generations broke out with such violence that it could not again be extinguished. Thenceforth Judah (including the adjoining tribe of Benjamin, with probably the greater part, if not the whole of Simeon, which seems to have become well-nigh merged in Judah, 1 Ch. iv. 27-31, and many refugees also from the other tribes) formed a distinct kingdom, of which some account will be given in the next article.

The merely circumstantial greatness and temporal power of Judah passed away; but it had elements of glory peculiar to itself, and which may be said to be the heritage of the church of God in every age and clime. To this tribe belonged by divine appointment the honour of bearing sway within the sphere of God's kingdom—an honour which came first to realization in David and his immediate successors; and though afterwards suffering a capital abridgment and temporary suspension, yet only that it might in the fulness of time rise to its complete and perpetual establishment in the hands of him who was to be David's Son and Lord. It was in the person of a Jew of David's house and lineage that Deity became incarnate to accomplish the redemption of the world. Jews—descendants for the most part, though not exclusively, of the same tribe —were his immediate representatives and instruments in planting his kingdom of grace and blessing in the world. And when the time comes for their future conversion and final ingathering, Jews shall still be, in a manner altogether peculiar, "the life" of the world. Ro. xi. 15.

The territory of Judah did not differ very greatly from what in later times went by the name of Judea, or Judæa (which see), though the latter as generally understood was somewhat more extensive. It seems from the period even of the conquest to have been distributed into three main divisions, "the Hill country, the Negeb (or south-country), and the Shefelah (valley or low land)," Jos. xv. 20-63; and in Ju. i. 9, &c., an account is given of the operations of Judah in these different sections of their inheritance. Hebron, Debir, the regions of Arad, and Zepath or Hormah, all distinctly specified in that brief record of successful occupation, belong to the Hill country. The cities of Gaza, Askelon, Ekron, which were for the time taken, but not properly possessed and occupied, lay in the low country—the tract of flat land stretching along the Mediterranean, which continued for generations after the conquest, as it had been before, to be chiefly occupied by the Philistines. For a description of these divisions, see under JUDEA, and PHILISTINES. The third chief division was called Negeb or the South country. It was of very considerable extent, no fewer than twenty-nine cities with their dependent villages, in all thirty-seven, being enumerated in it, Jos. xv. 20-32—the first of which was Kabzeel on the south-east, and the last Rimmon, near the north-west extremity. It fell into two or three subdivisions. But see under SOUTH COUNTRY, also *The Negeb*, by the Rev. Ed. Wilton. Beside these principal divisions in the territory of Judah, there was a narrow tract, which appears to have been in some respects distinct—the *Midbar*, or wilderness, in connection with which six towns are named, all lying in the neighbourhood of the Salt Sea, Jos. xv. 59-62. Very little is known of them; but for the nature of the country in which they were situated, see under SALT SEA.

JUDAH, KINGDOM OF. 1. *Extent and resources.*—Much that properly belongs to this head has been treated of by anticipation in connection with the kingdom of Israel. This was necessary, as it was only from a comparison of the respective resources and character of the two kingdoms that a correct idea could be formed of the state of either. Recapitulating briefly the statements already made so far as they bear on the present subject, it was shown that while, so far as regards extent of territory and other material resources, as also population, the kingdom of Israel more than doubled its southern rival of Judah, the latter, on the contrary, far surpassed it in everything which constitutes moral greatness and gives promise of a national stability. By the policy of Jeroboam the old conservating principles, civil and religious, had been cast aside in the kingdom of Israel, while nothing of a corresponding character had been substituted. In such circumstances it is not at all surprising that the larger and more populous kingdom did not even in a material aspect greatly exceed the smaller but better consolidated power. Of course in regard to moral and religious matters the advantages were all on the side of the kingdom of Judah, which alone retained its theocratic constitution. It may be here added to what has been elsewhere stated, that the progress of the kingdom of Judah may be discerned in the increase of the armies which its successive rulers were able to raise. Thus, while under David the fighting men of Judah numbered 500,000, 2 Sa. xxiv. 9, Rehoboam could raise only 180,000 men, 1 Ki. xii. 21, from which time however there is a constant augmentation; for Abijah, eighteen years thereafter, raised an army of 400,000, 2 Ch. xiii. 3; his successor Asa 580,000, 2 Ch. xiv. 8; while Jehoshaphat's host amounted to no less than double that number, 2 Ch. xvii. 14-19. It must, however, be admitted that the genuineness of these numbers has been questioned. However this may be, there can be no doubt that a variety of causes concurred to increase the population of Judah in a higher ratio than that of the sister kingdom, irrespective of the great numbers who abandoned their homes and possessions in Israel on the establishment of idolatry by Jeroboam, and sought refuge in the kingdom of Judah. The frequent revolutions and changes in the ruling dynasty in the kingdom of Israel must have been unfavourable to its growth; and to this may be added the sparse and scattered condition of a great part of its population engaged in pastoral pursuits.

2. *Its history.*—Although, strictly speaking, the kingdom of Judah began only with the revolt of the northern tribes and the establishment of their independence under Jeroboam, yet it may be regarded as a continuation of the kingdom of Saul, or more correctly of David, the first proper theocratic ruler, and in whose family it was promised the government should continue. It was thus no new institution, but was bound up with old associations and based on a national desire. The Israelites had been subjected to various successive forms of government, and one great principle of their constitution was its inculcation of obedience and reverence to rulers and magistrates, Ac. xxiii. 5. A regal government to arise in the course of time was anticipated in the Pentateuch, and directions were given for the conduct of the future king. Indeed it may be said, there needed to be some visible institution of this kind fully to express the theocratic idea. When the proposal of a monarchy was made by the people to Samuel, that they might be like the other nations, he received it with displeasure; but afterwards, by divine directions, acquiesced in it, and proceeded to carry out the popular will. To mark the representative character of the king, God retained the election in his own hands. This elective right he exercised in the case of Saul, and afterwards and more expressly in rejecting Saul and substituting David in his stead. It was thus emphatically declared that the Israelitish king ruled for God and by his will. It is necessary to advert to this circumstance, in order to show with what authority the actings of such as might be thus properly designated constitutional or theocratic rulers, would be viewed, as compared with the rule of those who had no higher claim than that of Jeroboam and his successors on the throne of Israel.

Of the pre-disruption history of the kingdom of Judah nothing need here be said; and indeed only very brief notice can be taken of the more important incidents and features of the succeeding period, and that with respect chiefly to the state of religion and the national prosperity. The humiliation of Rehoboam, in the loss of more than half his kingdom, was farther deepened by the plunder of his palace and the temple by Shishak, king of Egypt, yet his distresses did not teach him to rely on the Lord, as did his son Abijah. He made war on Jeroboam, over whom he gained a brilliant victory. His theocratic spirit appears in the address which he delivered to the hostile army, 2 Ch. xiii. It was the same with his son Asa, at least in the commencement of his reign, as may be seen in his war with Zerah, king of

Ethiopia, whose immense army he defeated. More distinguished than any of his immediate predecessors on the throne of Judah for his theocratic zeal was Jehoshaphat, the son of Asa. This prince was largely imbued with a theocratic spirit, and made great efforts personally, and by a commission of Levites sent with the "book of the law" throughout the country, to instruct the people and to revive the worship of Jehovah. A grave error, however, was his alliance with the house of Ahab, and the marriage of his son Jehoram with Athaliah, the daughter of Jezebel. Jehoram himself commenced his reign by murdering his brethren, and under the influence of Athaliah, who inherited much of her mother's character, introduced the worship of Baal in Judah, as Jezebel had done in Israel. The Philistines and the Arabians plundered Jerusalem, and carried away all the king's treasure, and his children, with the exception of his youngest son Ahaziah. To complete the calamities of this reign, the king himself died of an incurable disease, and was succeeded by Ahaziah, who still kept up the friendly intercourse with the house of Ahab, and it was when on a visit to Jehoram, who had been wounded by the Syrians at Ramah, that both perished by the hand of Jehu.

Now began a time of sore trouble for Judah; for, on the death of Ahaziah, his mother Athaliah usurped the government, having destroyed all the seed royal with the exception of one of the king's sons, Joash—a child one year old, who had been secreted in the temple by his father's sister, the wife of the high-priest Jehoiada, who at the end of six years succeeded in placing him on the throne, when Athaliah was slain, and the worship of Baal suppressed, the priests dedicating their income to the repair of the temple of the Lord. The hopes entertained of the young king were soon disappointed, for, on the death of his guardian and counsellor Jehoiada, he restored the worship of Baal, and showed no favour to the son of his benefactor, who was stoned by the people on his rebuking them for their idolatry, and warning them of the calamities which their conduct would certainly bring upon them. These predictions were soon realized. The Syrians came against Jerusalem, shed much blood, and carried away much spoil. Joash himself was slain by his own servants. His son and successor, Amaziah, also perished through a conspiracy of his own people. He had been successful in a war against the Edomites; but in a subsequent war against Israel, he was defeated and taken prisoner, the conquerors breaking the wall of Jerusalem and robbing the temple and palace. The character of this ruler is illustrated by the fact that he brought with him to Jerusalem, in his campaign against the Edomites, the gods of the vanquished, and burned incense to them. His successor, Azariah, was a devout and prosperous monarch during the early part of his reign. He promoted in various ways the best interests of his country; he also successfully waged war with the Philistines and Arabians. His prosperity, however, so lifted up his heart, that, not satisfied with the royal dignity, he sought to usurp the priesthood also. In this unhallowed attempt he was smitten with an incurable leprosy, and was thus wholly incapacitated for all business, whereupon Jotham carried on the government as regent in his stead. This prince, who, after the death of his father, reigned as sole king for sixteen years, did that which was right in the sight of the Lord. He repaired the temple, compelled the Ammonites to pay tribute, and otherwise made his authority felt. His son Ahaz, however, was of a totally different character. The religious aspect of this reign will be seen from the fact that the temple of Jehovah was formally dedicated as a temple of idols, the king himself practising all the worst abominations of heathenism. Nor were civil affairs in a more prosperous condition. Pekah, king of Israel, in conjunction with Rezin, king of Syria, besieged Jerusalem; while Ahaz summoned to his aid Tiglath-Pileser, king of Assyria. This aid Tiglath-Pileser rendered so far by conquering Syria, carrying also into captivity a portion of the Israelites, and imposing tribute on the remainder; but afterwards he came up against Jerusalem itself, although at that time he did not succeed in taking it. Hezekiah, the son and successor of Ahaz, was as devoted to the worship of Jehovah as his father had been in his idolatrous practices. In his reign the kingdom of Israel fell, and with it ceased the strife and rivalry of centuries.

The remaining history of the kingdom of Judah, now alone surviving, and to which the fate of her sister was a solemn warning to repentance, does not call for many remarks. On the deportation of the great body of Israel by the conquerors, and the cessation of all proper government, Hezekiah assumed a certain sovereignty over such Israelites as still remained in the land. It must be in consequence of this that he issued invitations to them to repair to Jerusalem to take part in the celebration of the passover, 2 Ch. xxx. 3-12. But the state of affairs in Judah itself was fast hastening to a crisis. In the midst of the reformation so auspiciously begun and carried on by Hezekiah, the country is threatened by the Assyrians, but is delivered by a remarkable interposition, God smiting the Assyrian host. The work however was stopped on the accession of Manasseh, who undid, as far as lay in his power, the good which his father had effected. He seduced the people "to do more evil than those nations whom the Lord destroyed before the children of Israel," 2 Ki. xxi. 9. In consequence of this, God passed a sentence similar to that on Samaria, ver. 13. Manasseh himself tasted for a time the bitterness of captivity in Babylon, whither he was carried by Esar-haddon, Sennacherib's successor. Amon's reign of two years was of the same character as that of his father. On his death, which was occasioned by a conspiracy of his own servants, his younger brother Josiah, eight years old, was chosen as his successor. His reign of thirty-one years was chiefly devoted to the restoration of the worship of Jehovah and the reformation of morals. His character is recorded in these expressive terms: "Like unto him was there no king before him, that turned to the Lord with all his heart, and with all his soul, and with all his might, according to all the law of Moses; neither after him arose there any like him," 2 Ki. xxiii. 25. This exemplary prince perished in battle in a war into which he needlessly rushed with Pharaoh-Nechoh, king of Egypt, who had undertaken an expedition against the king of Assyria. The people made Jehoahaz, a younger son of Josiah, their king—a man, however, of a different character from his father. Three months afterwards, Nechoh, who had now conquered Phœnicia, gave the throne to his elder brother Eliakim, whom he named Jehoiakim, and carried Jehoahaz himself captive to Egypt. After Jehoiakim, who also did evil in the sight of the Lord, had reigned eleven years, Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon, who had defeated Nechoh near Car-

chemish, B.C. 606, appeared before Jerusalem. Jehoiakim surrendered himself to him; the king of Babylon carried away the vessels of the temple, and several noble youths, among whom was Daniel. Soon afterwards Jehoiakim rebelled, and the Chaldees again besieged Jerusalem; he lost his life, and was succeeded by his son Jehoiachin, who reigned only three months, when he too surrendered to the king of Babylon. The king and his nobles, with the military men and craftsmen, were carried captive to Babylon. Among the captives was Ezekiel the prophet. Nebuchadnezzar made Mattaniah, the youngest son of Josiah, king of Judah, and changed his name to Zedekiah, who, relying on a covenant with Pharaoh-Hophra, rebelled in the ninth year, contrary to the repeated remonstrances of Jeremiah. Nebuchadnezzar now commenced the third siege of Jerusalem, and prosecuted it during two years. A terrible famine ensued. Zedekiah fled, but was pursued and seized, and as Ezekiel had foretold, Eze. xii. 13, his eyes were put out, and he was carried to Babylon. Jerusalem was totally destroyed, B.C. 588, and 387 years after the division of the kingdom. This destruction was not without numerous and express warnings by the prophets. (Compare what is said under KINGS, BOOK OF.)

3. *Effects of the disruption on the kingdom of Judah.*—These must have been great and varied. The defection of by far the larger portion of the empire must have inflicted a terrible blow on whatever related to the outward power and splendour of the house of David. The kingdom which David, by the might of his arms, had done so much to consolidate and extend, when he stretched its borders to the Euphrates, and which his successor Solomon had enriched by his commercial and trading enterprise, shrunk all at once within exceedingly narrow limits, and became altogether so enfeebled as to be at once exposed to an attack on the part of the Egyptians, and a successful revolt of its dependencies. It had henceforth enemies on its own borders and among its own people.

It may be questioned, however, whether the falling away of the ten tribes had any very injurious effects on Judah in a theocratic aspect, or did in any way hasten the decadence and fall of the kingdom. Although it is undoubtedly true that "a kingdom divided against itself is brought to desolation," yet, in this instance, the views and feelings of parties differed so much, that such a political excision may have been not only necessary for the mere preservation of the economy under which Israel was placed, but also salutary for its progress. There was obviously considerable danger that in the glory of the Davidic and Solomonic reigns, the true object and character of the kingdom established in Israel might be lost sight of, in the eager desire to secure for it an influential place among earthly kingdoms; and accordingly, like the army of Gideon, there may have been a necessity for its outward diminution. It was also necessary to intensify its theocratic elements, by concentrating them more, and bringing them into more immediate contact with the mass on which they were to operate. Now all this was effected in various ways by the revolt and the establishment of the rival kingdom. First, indirectly, by bringing the covenant-people, and especially the tribe expressly designated as the line of blessing, into a position where there would be formed a distinct line of demarcation between it and any other rival tribe, just as between Israel at large and the world; and more directly by the absorption within itself of the more theocratically disposed of the other tribes, who could not endure the policy of the new kingdom. How the conduct of Jeroboam in this matter weakened his own kingdom, and on the other hand strengthening that of Judah, by the accession to it of such as could not endure his anti-theocratic policy, has been already indicated under the article ISRAEL (KINGDOM OF). These refugees—sufferers for conscience—could not fail to have a powerful influence on the people among whom they came to sojourn, and on whose support they unreservedly cast themselves.

In other respects, too, the northern kingdom may have proved beneficial to Judah. It for a long time formed a bulwark against the advancing power of the Syrians of Damascus, and completely prevented its aggressions upon Judah; while at the same time their own exposure to so powerful an enemy on their northern frontiers, would necessitate Israel to cultivate peace as much as possible with their southern brethren. It was only when in alliance with Syria that they could with safety venture on an open rupture with Judah. In the early contests between the two kingdoms, Judah was invariably the aggressor; and indeed in one instance, under Asa, engaged the armed intervention of Benhadad I., king of Damascus, against Baasha, king of Israel. After this, and for about eighty years, the relations of the two kingdoms were of a peaceful character, Damascus being then regarded as the common enemy. After the conquest of the Syrians, Jehoash, provoked to war by Amaziah, entered and plundered Jerusalem; but the Israelites were so occupied in completing the conquest of Damascus, that they did not for a considerable time give much annoyance to Judah.

The greatest danger to Judah was from the south, from Egypt, and it was from this quarter that the first aggression was made on the kingdom soon after its being weakened by the revolt. The condition of Egypt itself afterwards prevented for a considerable time the renewal of these aggressions.

Nothing however could, humanly speaking, effectually save the Jewish state, or avert the punishment impending over it. Warnings were unheeded, reproofs despised; both people and rulers were pursuing a course which could not fail to be disastrous. The character of the rulers will be evident from the fact, that of the twenty kings who, after the separation of the kingdom, occupied the throne of Judah, only seven walked in the ways of their father David; and as is almost invariably the case, their wickedness increased in the ratio of their weakness—Manasseh, for instance, slaughtering his own subjects, as the easiest gratification for a cruel temper, and not perceiving that the position and prospects of his kingdom were sufficiently reduced already. Still, even in this inevitable ruin, God's faithfulness did not fail; his purposes and promises were realized; and wicked and disobedient as their rulers were, in the great majority of cases, they were all, without exception (for the usurper Athaliah is not to be included), of the house and lineage of David, in strict accordance with the divine promise made to him, that he should not want a man to sit upon his throne.

4. *The fall of the kingdom and the captivity.*—The destruction which overtook the Jewish state was not a sudden and unexpected calamity; but was a judgment repeatedly and expressly predicted. It was also preceded by various intimations that it should be followed

by a captivity in Babylon, extending to seventy years, after which there should be a restoration to their own land, with the resumption of the worship of Jehovah in a purer spirit than before. On the character of the captivity and the condition of the captives, on which the book of Ezekiel, himself one of their number, throws so much light, see also Ps. cxxxvii., it is unnecessary to enlarge. Suffice it to say, that "the discipline of the captivity produced abundant fruits; the inclination of the Israelites to worship strange gods, which had previously been invincible, disappeared, and was succeeded by a faithful and inflexible adherence to the law of the fathers, which was, however, often characterized by formality and self-righteousness" (Kurtz, Sacred Hist. p. 243).

5. *The condition of the remnant in the land.*—Nebuchadnezzar left a small portion of the rural population behind when he carried away the principal inhabitants to Babylon, and made Gedaliah governor of the country. Gedaliah resided at Mispah; he maintained friendly relations with the prophet Jeremiah, who, having been permitted by Nebuchadnezzar to select his own place of residence, remained in the Holy Land. Many fugitives gradually gathered themselves to the governor, who exercised his authority with great gentleness. Peace and order were being re-established, when Gedaliah, who, notwithstanding repeated warnings, refused to entertain any suspicions to his prejudice, was assassinated, two months after he had assumed office, by Ishmael, a fanatical Jew, who was connected with the royal family. All the people who still remained, fearing the vengeance of the Chaldees, presently after fled to Egypt, whither they were accompanied by Jeremiah, who, though he did not approve of the step they were taking, would not separate himself from the fortunes of his countrymen. [D. M.]

JU'DAS [the Greek and New Testament form of JUDAH], a name borne by several persons in the gospel age, but by none who made himself so conspicuous as the person whom on that account we place first.

1. JUDAS ISCARIOT [Gr. Ἰσκαριώτης], one of the twelve disciples of our Lord, and the one to whom belongs the unhappy notoriety of having betrayed him. In regard to his family relationship no further account is given, than that he was the son of Simon, Jn. vi. 71; xiii. 2, 26; but of Simon himself the history is altogether silent. Nor does the epithet *Iscariot* throw any certain light on the early history and connections of the traitor; for the derivation of the word is involved in some obscurity. The more general opinion, however, in which we are disposed to concur, connects it with the place of his birth, and finds this (not with Ewald in Kartha of Galilee, but) in Kerioth of Judah, Jos. xv. 25; so that Iscariot, or in Heb. *ish-Kerioth* (אִישׁ קְרִיּוֹת), would be = the Kerioth-man. It would be quite natural to apply such a patronymic to Judas, on the supposition of his being by birth connected with such an ancient town in the territory of Judah; since it would serve, not only to distinguish him from the other Judas among the disciples, but also to denote a point of dissimilarity between him and the others—they natives of Galilee, he a man of Kerioth in Judah. The connection, too, in which by his guilty conduct he came ultimately to stand with the Jews more distinctively so called, in relation to the Messiah, might render it not unimportant that he should bear even this external symbol of it. On the whole, such a view is decidedly to be preferred to those mentioned by Lightfoot, obtained from rabbinical sources, which would derive it either from *iskortja*, a leathern apron (with reference to the office of Judas as the purse-bearer), or from *ascara*, strangling (with reference to the form of death he inflicted on himself). Other derivations are not worth noticing.

The first mention of Judas is in the formal lists that are given by the evangelists of the twelve apostles; in all of these he is placed last, doubtless from the unworthy part he afterwards acted, and which is also noted from the outset, Mat. x. 4; Mar. iii. 19; Lu. vi. 16. After his designation to the apostolic office, however, nothing for a considerable time transpires respecting him, as indicative of a spirit and behaviour materially different from what appeared in the rest. From the silence of the evangelists, rather than from any positive information, we are left to infer that he took his own proper part in the labours of the apostleship; and that he should have been appointed to bear the common bag—which, however, only comes out incidentally quite near to the close of our Lord's earthly course, Jn. xii. 6; xiii. 29—plainly implied, that he was perceived to be a person of active habits, of a sagacious turn of mind, and regular in his attendance on the ministry of Jesus. The first intimation we have of there being something fundamentally wrong occurs in the strong declaration of Jesus, uttered in a time of general backsliding, and about a year before his crucifixion, in which he said, "Have not I chosen you twelve, and yet one of you is a devil?" Jn. vi. 7. Even this fearful word rather bespoke the divine insight of Jesus, than revealed anything specific concerning Judas—for no one was named, and it was only from the event that the other disciples knew Judas to have been the individual pointed to. The Master himself knew perfectly, knew it, no doubt, from the first, what manner of spirit this disciple was of; yet he was allowed to retain his place among the chosen band; and not only so, but carried himself so respectfully toward Jesus, to all outward seeming bore his part so creditably in the affairs and movements of the little company, that till the last week, or we may even say the very last night of their connection together, the suspicion of a false heart and of foul play seems never to have fallen particularly upon him. So late as the last supper, when the sad announcement was heard from our Lord that one of them should betray him, the word struck them all with amazement, and it was only by a private sign that even Peter and John came to know who was the individual meant, Jn. xiii. 26. But before many hours had elapsed, the fact was patent to the whole fraternity; for Judas appeared at the head of a band of officers in the garden of Gethsemane, and after saluting Jesus with an appearance of friendship, he was met with the cutting reply, "Judas, betrayest thou the Son of man with a kiss?" So brief was the interval between the secret discovering itself, and reaching its fatal consummation; and all the direct information, besides, given us concerning it is, that two or three days before he had gone to the chief-priests, and bargained with them to deliver Jesus up to them for thirty pieces of silver, Mat. xxvi. 15. But as to the sequel, we learn that this paltry sum, the mere price of a slave, which Judas got for his treachery, instead of proving a gain to its possessor, became as gall and wormwood to his soul; for, when he saw the condemnation which befell Jesus, his

heart smote him for having betrayed the innocent; and either immediately before, or, as is more probable, shortly after the crucifixion, he threw down before the priests in the temple the thirty pieces he had received from them, and in a fit of despair hanged himself, Mat. xxvii. 5.

Such are the melancholy facts respecting the case of Judas; and the question arises, How are they to be accounted for? What seems to be the most probable theory of this man's character? The common opinion now, and in all ages, has certainly been, that he was in the strict sense of the term a traitor, and consequently an apostate—one, who from false motives had originally joined himself to the company of Jesus, and who, when he saw things turning out otherwise than he expected, took advantage of his position to secure a little gain to himself before all was over, though at the expense of proving faithless to the Master and the cause he had hitherto professed to support. This undoubtedly is the impression naturally produced respecting him by the language of Scripture, especially by that of our Lord himself, who alone could fathom the depths of such a character. In his very first allusion to the evil that was lurking in the bosom of this disciple, he employed a designation, which bespoke the nearest connection with the wicked one—represented him even as an impersonation of the prince of darkness; "he is a devil." Nor is the expression scarcely less strong, which was used in our Lord's last moments, when in his solemn address to the Father, he named this apostle by the emphatic term, "the son of perdition," Jn. xvii. 12—the very epithet applied by St. Paul to that full development and consummation of apostasy which was to appear in the antichrist, 2 Th. ii. 3. Even this is not all; for both by our Lord himself, and by the eleven afterwards, Judas is associated with those portions of prophetic Scripture which spake beforehand of the deep-rooted enmity and treacherous behaviour of which the Messiah was to be the object, and which was also to find a peculiar culmination in some one individual—Judas Iscariot is identified by them as that individual, Ps. xli. 9; lxix. 25; cix. 8; comp. with Jn. xiii. 18; Ac. i. 19-21. He did within the narrow circle of discipleship, in the most intensely personal form, and under the most aggravating circumstances, what, in the larger circle, the heads and rulers of the people did—with spiteful and bitter feeling betrayed the Holy One to his enemies—the former to unbelieving Jews, the latter to godless Gentiles.

These representations seem decisive enough as to the bad pre-eminence of Judas in guilt; they mark him out as one of the most worthless and reprobate of men. Yet there are some who have felt disinclined to accredit this, unable to conceive how a character so hardened in iniquity should have formed itself so rapidly, or how, if it had been formed, there should have followed close upon the fatal act such bitter and intolerable relentings. Hence, ingenious and softening hypotheses have been framed. It has been thought that Judas, while basely yielding to the love of filthy lucre, possibly conceived no great evil might arise out of his treachery, that Jesus might be able to establish his innocence, nay rise higher by the very ordeal to which he was subjected (so substantially, Paulus, Hase, Winer, Thiele, &c.) Latterly some have gone even farther, and are of opinion that policy rather than avarice was the prompting influence in the mind of Judas; that he wished merely to force on a crisis in his Master's affairs, which he perceived to be suffering by undue delay; that he expected thus to bring Jesus into a position which would, in a manner, compel him to vindicate his cause, to quell opposition, and set up his kingdom in power and glory, which being accomplished, Judas of course, whose boldness and sagacity should have done such good service, could not but receive some worthy acknowledgment (Neander, Whately, De Quincey, Denham, Hanna, &c.) Views of this sort, however, will not stand a serious examination. For, (1.) they are entirely hypothetical. There is not a word to countenance them in the whole of the sacred narrative; nor so much as a hint dropped, that Judas had any thought of continuing his connection with Jesus after the fatal night, much less dreamed of promoting by a dexterous stroke the interest of his Master. If such palliations existed, could the inspired record have utterly ignored them? (2.) The part ascribed to Judas is far too subtle, intricate, and remote from common apprehension, to have been in the least degree probable. Judas, like the other disciples, was a man in humble life, and, as such, neither capable of concocting, nor likely even to think of, any plan which was to depend for its success on a skilful management of political parties, and the violent movements of a public convulsion. His natural position in society and his apostolical training formed no preparation for such an adventurous project; and the idea seems not less fanciful than groundless. Besides, if such really had been the object in view, why the stipulating for a pecuniary recompense beforehand; and why again, when the season of remorse came, did the burning agony connect itself so closely with the ill-gotten treasure, and the guilty work for which it was paid? This, surely, bespoke something else than the far-reaching look of a sagacious and calculating politician. (3.) The view, still farther, stands in irreconcilable opposition to the plain testimonies of Scripture. Were it well-grounded, the difference between Judas and his fellow-disciples had been quite a measurable one; he was but a shade more worldly in his aspirations, and less wise in his procedure, than the rest—while at bottom his heart might be as leal and his intentions as good as any of them. But it is far otherwise when we turn to Scripture. *There* we find no such wire-drawn distinctions; he belongs to a totally different class, and appears wedded to a rival interest. The others are weak, indeed, and vacillating, perplexed and faint-hearted, still dreaming of earthly prospects that are never to be realized; but he is entirely off in a counter direction; the spirit of love and fidelity have gone out of his heart; the spirit of the wicked one has taken its place, rendering him a traitor, an apostate, a son of perdition. If we are asked, how we can account for such a rapid growth and development of evil? we ask in reply, how can you dispose of such representations? We know nothing of Judas but from the testimony of Scripture; and a theory that would explain the facts of his case in a manner not consistent with this testimony, is not to explicate the difficulties of a character that we know, but to exhibit a character which we have made for ourselves. (4.) Finally, the actual circumstances of the case, when fairly taken into account, render the common view by much the most natural and consistent. What were those circumstances? Judas stands all along much in the same relation to Christ, that Ahithophel did to David. He is a prudent, active, sagacious, but withal thoroughly selfish and worldly man.

His religion, like other things, is made subservient to his temporal interest; the godliness he cultivates is that only which appears to be conducive to gain. In attaching himself to the cause of Jesus he had, no doubt, to count the cost; but the evidences of marvellous power and greatness which showed themselves forth in Jesus begot the assurance that it was a safe adventure, and formed the surest road to future aggrandizement. A change however ensued; from the time that Jesus began plainly to discourage the expectations of his followers in respect to an earthly kingdom, and even to give intimations of his own sufferings and death (*i.e.* from near the beginning of the last year of his ministry), a recoil took place in the minds of all the disciples, and pre-eminently, we may well suppose, in the mind of Judas. Their faith now became weak and inconstant, but that of Judas altogether gave way; and when, during the closing months of our Lord's course, the announcements became more distinct, and the signs altogether more manifest, of a coming catastrophe, Judas resolved to turn to account the opportunities he had. He therefore commenced thief, and stole from the common bag, which had been intrusted to him, Jn. xii. 6. As the base appetite was thus stealthily fed, it grew in imperiousness, and grudged whatever seemed to take from the means on which it had to operate. Hence it was Judas who chiefly complained of the expenditure connected with the precious ointment which was poured by Mary at Bethany on the person of Jesus; since if turned into cash it might have added three hundred pence to the resources at his command, Jn. xii. 4. It was now, at last, that matters on both sides visibly tended to a crisis. Not only did Jesus, on the occasion in question, vindicate the loving devotion of Mary and rebuke the grudging spirit of Judas, but he declared his satisfaction with the anointing specially on the ground that it was to serve for his burial-perfume—so certain, and so near also, was the period for his succumbing to the stroke of death. Other things, too, pointed pretty plainly in the same direction; for, instead of improving the favourable moment which had recently occurred at his triumphal entrance into Jerusalem, for publicly asserting his claims and erecting his throne, Jesus shrunk back again into comparative retirement —thus letting slip another, and what might well seem to be the last, opportunity for establishing his temporal dominion. How could a man like Judas fail now especially to be conscious that he was altogether in a wrong position? The game was manifestly up for him; he must somehow be out of the concern; and since he had been so sharply taken up at Bethany respecting the cost of the ointment, why should he be scrupulous about the mode of doing it? If defeated of his aim in one direction he will make up for it in another. And so quitting his hold of the good, he falls, in just retribution, under the grasp of evil; Satan goads him on to a compact with the chief-priests, which is presently detected and exposed by the all-seeing Master; and the traitor and his accomplices are hurried forward with precipitate haste to consummate their design.

There is nothing incredible, or even very singular, in all this; it is what in substance has been often repeated; and if the downward progress was here speedier than usual, and the culminating act more dreadful, is not this amply explained by the peculiar circumstances in which the course of iniquity was pursued? Who ever sinned thus under the eye of such a Master, and amid such wonderful manifestations of divine grace and majesty? Clinging in spite of all that was daily seen and heard but the more closely to its iniquity, the heart of Judas must have become hardened beyond measure in evil, as the guilt in which it involved him contracted the deepest aggravation. And yet, when the terrible act was committed, and the bloody tragedy to which it led rose fully on his view, those same influences could scarcely fail to come back with vengefull power on the troubled conscience of the traitor, and awake to action the better thoughts and feelings that slumbered in his bosom. They did so, as similar though less potent influences have often done since; and life itself became intolerable to him under the recollection of such senseless infatuation and amazing hardihood in crime.

But if the conduct of Judas himself be thus in some degree explicable, how shall we explain the conduct of Jesus in choosing such a person into the number of his apostles, on the supposition that from the first he knew what was in the man? Important reasons, we may be sure, were not wanting for the procedure, and they are not very far to seek. The presence of such a false friend in the company of his immediate disciples was needed, first of all, to complete the circle of Christ's trials and temptations. He could not otherwise have known by personal experience some of the sharpest wounds inflicted by human perverseness and ingratitude, nor exhibited his superiority to the evil of the world in its most offensive forms. But for the deceit and treachery of Judas he should not have been in all things tempted like his brethren. Then, thus only could the things undergone by his great prototype David, find their proper counterpart in him who was to enter into David's heritage, and raise from the dust David's throne. Of the things written in the Psalms concerning him—written there as derived from the depths of David's sore experience and sharp conflict with evil, but destined to meet again in a still greater than he—few have more affecting prominence given to them than those which relate to the hardened wickedness, base treachery, and reprobate condition of a false friend, whose words were smooth as butter but whose actions were drawn swords, who ate of his meat but lifted up the heel against him. Other prophecies also, especially two in Zechariah, ch. x. 12, 13; xiii. 6, waited for their accomplishment on such a course of ingratitude and treachery as that pursued by Judas. Further, the relation in which this false but ungenial and sharp-sighted disciple stood to the rectitude of Jesus, afforded an important reason for his presence and agency. It was well that those who stood at a greater distance from the Saviour failed to discover any fault in him; that none of them, when the hour of trial came, could convict him of sin, though the most watchful inspection had been exercised, and the most anxious efforts had been made, to enable them to do so. But it was much more, that even this bosom-friend, who had been privy to all his counsels, and had seen him in his most unguarded moments, was equally incapable of finding any evil in him; he could betray Jesus to his enemies, but he could furnish these enemies with no proof of his criminality; nay, with the bitterness of death in his soul, he went back to testify to them, that in delivering up Jesus, he had betrayed innocent blood. What more conclusive evidence could the world have had, that our Lord was indeed without

spot and blameless? Finally, the appearance of such a person as Judas among the immediate attendants of Jesus was needed as an example of the strength of human depravity—how it can lurk under the most sacred professions, subsist in the holiest company, live and grow amid the clearest light, the solemnest warnings, the tenderest entreaties, and the divinest works. The instruction afforded by the incarnation and public ministry of the Son of God would not have been complete without such a memorable exhibition by its side of the darker aspects of human nature; the church should have wanted a portion of the materials required for her future warning and admonition; and on this account also, there was a valid reason for the calling of one who could act the shameful part of Judas Iscariot.

It only remains to notice, in connection with the treachery of Judas, the two accounts given of his death and of the disposal of his thirty pieces of silver, which present some notable differences. St. Matthew simply tells us that having thrown down the money in the temple before the chief-priests, Judas went and hanged himself (ἀπήγξατο, lit. he choked or strangled himself); that the priests deemed it improper to put the money into the treasury of the Lord, since it was the price of blood, but applied it to the purchase of a piece of ground in the potter's field for the burial of strangers, which hence became known as the field of blood, ch. xxvii. 3-8. But in the first chapter of the Acts it is stated by way of explanation, in the midst of Peter's speech, that Judas purchased a field with the reward of iniquity, that the field was in consequence called Aceldama, or the field of blood, and that Judas himself falling headlong (it is not said where or how) burst asunder in the midst, and his bowels gushed out. This statement, occupying two verses, and interrupting the thread of Peter's address, was evidently thrown in as a parenthesis by the historian, for the information of people at a distance, and is so regarded by the great body of interpreters. It should, therefore, be viewed as a representation taken from a remoter period than the account presented by the other evangelist, which partly explains the peculiarity of its form. It was natural that in process of time Judas should be virtually identified with the chief-priests, to whom he had sold himself to do iniquity, and that he might be regarded as in effect doing what they did with the money that accrued to him for his share in the foul transactions between them. In other parts of Scripture we find quite similar identifications (for ex. Mat. viii. 5 comp. with Lu. vii. 3; Mar. x. 35 comp. with Mat. xx. 20, also Acts vii. 16); and it was the more natural here, as in the psalms applied by Peter to Judas there was by anticipation the same sort of identification of the traitor and his unbelieving countrymen. Then, in regard to what befell Judas himself, there is no need for going to the extreme of Lightfoot, who seems to think the worst imaginable here hardly bad enough. He thinks, that while "Judas was returning to his mates from the temple, the devil, who dwelt in him, caught him up on high, strangled him, and threw him down headlong; so that, dashing upon the ground, he burst in the midst, and his guts issued out, and the devil went out in so horrid an exit. This agrees very well with the deserts of the wicked wretch, and with the title of Iscariot. The wickedness he had committed was above all example, and the punishment he suffered was beyond all precedent." In the present day such an explanation will hardly be deemed in accordance with the laws of probability; nor is it needed. The discrepance between the two narratives must be understood to arise from our having the story in fragments; but it is perfectly explicable on the ordinary supposition, that the rope with which Judas hanged himself broke, and he fell and burst his abdomen.

The question has been often agitated whether Judas was present at the first celebration of the Lord's supper, or left the assembly before the institution actually took place; but with no very decisive result. The conclusion reached on either side has very commonly been determined by doctrinal prepossessions, rather than by exegetical principles. Of the three synoptic evangelists, Matthew and Mark represent the charge of an intention to betray on the part of Judas, as being brought against him between the paschal feast and the supper, while Luke does not mention it till both feasts were finished; yet none of them say precisely when he left the chamber. From this surely it may be inferred, that nothing very material depended on the circumstance. If Judas did leave before the commencement of the supper, it was plainly not because he was formally excluded, but because he felt it to be morally impossible to continue any longer in such company. As, however, it seems certain from Jn. xiii. 30, that he left the moment Jesus brought home the charge to him, and gave him the sop, and as it is next to certain that the feast then proceeding was not that of the supper, the probabilities of the case (and we can only speak of such) must be held to be on the side of his previous withdrawal. The requisitions of time, too, favour the same view; since, if Judas did not leave till so late as the close of both feasts, it is scarcely possible to conceive how he should have had time to arrange with the chief-priests for proceeding with the arrest of Jesus that very night. The matter in this shape came alike on him and on them by surprise; fresh consultations, therefore, required to be held, fresh measures to be adopted; and these necessarily demanded time, to the extent at least of some hours. Altogether the probability of his departure before the institution of the supper seems the greater.

2. Judas, "not Iscariot," another of our Lord's disciples. (*See* Jude.)

3. Judas, surnamed Barsabas. He was a person of some note in the church of Jerusalem, probably one of the elders there, who, along with Silas, was chosen to accompany Paul and Barnabas on their return to the church at Antioch, to explain to the brethren there, and commend the decree which had been come to respecting circumcision. Judas, as well as Silas, is spoken of as occupying the position or possessing the gifts of a prophet, Ac. xv. 32, in the sense in which this was commonly understood in the apostolic church; that is, so far furnished with spiritual endowments, as to be able, authoritatively, to speak forth the mind of the Lord, whether or not with reference to things to come. After remaining for a little at Antioch he returned to Jerusalem. His name does not occur again in New Testament history.

4. Judas, a person at Damascus, in whose house Paul lodged for some time after the memorable period of his conversion, Ac. ix. 11. Whether this Judas was a believer in Jesus is not said; but it may be probably inferred that he was, otherwise the continued sojourn of Paul in his house till Ananias had administered to him the rite of baptism, could scarcely have taken

place. We are simply told of him that he lodged in the street which was called *Straight.* (*See* DAMASCUS.)

5. JUDAS OF GALILEE. This Judas stood altogether beyond the circle of Christian discipleship, and in point of time was prior to any of those already mentioned, though his name does not occur till after the beginnings of the Christian church. He is simply referred to by Gamaliel in his speech to the Jewish Sanhedrim, as having, in what he calls "the days of the taxing," drawn much people after him, and perished, Ac. v. 37. There can be no doubt that the Judas indicated is the one who took occasion of the census made under Quirinus (or Cyrenius) in the year A.D. 6 (*i.e.* about ten years after the real birth-year of our Lord), to raise the standard of revolt against the Romans. He is sometimes styled Judas Gaulonitis, having been a native of Gamala (Jos. Ant. xviii. 1, sect. 1), and the Galilean, or of Galilee, from having commenced his insurrectionary movements in that part of the country. It is only in Josephus that we have any account of his principles and proceedings, and even there the account is somewhat broken and fragmentary. According to it Judas was, in regard to state matters, merely a bold and enthusiastic Pharisee—a great asserter of national liberty and independence—declaring the taking of an assessment to be an introduction to downright slavery —and proclaiming God alone to be the Lord and Governor of the Jewish people. These principles, the historian tells us, were eagerly embraced by many, and even though the disturbances immediately raised by Judas were soon suppressed, yet the principles of the party long survived. Josephus even goes so far as to reckon Judas the founder of a distinct sect or party among the Jews, differing, however, from the Pharisees only in the extent to which they carried their views of political freedom (Ant. xviii. 1, sect. 6). Indeed, there seems little reason to doubt that the principles of Judas were perpetuated in the party who afterwards bore the name of Zealots, and who, by their extravagance and atrocities, hurried on the final calamities and utter downfall of the Jewish polity (see Lardner's Credibility, ch. ix. 10).

JUDE. Little can be certainly affirmed respecting Jude or Judas, the writer of the epistle. The name was a common one; and several are mentioned in the New Testament who bore it.

He describes himself as the "brother of James," Jude 1. It is reasonable to believe that the James referred to was a distinguished man—one so well known in the church that the naming of the relationship would at once identify the writer. Now there was such a James of special note among the brethren at Jerusalem, Ac. xii. 17; xv. 13-21; xxi. 18; whom, too, St. Paul describes as "the Lord's brother," Ga. i. 19; ii. 9, 12. We can scarcely avoid the conclusion that this was the James of whom Jude speaks, and consequently that Jude was one of the brethren of the Lord. Further, we find in the Gospels these identical names designating persons, there, too, called the brothers of Jesus, Mat. xiii. 55; Mar. vi. 3. We may fairly suppose, then, that they were the same—the Jude of the epistle, and his brother James.

It is questioned whether these were, properly speaking, our Lord's brothers, or (according to the frequent larger use of the term in both Testaments) his more distant relatives. Some have imagined them Joseph's children by a former wife; but this is mere conjecture. We must rather accept one or other branch of the following alternative: they were the sons of Joseph and Mary, or else they were our Lord's cousins. Now we find that Mary the mother of Jesus had a sister also called Mary, and described as the mother of James and Joses, Mat. xxvii. 56; Mar. xv. 40, 47; xvi. 1; Jn. xix. 25; these being the names of two of those enumerated, in the places cited above, among Christ's brethren. It is of course quite possible that, as there were two sisters each called Mary, there might be four cousins—two bearing the name of James, and two that of Joses. We must therefore see if we can collect any other evidence. And there is this strong presumptive proof that Mary the mother of Jesus had no other son: when the Lord was on the cross, he committed her to the charge of John the beloved disciple, who took her from that hour to his own home, Jn. xix. 26, 27. Joseph her husband, it is to be supposed, was then dead; but it is most improbable that if she had sons of her own she would be carried to the house of another, who was to become a son to her, however dear and honoured that other might be. If it be objected that the "brethren" of Jesus did not yet believe—a point on which something shall soon be said—the objection is not sufficient as a reason why she should not dwell with them. For his "brethren" were very shortly after in full communion of heart and spirit with Mary and the apostles, Ac. i. 14. The whole matter fairly considered, the inference seems most probable that the James and Jude, called brothers, were our Lord's cousins.

There is another question more difficult to decide: were they apostles? In the list furnished by St. Luke we find (besides James the son of Zebedee) "James the son of Alpheus," and "Judas the brother of James," Lu. vi. 15, 16; Ac. i. 13. "Brother" is here inserted in the authorized version; there being an ellipsis in the original. But we can hardly doubt that this is the right word; "father" and "son," the other possible supplements, under the circumstances, being each unlikely. Is, then, this pair identical with that designated our Lord's brethren or cousins? James the apostle is the son of Alpheus; and Mary the Virgin's sister, the mother of a James, is the wife of Cleophas, more correctly Clopas, Jn. xix. 25. Now Clopas and Alpheus are but varying Greek forms of one Hebrew word. So that, even from the designation of James in the apostolic lists, it would seem that he was identical with the son of the second Mary. There is additional presumption from the fact, that the James at Jerusalem takes a prominent part—almost the precedence —in the council of apostles and elders, Ac. xv. 13-21; which it is not likely that he would have done, had he not been an apostle himself. Moreover, St. Paul ranks him with Peter and John as a pillar, Ga. ii. 9; implies his apostolic position, 1 Co. xv. 7; and almost asserts it, Ga. i. 19. The suggestion that James, not being one of the twelve, might be one of those afterwards like Barnabas accounted apostles, is not satisfactory.

Reasons such as those just urged seem well-nigh decisive. There is, however, something to be said in opposition to them. For neither James nor Jude designates himself an apostle, Ja. i. 1; Jude 1. But this is not of much weight. It is true that St. Paul, in his letters to various churches, always announces his apostleship, except when he joins others not apostles with himself, Phi. i. 1; 1 Th. i. 1; 2 Th. i. 1; and that Peter does the same. But even Paul writing to Philemon, and John to the elect lady and to Gaius, and yet more

remarkably to the seven churches of Asia, drop the apostolic title, Phile. 1; 2 Jn. 1; 3 Jn. 1; Re. i. 4. And we cannot in such a matter argue from the usage of one writer to that of another. But there is a yet stronger objection. Our Lord's "brethren" did not believe in him, Jn. vii. 5. And this unbelief was posterior to the time of the appointment of the twelve (comp. Mar. iii. 21, 31). It was not the fatal obstinacy of the Pharisees; but possibly it was such that persons *so* incredulous would not have been selected as apostles. If, then, James and Jude were among the unbelieving brethren, we cannot imagine them the same with the apostolic pair. But four brethren are named, and also sisters, Mat. xiii. 55, 56. Joses, and possibly Simon, and the "sisters," might very well be the persons designated, Mar. iii. 31, 32; and there is nothing in Jn. vii. 3, 5, which makes it necessary to confine the word "brethren" to the four elsewhere specially named. Relatives generally might be intended there.

It is not becoming to speak positively upon a matter respecting which the most learned and conscientious scholars have differed. While, therefore, it is hardly to be doubted that James and Jude were our Lord's cousins, not literally his brothers, it can only be said that the probability is strong that they were the apostles who bore those names. The whole question is well argued by Dr. Mill (Observations on Panth. Princ. part ii. chap. ii. sect. 3, pp. 219-274, edit. 1861). Dr. Alford maintains the opposite opinion (Proleg. to Epistle of St. James, sect. i.); see also in this Dict. at JAMES (3). On the other hand, see Bishop Ellicott's admirable note (Hist. Lect. on the Life of our Lord, pp. 97, 98, 2d edit.)

Assuming the Jude of the epistle to be one of the apostles, we find that he had two other names—Lebbeus and Thaddeus, Mat. x. 3; Mar. iii. 18. Some modern critics have puzzled themselves in regard to these; but there can surely be no difficulty in admitting the received opinion, that the three appellations belong to the same person. Of this apostle no other record is preserved in the Gospels than that on one occasion he addressed a question to our Lord, Jn. xiv. 22.

But it would not be proper to omit the interesting story told by Eusebius, out of Hegesippus, of the grandsons of Jude, our Lord's brother—that the "brethren" were married the Scripture tells us, 1 Co. ix. 5. The emperor Domitian was harassed by guilty fear, like another Herod, Mat. ii. 3, by what he heard of the coming kingdom of Christ. And so the grandsons of Jude were placed before him, and confessed themselves of David's seed. Domitian inquired their position and means of living, and found that they were plain men, cultivating their own piece of ground; and the hardness of their hands sufficiently proved that they lived by their personal labour. Questioned of Christ's kingdom, they declared that it was of a spiritual nature; for that he in the end of the world was to be the Judge of quick and dead. The emperor, perceiving that his apprehensions were groundless, dismissed them without injury; and they lived till the reign of Trajan, honoured in the church as confessors and relatives of the Lord (Hist. Eccles. lib. iii. cap. xix. xx.) [J. A.]

JUDE, EPISTLE OF. It has been explained in the preceding article that the writer of this piece must be taken to be the brother of that James who presided over the church at Jerusalem, and also one of our Lord's cousins. This last relationship, however, the sacred penman would not be likely to put forward. It has further been shown that there is probable ground for believing Jude to be the apostle of the name.

Canonical authority.—There can be no reasonable doubt of the right of this epistle to a place in the inspired canon. Supposed evidence against it is merely negative, and would never have been allowed any weight but for the apparent citation of apocryphal writings—a matter to be afterwards noticed—and for the presumed obscurity of the author. This, as some other epistles, is not in the Peshito Syriac: few of the earlier writers mention it; and Eusebius classes it among the ἀντιλεγόμενα—books not universally received (Hist. Eccles. lib. ii. cap. 23; lib. iii. cap. 25). But over-against all this can be placed a sufficient mass of positive proof; and there are certainly as frequent references to this letter as, considering its brevity, could be expected.

We have the clear repeated testimony of Clement of Alexandria (Stromat. lib. iii. cap. 2, p. 515, edit. Potter; Pædag. lib. iii. cap. 8, p. 280); several verses (5, 6, 11) being actually cited in the last-named place.

Tertullian expressly ascribes this production to the apostle Jude. "Eo accedit quod Enoch apud Judam apostolum testimonium possidet" (De Hab. Mul. cap. 3, p. 162, edit. Franek. 1597).

Origen says that it contained but a few verses, but was replete with the nervous words of heavenly grace (Comm. in Mat. xiii. 55, 56, tom. iii. p. 463, edit. Bened.)

Jerome gives a candid attestation: "Judas, frater Jacobi, parvam quidem, quæ de septem catholicis est, epistolam reliquit. Et quia de libro Enoch, qui apocryphus est, in ea assumit testimonium, a plerisque rejicitur: tamen auctoritatem vetustate jam et usu meruit, ut inter sacras scripturas computetur" (Catalog. Script. Eccles. cap. 4, Judas).

These are but samples of the testimonies which might be adduced. More of the same kind may be seen in De Wette (Einleit. N. T. sect. 184, b); Alford (Proleg. to Jude, sect. ii.); Gaussen (The Canon of the Holy Script. part i. book iv. chap. v. sect. 6, 7, 8). And, if any of these ancient writers spoke at any time doubtfully, it was not because they questioned the genuineness of the epistle; but they were at first slow, for the reasons above mentioned, to allow it at once the authority of Scripture. But the very obscurity of Jude, apostle or not, is some argument in favour of the work. A forger would probably have prefixed a more distinguished name, rather than have fathered his composition on a man of whom the Scripture record says literally nothing.

But there is evidence most weighty which yet remains to be alleged. In the ancient catalogues of the sacred books we almost invariably find the epistle of Jude. Thus the Muratorian Fragment: "Epistola sane Judæ et superscripti Johannis duæ in catholicis habentur" (Westcott on the Canon of the N. T. app. C. p. 563). See also the Laodicean catalogue, 363 A.D. (the authority of which, however, must be admitted to be questionable); the Carthaginian, 397 A.D.; and the Apostolic (Ibid. pp. 567-569); and a variety of others proceeding from both the eastern and the western churches. It is not surprising that, after testimonies like these, few even among modern critics have ventured to question the authority of this epistle; which, it may be added, has been defended by Jessien (De Authentia Epist. Judæ, Lips. 1821); and by Schott (Der Zweite Brief Petri und der Brief Judä erklärt, Erlangen, 1863).

Purpose, contents, and style.—The purpose which

the writer had in view is stated by himself. For after the inscription, which is of a general cast, not singling out any particular class or local body of Christians, he says that, intending to write "of the common salvation," he found himself, as it were, compelled to utter a solemn warning in defence of the faith, imperilled by the evil conduct of corrupt men, ver. 3. Possibly there was some observed outbreak which gave the occasion. It was not so much depravation of doctrine, as impurity of practice. And the evil for a while had been working in secret: "certain men crept in unawares," ver. 4; but now the canker showed itself. The crisis must be met promptly and resolutely. And therefore the sacred writer, in a strain of impassioned invective, denounces those who turned the grace of God "into lasciviousness," virtually denying God by disobeying his law. He alarms by holding out three examples of such sin and its punishment—the Israelites that sinned in the wilderness; the angels that "kept not their first estate;" and the foul cities of Sodom and Gomorrha, ver. 5-7. He next describes minutely the character of those whom he censures, and shows how of old they had been prophetically marked out as objects of deserved vengeance, ver. 8-16. Then, turning to the faithful, he reminds them that the apostles had forewarned them that evil men would rise in the church, ver. 17-19; exhorts them to maintain their own steadfastness, ver. 20, 21; and to do their utmost in rescuing others from contamination, ver. 22, 23; and concludes with an ascription of praise to him who alone could keep his people from falling, ver. 24, 25. The whole was thoroughly applicable to a time when iniquity was abounding, and the love of many waxing cold, Mat. xxiv. 12.

There is a Jewish tone perceptible in this epistle; not merely marking the nationality of the writer, but also evidencing his conviction that those he addressed were familiar with Hebrew history and Hebrew traditions, and likely to be influenced by exhortation based upon them. Possibly he was then residing in Palestine. Some have imagined an Aramaic cast in the language, as if there was an Aramaic original. But the style is certainly that of one familiar with Greek. (See De Wette, Einleit. in N. T. sect. 184, a).

The striking similarity of this epistle to that known as the second of St. Peter, cannot have escaped any reader's attention. The relation between the two will be examined in the article PETER (SECOND EPISTLE OF).

Date.—There is little to guide us in determining the time when this letter was written. It could not have been at a very early period. The corruptions described did not show themselves at once. And yet they were but newly detected. They had not as yet had opportunity to ascend into the teacher's chair. We may reasonably believe, moreover, that the epistle must be dated before the fall of Jerusalem. It is indeed presumptuous for us to reason from our own conceptions upon what an inspired writer would say; still, seeing that St. Jude was recounting heavy judgments, it was natural for him to mention one of the greatest, if it had just occurred; more especially if he, as suggested above, and those he addressed, were resident in Palestine. Little can be gathered from the mention of the apostles, ver. 17. It by no means follows that they or most of them were dead. The language is fully apposite, if they had left Judea, and were preaching in other lands. Neither, it may be observed here, does the reference to them prove that the writer was not an apostle himself. A man perpetually speaks of a class to which he belongs without any indication in the form of his expressions that this is the case. The alleged citation of apocryphal writings furnishes no note of time. We know too little of their date, even if quotation was intended, to draw any conclusion therefrom. Bleek is disposed to place this epistle after the death of James. His reason is curious: Jude would otherwise have had no inducement to write such a letter (Einleit. in N. T. p. 557). No weight can be allowed to such an argument. It is a very vague conclusion, then, which can be reached; and we can but say that the probability is, that Jude wrote before the polity and city and temple of the Jews had been destroyed.

Alleged reference to apocryphal writings.—The notice of the contention of Michael with the devil about the body of Moses, has been said to be borrowed from a work called *The Assumption of Moses.* No such book, however, is now extant. The passage, ver. 9, is confessedly difficult of interpretation. Some would explain it symbolically, and some believe it an allusion to Zec. iii. 1, 2. Taking it, however, as the statement of a literal fact, it can only be reckoned as one of that class of statements which, unnoticed by earlier sacred writers, are made by later ones. It will be sufficient to allege two examples. St. Paul, addressing the Ephesian elders, cited as well known to them a saying of the Lord Jesus, which we do not find recorded in any of the Gospels, Ac. xx. 35. The same apostle mentions to Timothy two persons who withstood Moses, 2 Ti. iii. 8. Timothy, of course, was perfectly aware who were meant. We have in these cases plain proof that, besides the written word, certain truths had been handed down, and were generally known in the church. They were traditions, but not vain traditions; and there can be no more objection to an inspired penman's making use of these, than to his statement of any natural fact learned by observation (e.g. Ps. xlii. 1; civ. 16-23). The divine Spirit would preserve him from chronicling error.

There is something more perplexing in the reference to Enoch, ver. 14, 15. For there is an apocryphal book yet extant, in which Enoch's prophecy, as St. Jude gives it, is to be found. It was taken for granted by early writers who were acquainted with it, that Jude distinctly cited this. The book had, however, in the course of time disappeared; and it was not till the close of the last century that it was discovered in an Ethiopic version by the traveller Bruce. Some editions of it have been published, in this country by Archbishop Laurence, 1821, 1833, 1838; in Germany by Dillman, 1851, 1853. The work consists of revelations said to be made to Enoch and to Noah. Its object is to vindicate the action of divine providence in both the physical and the moral world. It is eloquent, and full of poetic vigour (See account of its contents in Westcott's Introd. to the Study of the Gospels, pp. 92-101).

Now there can be no doubt that this book of Enoch is apocryphal. But why should not an inspired author appropriate a piece of an apocryphal writing? If it was *truth*, why should he not use it? It is never objected in derogation of the apostle Paul, that both in speech and in writing he cited heathen authors, sometimes with a special reference, Ac. xvii. 28; 1 Co. xv. 33; Ga. v. 23; Tit. i. 12. And it has been asserted that in various parts of the New Testament there are allusions (if not formal citations) to several of the books commonly

called apocryphal, and to other Jewish productions. (See lists of supposed references in Gough's N. T. Quotations, pp. 276-296). Common proverbs, we know, have been introduced into Scripture (1 Sa. xxiv. 13; 2 Pe. ii. 22, where the former part alone of the proverb cited is from the Old Testament). That which is true may very well be adopted by a writer under the influence of the guiding Spirit.

But we are not compelled to rest on argument of this kind. There is no decisive proof that St. Jude could have seen the so-called book of Enoch. For, though this has been ascribed in part to the Maccabean times, and is said to have assumed its present shape prior to our Lord's advent (see Westcott, Introd. p. 93, note), yet this is a theory on which critics are by no means agreed. One of the latest who has investigated the question, Prof. Volkmar of Zurich (Zeitschrift der Deutsch. morgenl. Gesellschaft, 1860), maintains that it was composed by one of the disciples of Rabbi Akiba, in the time of the sedition of Barchochebas, about 132 A.D. Dr. Alford is convinced by Volkmar's arguments, and infers hence that "the book of Enoch was not only of Jewish, but of distinctly antichristian origin" (Proleg. to Jude, p. 196). We are authorized, then, in believing that Jude was induced to incorporate into his epistle the true tradition of Enoch's prophecy, directed, it is likely, by that patriarch originally against the evil generation destroyed by the flood, but of such a comprehensive character as really to threaten ungodly sinners through all time with the just vengeance of the almighty Judge. Into the book of Enoch this same prophecy was introduced—either from tradition, for it must have been well and generally known; or from this very epistle of Jude, which all evidence (as touched above) goes to prove was of an earlier date than 132 A.D.

It is hardly necessary to say a word upon ver. 6; where again a reference has been supposed to the book of Enoch. It is believed by some writers that St. Jude means that alliance described, Ge. vi. 1-4, as made by "the sons of God" with "the daughters of men" (see Alford in loc.) But the discussion of this matter belongs rather to the province of the commentator.

[The epistle of Jude, being very short, has naturally less engaged the attention of commentators than larger books. But there are valuable expositions of it, which may be consulted with advantage. Such are those of Luther, with Bucer's prefatory notice, Argent. 1525; Manton in *Sundry Weekly Lectures*, 4to, Lond. 1658; Jenkyn, reprinted, Edinb. 1863. The following works may also be mentioned, H. Witsius, *Comm. in Ep. Judæ*, 4to, 1703; Stier, *Der Brief Judä ausgelegt*, 8vo, 1850; and those of Jessien and Schott, referred to above.] [J. A.]

JUDE'A, sometimes also in authorized version JEWRY (Jn. vii. 1), properly signifies the southernmost of the three later divisions of Palestine. Its boundaries are thus described by Josephus (Bell. Jud. iii. 3, 5): "In the limits of Samaria and Judea lies the village Anuath, which is also named Borceos. This is the northern boundary of Judea. The southern parts of Judea, if they be

[381.] The Desert of Judea between Masada and Zuweirah, with a distant glimpse of the Dead Sea.—Van de Velde, Le Pays d'Israel.

measured lengthways, are bounded by a village adjoining to the confines of Arabia. The Jews that dwell there call it Jardan. However, its breadth is extended from the river Jordan to Joppa. . . . . Nor indeed is Judea destitute of such delights as come from the sea, as its maritime places extend as far as Ptolemais." In other words, Judea may be said to extend from Samaria on the north to the desert of Arabia Petræa on the south, and from the Jordan and Dead Sea on the east to the Mediterranean on the west.

We first find the name Judea in Ezr. v. 8, and Jewry in Da. v. 13. They are substituted for "Judah," or "the land of Judah," concurrently with the gradual change of the Hebrew יְהוּדָה into the Syriac יְהוּד. They are constantly to be found in the Apocrypha, and are invariably used in the New Testament. Generally speaking, when the tribe is named we find Judah; for the district or province which in later times occupied the ancient possessions of Dan, Judah, Simeon, and Benjamin, the name Judea is employed.

Apart from Jerusalem, Judea occupies but a small part of New Testament history. We read of St. John the Baptist born in the hill country of Judea, and living in the adjoining deserts until the time of his showing unto Israel; but, besides Jerusalem and Jericho, only two of its cities and villages, as far as we know, were tracked by the footsteps of our Lord himself—Bethlehem, the inhospitable scene of his infancy; Bethany, the friendly home of his last days on earth. It may be that the passage mentioned above, Jn. vii. 1, gives the key to this desertion of David's tribe

by David's Son. "The Jews sought to kill him," so he would not walk in Jewry; but in distant Galilee, and even in unfriendly Samaria, most of his mighty works were done. On this see GALILEE (COUNTRY OF). And, strangely enough, this land of Judea, thus unblessed by the Saviour's footsteps, is in point of scenery the least attractive district of Palestine. To the eye of one who enters it from the north, there is nothing to compare with the forests of Lebanon or Gilead, the hills of Galilee, the wide expanse of Gennesaret, or the deep valleys and fertile plains of Samaria. On the other hand, he who approaches from the south passes imperceptibly from the desert into the midst of the country; and while he loses the grandeur of Sinai, and the rocky desolation of Petra, he finds instead none of the beauty of a civilized country. The hills are low and conical, uniform in shape even to weariness; the vegetation, save in early spring, is dry and parched; the valleys are broad and featureless. Everywhere are signs that the land of corn and wine and oil is become desolate. The fenced cities and villages surmount the hills, but they are in ruins; the terraces where once were vineyards and cornfields can be traced along the mountain sides, but they are neglected; wells and pools of water are to be found in every valley, but there is none to drink of them. The prophecy of Jeremiah is fulfilled: "the cities of Judah" are "a desolation without inhabitant," Je. xxxiv. 22. Nor is the scenery of the wild and rocky region which borders the Dead Sea more attractive. Grand and striking as it is, the mountains rising to the height of nearly 3000 feet, the valleys filled with huge calcareous boulders in every variety of form, it was better suited to afford a hiding-place to David, when hunted as a partridge by Saul, and to be the abode of the Baptist during his early years, than to be frequented by the gentle loving Saviour. Some idea of the character of this wilderness of Judea may be formed from the accompanying sketch of a scene between Masada and ez-Zuweirah. [C. T. M.]

JUDGES. Much that might have been said about these officers in the Hebrew commonwealth will fall to be stated more conveniently in the article on the book of Judges. A few things, however, may here be mentioned separately.

There were of course judges among the Israelites in the sense in which such persons are to be found in every nation. It appears from Ex. xviii. that Moses was the great and only regular judge after the people came out of Egypt; but that he introduced a systematic arrangement of inferior judicatures, with an appeal finally to himself, in order that he might bring any hard case before God. This arrangement, which was made on *genealogical* principles, among tens and hundreds and thousands, seems to have been modified, with a regard to *locality* as the leading principle, after the people took possession of the land of Canaan, in accordance with the direction of Moses himself before he left the world, De. xvi. 18, "Judges and officers shalt thou make thee in all thy gates which the Lord thy God giveth thee throughout thy tribes; and they shall judge the people with just judgment." And the Levites seem to have had much to do with these tribunals, since they were the very men who made the law of God their study, De. xvii. 8-13. Thus we read in David's days of six thousand who were set apart to be officers and judges, 1 Ch. xxiii. 4. Probably they acted along with the local magistrates, the elders of every city; who are very frequently described as sitting in the gates of the city, and executing judgment there. We find these Levites also in Jehoshaphat's tribunals, 2 Ch. xix. 8-11.

But there is a restricted technical sense of the word *judge*, in which it means that officer who stood at the head of the Hebrew state in the intermediate period between the times of Moses and Joshua and those of the kings. We cannot determine much from the name judges, which is in Hebrew the participle of the verb שָׁפַט; though some writers have attributed to this word a very wide meaning (compare 2 Sa. xviii. 19, where our version renders it, "the Lord hath *avenged* him of his enemies"), in contrast with another word commonly translated "to judge," דִּין, so that they understand this title of office as describing a helper or protector. We should prefer to keep to the strict meaning of the word, considering how the "righteous acts" and the "righteousness" of the Lord are bound up with the welfare and deliverance of his people, Ju. v. 11; Is. xlv. 8; li. 5-8; so that inexact and careless expositors have merged the proper meaning of this word "righteousness" also into the general one of safety or victory. Neither is it possible to ascertain much about their office from the Carthaginian commonwealth, in which we read of *suffetes* (or *sufetes*), obviously the latinized form of the Hebrew *shofetim*, as in fact the original word has been found on an inscription. Livy indeed calls them *judices* (xxxiii. 46), and he compares their position to that of the consuls at Rome (xxx. 7), and he mentions the existence of such officers, as characteristic of the Punic or Phœnician system—at Gades, for instance (xxviii. 37). Josephus also (Against Apion, i. 21) mentions a time at which there were no kings in Tyre, but the government was in the hands of δικασταί—a Greek word derived from the common term for justice. But all this does not determine their position in the Hebrew commonwealth. It does not even settle the preliminary question whether the office was intended to be ordinary or extraordinary—that of the highest magistrate in the republic, by whom the confederate twelve tribes were to have been preserved in unity; or that of the man raised up in an emergency to restore independence and order and religious purity. It is even uncertain how far the judges, so called, were in the habit of judging the people in our sense of the word; though we think they did. For this seems to be expressly attributed to Deborah, Ju. iv. 5; as it is to Samuel, 1 Sa. vii. 15–viii. 3; so that the presumption is in favour of all of them acting so, unless the contrary can be shown; and judging always has been a great part of the office of kings and magistrates in the East (compare 2 Ch. xxvi. 21, Jotham as viceroy judging the people of the land). Moreover, if this is denied to have been their work, we have no notion what was the occupation of those judges in connection with whom we have no accounts of servitudes or wars; for instance, it is said that Tola "judged Israel twenty and three years, and died," ch. x. 2.

To each individual of those whom we are accustomed to call judges, the name is not expressly applied; but it is given to them in general by the prophet Nathan in a review of the period, 2 Sa. vii. 11; as it is in the preliminary statement, Ju. ii. 16-19; and also Ac. xiii. 20. Another title which seems to be given to the order of judges in the last verse of Obadiah is that of saviours, which title is given directly to the two first in the

book of Judges, ch. iii. 9, 15; and in general it is said, ch. ii. 16, that "the Lord raised up judges which saved them out of the hand of those that spoiled them." Shamgar and Gideon and Tola are also said to have *saved* Israel, ch. iii. 31; vi. 15; vii. 7; x. 1; while in the disastrous period before Jephthah was raised up, God declared that he would not *save* the people any more, but would leave them to be saved by the gods whom they had chosen for themselves, ch. x. 12, 13; and finally, it is said that Samson began to *save* Israel out of the hand of the Philistines, ch. xiii 5. This, however, is less plain to the reader of our English Bible than it might be; because our translators have preferred the word "deliver" in almost every instance, and often without even noticing the strict rendering in the margin. The origin of their authority must in all cases be traced ultimately to Jehovah, owing to the very nature of the theocracy. And thus Nathan said to David, in the name of God, 2 Sa. vii. 7, "In all the places wherein I have walked with all the children of Israel, spake I a word with any of the tribes (in Chronicles it is explained by substituting the word "judges") of Israel, *whom I commanded to feed* my people Israel," &c. Yet this might not prevent differences of detail in the manner of the appointment. In Ju. ii. 16, it is distinctly asserted that "the Lord *raised up* judges;" as we find him from time to time calling the most eminent of them by a special gift of his Spirit to them, ch. iii. 10; vi. 34; xi. 29; xiii. 25. We find one, Barak, nominated by a prophetess, who was herself acknowledged as the judge of Israel—a solitary instance of female administration, ch. iv. 5, 6. Of others it is simply said that they *arose*, ch. x. 1, 3. And in Jephthah's history we have a clear instance of *popular election*, ch. x. 18; xi. 5, 6; though he was also called by the Spirit. There is nothing said of the length of time during which the judges retained their office, until the case of Gideon; and his refusal to rule over the people, ch. viii. 22, 23, has been interpreted by some to mean that he retired into private life after having delivered his country from its enemies. But even those who hold such an opinion agree that the judge would receive great deference, and have much indirect influence over the people. From Gideon's time and forward, however, there is some trace of a more consolidated government; for the years of the judge's administration are always given; and of Eli and Samuel it is said in explicit terms that they judged the people till the day of their death, 1 Sa. iv. 18; vii. 15; though in Samuel's case this is remarkable, considering that Saul had been anointed to be king. Moreover, in Gideon's time the offer which the people made to him evinces an inclination for a hereditary office; and his son Abimelech assumed that one or other of Gideon's family would, as a matter of course, be acknowledged as ruler over Israel, Ju. ix. 1-3. But of this there is no further trace until Samuel associated his sons with himself as judges, 1 Sa. viii. 1—an act which precipitated the change to a hereditary kingdom.

It has been the fashion with some writers to speak of the period of the judges among the Hebrews as being like the heroic period in Grecian history. Except for the circumstance that the judges, in several instances at least, were heroes, there is no foundation on which the parallel can be rested. It was a period succeeding one of distinct, well-regulated legislation—the giving of the law by Moses, and the establishment of the people according to their constitution in the land of Canaan by Joshua. It was itself a period certainly of much *lawlessness and ignorance*. But the lawlessness was less than would appear to a hasty reader, if we remember that the servitudes lasted only 111 years out of the 390 of which we have an account in the book of Judges, and during the great part of which the land was quiet and orderly; so that this book is very much a record of the diseases of the body politic, as Jahn has expressed it in his *Hebrew Commonwealth*, while the years of health are passed over almost in silence. Nor have we any right to call that an *age of ignorance*, in which a young man of Succoth, whom Gideon caught without any selection, was able to write (as properly rendered in the margin) to him the princes and elders of the town to the number of seventy-seven persons. Neither are there any *fabulous narratives* in the history analogous to the Grecian stories of gods and demi-gods in their heroic period. The only individual in whom the most irreverent critics have pretended to find an analogy is Samson; and their supposition shows how ill they understand his character and work. And finally, there is no political resemblance between the Greek and the Hebrew histories. The commencement of the Greek heroic period introduces to us a multitude of petty kingdoms, and at its termination we find these transformed into republics. But in the Hebrew history we have a well-arranged republican form of government before any judges are mentioned; and at its close the confederated republics are seen to be drawn closer together under a constitutional monarchy. [G. C. M. D.]

JUDGES, THE BOOK OF. This book immediately follows that of Joshua, and immediately precedes those of Samuel, in the arrangement of the Hebrew Bible, from which our English arrangement deviates to a slight extent by inserting the little book of Ruth at the end of Judges, on account of the intimate connection which subsists between them. The chronological relation of these books corresponds with the order in which they are arranged. The subjects noticed in this article may be distributed under five divisions; the name and the object of the book; the analysis of its contents; the chronology of the period; the unity of the composition; and the authorship, date, &c.

Name and object.—In the original Hebrew, as well as in all the translations, this book bears the name of Judges; and this name has obviously been given to it because relating the transactions connected with the deliverance and government of Israel by the men who bear this title in the Hebrew polity. This much is obvious, whatever opinion be adopted as to the nature of their office. But there are many considerations which make us certain that this book is not intended to be a mere history of the period between Joshua and Samuel. We are convinced by these that the author has given us the plan of his work, ch. ii. 11, &c., in which he sums up the lessons which the record of the period has been meant to teach: the calling of Israel to be the Lord's people, with all the advantages and instructions necessary for their situation; their rebellious and idolatrous behaviour; the chastisements which followed upon disobedience, namely, loss of independence and related evils; their repentance and return to the Lord; his mercy in raising up judges to deliver and reform them; and their renewed disobedience when the judge was dead, followed by the same consequences as before.

The book gives us glimpses of the history of Israel from the time of their early youth as a nation until their adult age; but only glimpses for enabling us to study this one subject—their self-education in the law of the Lord, at one time neglected, at another resumed, and the false and true progress which thus continually alternated during their time of greatest liberty and most decisive formation of national character. The *national* aspect of their character does certainly very much predominate; but ever and again we notice the root of this, the *individual* character in relation to the fear of God. As a whole, the people surely made progress during the time that they possessed their liberty along with the law of God. And yet this book makes it evident that the progress was very slight, every advance being retarded, if not neutralized, by a retrogression. The true object of the book may therefore be said to be to exhibit the theocracy, the presence and working of God in the administration of the affairs of his people, though the name, "the book of Judges," is taken from one remarkable effect or manifestation of this, because he raised them up judges to deliver them. In accordance with this view, we must observe, (1.) That the history takes for granted the existence and authority of the law of Moses among the people. An able and suggestive essay in Hengstenberg's *Authenticity of the Pentateuch* disposes of many apparent exceptions and violations in regard to persons, places, times, and ordinances, of which advantage had been taken by unbelievers as a means of assaulting the common belief in Moses as the writer of the Pentateuch; although his hypothesis of the chronology encourages him to look upon the book too much as an outward political record. (2.) That the *political* events are subordinated to those which are *moral* and *spiritual*. One striking example of this occurs in Gideon's history, where the narrative is concerned almost exclusively with him and his three hundred men, who did indeed win the moral victory, and were God's chosen instruments for delivering Israel. Now reason suggests the probability of greater achievements, physically or politically considered, by the powerful tribe of Ephraim, at the battle in which Oreb and Zeeb fell; and this presumption is confirmed by Gideon's own testimony, ch. viii. 2, 3, and by the reference of a subsequent inspired writer, Is. x. 26. Yet this Ephraimite victory is noticed merely in a brief and almost incidental manner in the body of the history. (3.) That historical events and civil advantages are traced to the purposes of the Lord. Thus his leaving some of the nations in Canaan was at once a means of teaching Israel the necessary art of war, and an occasion of proving them whether they would walk in the Lord's ways or not, since faith and holiness were as necessary as courage, if the Israelites were to prevail in the struggle for pre-eminence; and so also the continuance of these nations, and the proof to which Israel was subjected in reference to them, were themselves a consequence of Israel's sin and sloth, ch. ii. 20; iii. 4. (4.) That the arrangement of the book is mainly chronological; and yet two long accounts are thrown in at the end, in the form of an appendix, because of their relation not merely to the early period at which the events occurred, before any judge had been raised up, but to the whole period of the judges. They throw light upon the condition of the people through the entire duration of the vicissitudes of this book, and show us the workings of that degeneracy (the one in regard to religion, the other in regard to practical morality), which was continually calling down chastisements, and yet continually checked by these, so that the people returned to the Lord their God who smote them. And, (5.) That the size of the book is so small, considering the long period of time which it embraces; thus contrasting with the full systematic accounts of the earlier book of Joshua and the later books of Samuel. Nay, the history of the judges themselves is given in some instances so much at large, and in others so briefly, that no explanation can be offered by those who suppose that it is a connected history. For it is idle to speculate upon the compiler being at a loss for materials, while we read the details about Deborah and Barak, Gideon and Abimelech, Jephthah, Samson, and the remote times and obscure localities to which the appendix relates; whereas the prominence assigned to certain judges is easily explained by a correct analysis of the book, which points them out as persons whose history is intended to arrest attention, on account of the position which they occupied in critical times.

Analysis.—The book of course is universally admitted to consist of three great parts—an introduction, an appendix, and the body of the work. There is no question about the appendix, from ch. xvii. to ch. xxi., containing two narratives; first, of Micah's gods, which were carried off by those Danites who settled in the north; and next of the abominable outrage at Gibeah, and the severity with which it was punished. But there has been some little difference of opinion as to the place at which the introduction ends. Yet the most natural division is certainly at ch. iii. 6, where Keil has placed it; for what is mentioned previously is not at all in the way of regular history, but is either preliminary information on certain points requisite to be known, or else general statements which give a key to the course of the history properly so called, and to the writer's mode of presenting it. The first chapter is chiefly geographical, containing a statement of what the several tribes had done or failed to do; the second chapter, together with the opening verses of the third, are predominantly moral and reflective: or otherwise, the first gives the political relations of Israel to the Canaanites; and the second gives the religious relation of Israel to the Lord. Some have said, Hengstenberg, for instance, that the first chapter presents a view of the events before Joshua's death, and that the second narrates the death itself and the events which followed it. We incline to the belief that this, which might be quite in harmony with the previous statement, cannot be shown to involve any inaccuracy, for the reasons already suggested in the article on Joshua. On this supposition, the account in Jos. xxiv. is the last act of his public life; whether he *formally* resigned office or not, is a matter about which we have no information; but he did so *practically;* and the elders who overlived him, and in whose days the people continued to serve the Lord, carried on their administration, perhaps chiefly during his natural life, and dropped into the grave very soon after their leader and associate in arms and administration.

There are difficulties in arranging the chronology of the first chapter of Judges on any hypothesis; but they appear at first sight to be least if we proceed straight forward, making the order of time and of narration the same. And since the opening words are, "Now, after the death of Joshua," and since again events are men-

tioned in this chapter which are also mentioned in the book of Joshua, it has been a common opinion, even among the soundest critics, that Joshua is not the author of the book which bears his name. But we prefer to think that he is the author, till some stronger reason to the contrary has been presented; and we do not think it safe to assume that the order of time is the same as the order of narration in this chapter, which is confessedly not a chronological but a geographical table. And this view has been taken by our translators, who introduce the pluperfect tense at ver. 8. By this scheme the course of events would be somewhat as follows. After wars had been carried on by single tribes, to which the book of Joshua has borne witness, on the death of that leader, the question was put to the Lord, "Who shall go up for us against the Canaanites first to fight against them?" But perhaps local and temporary jealousies interfered with the acknowledgment of Judah, to whom God assigned the foremost place; just as similar feelings, after the great Persian invasion, kept the several states of Greece apart from Athens, though the leading place had been assigned to her. At any rate there is no appearance of combined action among the tribes; only the feeble tribe of Simeon went with Judah, on condition of a corresponding service to themselves. The two tribes carried on a successful campaign, in ending which they took vengeance on Adonibezek, "and they brought him to Jerusalem, and there he died." Yet this sentence might have been readily misunderstood, as if his own people had brought him there; for it was a well-known heathen city, as is expressly said, ver. 21. Therefore a digression to an earlier time, ver. 8, explains that Judah had already taken Jerusalem by their own unaided arms. From this earlier point of time the narrative now proceeds to tell what more the single tribe of Judah had done, these being the conquests to which Joshua has made reference with that brevity which suits his narrative of the first conquest and division of the land. And the early date of this entire paragraph is evinced by the closing sentence, ver. 16, about the Kenites "coming up out of the city of palm-trees with the children of Judah into the wilderness of Judah," which must have happened either on the first entrance into Canaan, or on occasion of Judah first coming from the united camp to take possession of their allotted portion; unless we agree with those critics who understand this verse otherwise, so as to impugn the historical accuracy of the book of Joshua. The close of the digression, and the date to which it refers, having been thus unmistakably marked, the narrative of the joint enterprises of Judah and Simeon, subsequent to Joshua's death, is resumed at ver. 17. Certain recent grammarians would pronounce this change to the pluperfect at ver. 8 arbitrary, as indeed they altogether reject a pluperfect in Hebrew. But in some form, indirectly if not directly, they must admit it. For instance, if they adhere to strict chronological progress in ver. 7, 8, they must make a pluperfect at ver. 16, and translate, "Now the children of the Kenite had gone up," &c. Other cases of necessity for a pluperfect in this book may be seen in ch. xiv. 15–17; xx. 36.

The division of the main body of the work has been variously made. Of late there has been a tendency to make seven groups, under some influence connected with supposed important and prevailing numbers. One of the latest of these has been constructed by Keil, in his Introduction (1859). (1.) Othniel, ch. iii. 7-11. (2.) Ehud and Shamgar, ch. iii. 12-31; (3.) Deborah and Barak, ch. iv. v. (4.) Gideon, ch. vi. 1–viii. 32. (5.) Abimelech, Tola, Jair, ch. viii. 33–x. 5. (6.) Jephthah, Ibzan, Elon, Abdon, ch. x. 6–xii. 15. (7.) Samson, ch. xiii.-xvi. Yet it may be questioned whether any light is thrown on the book by this division; whether any principle in the book is at the foundation of it; and whether it does not rather do violence to the history, in tearing Abimelech away from Gideon and associating him with Tola and Jair. This last objection, however, does not apply to another scheme which unites the fourth and fifth sections, which he adopts in his commentary; though he there gets a glimpse of the real principle of division.

The true arrangement of the book, in this the main body of its history, brings out the theocratic government of God. Moses had been commissioned by the *Son of God, the Angel of the Covenant*, who went before the people in all their marches, Ex. iii. 1-6; xiii. 21; xiv. 19, &c.; and to fit him for his office Moses was filled with *the Spirit of the Lord*, who was given to him in a measure apparently not given to any mere man after him. But the Spirit, who was communicated in a certain degree to men for various tasks in connection with the church and people, was especially communicated from Moses, in whom the fulness resided (fulness such as was possible under the Old Testament dispensation), to the seventy elders who assisted him in the administration, and to Joshua, who was called to be his successor, Nu. xi. 17, 25; xxvii. 16, 18, 20. Agreeably to this, the true grouping of the events in the time of the judges must be looked for in connection with the *coming forth of the Angel of the Covenant*, and the *corresponding mission of the Spirit of the Lord* into the hearts of his instruments. [No arguing is needed to establish the erroneousness of our translation, "an angel of the Lord," ch. ii. 1; vi. 11; "an angel of God," ch. xiii. 6, 9, 13. The only possible rendering is, "the Angel of the Lord," "the Angel of God;" and this is amply confirmed by the attributes of Godhead which appear in the narratives.] Yet, while we notice these epochs of special manifestation, we must remember that God was always present with his people, at the head of their government, and working in a more ordinary manner in calling out agents for preserving and recovering the visible church and holy nation. And besides, there was the standing method of consulting him by Urim and Thummim, through the high-priest, and there was his way of extraordinarily addressing the people by prophets; of both of these there are recorded instances in this book, although the prophetical agency is rare and feeble till the time of Samuel, 1 Sa. iii. 1, 19-21, with whom the succession of prophets began, Ac. iii. 24.

But the appearance of the Angel of the Lord and the mission of the Spirit in a special manner is four times noticed in the body of the history, and nowhere else.[1] (1.) The Angel of Jehovah went up from Gilgal to Bochim, and reproached the people for neglecting his work of redemption; threatening to help them no more; yet in reality, by the utterance of this threat, suggest-

[1] He is indeed mentioned as saying, "Curse ye Meroz," &c., ch. v. 23. But this should be taken either as a prophetic statement in this inspired song, of the same import as "thus saith the Lord," in the course of the messages of later prophets; or else it is an inspired application to the present case of that general message of the Angel, ch. ii. 1-3.

ing that his free grace would help them, as in fact they immediately gained a victory over their own sinful selves, ch. ii. 1-5. The outward victory over oppressors was soon gained by Othniel, ch. iii. 10, when "the Spirit of the Lord came," literally was, "upon him, and he judged Israel, and went out to war." (2.) The Angel of the Lord came and gave a mission to Gideon to deliver Israel, ch. vi. 11, &c.; and to fit him for it, ver. 34, "the Spirit of the Lord came upon," literally clothed, "Gideon, and he blew the trumpet." (3.) A passage, ch. x. 10-16, is so similar to the account of the Angel at Bochim, that we do not know how to avoid the impression that it is the Angel himself who speaks in that immediate manner which is peculiar to this book; certainly there is no hint of any prophet in the case, and a message like this from the Urim and Thummim is nowhere on record in Scripture. The closing words, that, after having refused to "save" them (not merely "deliver," as in our version), on the repentance of the people, "his soul was grieved for the misery of Israel," suggest the same interpretation, in the light of the commentary, Is. lxiii. 8, 9. "So he said, Surely they are my people, children that will not lie; so he was their Saviour. In all their affliction he was afflicted, and the Angel of his Presence saved them." Upon this, Jephthah was called to lead the people; and as on the two earlier occasions, ch. xi. 29, "The Spirit of the Lord came," literally was, "upon Jephthah." (4.) The Angel of the Lord appeared to the parents of Samson, announcing the birth of their son, who was to begin to "deliver," or rather "save," Israel, ch. xiii. 3-23. And with the usual correspondence, ver. 24, 25, "The child grew, and the Lord blessed him; and the Spirit of the Lord began to move him at times;" while of him alone, as one peculiarly chosen by the Lord and given to him from his birth, it is said repeatedly afterwards, that "the Spirit of the Lord came mightily upon him."

This arrangement suggests the four following periods of history. The appearance of the Angel of the Lord and the mission of the Spirit, however, belong not to the very commencement of the period, but rather to the continuance or close of a term of sin and disgrace. Perhaps in Gideon's and Jephthah's cases the appearance of the Angel and the mission of the Spirit were almost contemporaneous; but in the first case and in the last there must have been some distance of time between them, not now ascertainable, but possibly amounting to several years, and determined in each case by the particulars of the crisis which demanded these manifestations.

			Hales' Chronology.	Keil's Commentary.	Chron. of English Bible.	Jewish.
			B.C.	B.C.	B.C.	B.C.
First Period. Ch. iii.-v.						
I. *Servitude.* Chushan Rishathaim, of Mesopotamia,	8	begin	1572	1435	1402	1244
1. Judge. **Othniel,**	40	,,	1564	1427	1394	
II. *Servitude.* Eglon, of Moab; Ammon, Amalek,	18	,,	1524	1387	1354	
2. Judge. **Ehud,**	80	,,	1506	1369	1336	1204
3. Judge. **Shamgar** ("slew of the Philistines"),	...	,,				
III. *Servitude.* Jabin, of Hazor in Canaan,	20	,,	1426	1289	1316	
4. Judge. **Deborah,** 5. Judge. **Barak,**	40	,,	1406	1269	1296	1124
	— 206					
Second Period. Ch. vii.-x. 5.						
IV. *Servitude.* Midian, Amalek, and children of the East,	7	,,	1366	1229	1256	1084
6. Judge. **Gideon,**	40	,,	1359	1222	1249	
King. **Abimelech,**	3	,,	1319	1182	1209	1044
7. Judge. **Tola,**	23	,,	1316	1179	1206	1041
8. Judge. **Jair,**	22	,,	1293	1156	1183	1018
	— 95					
Third Period. Ch. x. 6-xii.						
V. *Servitude.* Ammonites, with Philistines,	18	,,	1271	1134	1161	996
9. Judge. **Jephthah,**	6	,,	1253	1116	1143	979
10. Judge. **Ibzan,**	7	,,	1247	1110	1137	973
11. Judge. **Elon,**	10	,,	1240	1103	1130	967
12. Judge. **Abdon,**	8	,,	1230	1093	1120	957
	— 49					
Fourth Period. Ch. xiii.-xvi.						
VI. *Servitude.* Philistines,	40	,,	1222	1134	1161	
13. Judge. **Samson** ("in the days of the Philistines," 20),	..					949
	— 40					
	390	ending	1182		1120	

A mere glance at this table will bring out many facts in regard to the state of Israel under the judges. During the first period there occurred three servitudes, to chastise the rebellion and idolatry of the people; and these chastisements became in several ways more and more severe. They became so in point of duration; being eight years, eighteen, and twenty respectively. They became so in point of vicinity to their oppressors: the first, a distant king from Mesopotamia, whose visits might be rare, and his oppressions light, if only a tribute were paid to him; the second, a king of the neighbouring country of Moab, supported by adjoining tribes, and setting up his throne, to some extent at least, at the city of palm-trees, among the Israelites, whom he may have been willing to incorporate with his original subjects; the third, a king within Canaan itself, living wholly among the Israelites, and animated towards them by the bitterness of hereditary warfare, since he himself belonged to a race doomed to extirpation by Israel. The chastisements became also more and more disgraceful: first, by that Mesopotamian monarch, who had unknown resources, but probably very powerful; next by the king of Moab, who ought to have been little (if at all) more powerful than a single tribe in Israel; but thirdly, by a remnant of one of the nations whom they ought to have destroyed, as, in fact, a former Jabin king of Hazor was destroyed by Joshua. Again, there is no evidence in

the book that these five judges held their office for life: far from this, the language is perfectly general that "the land had rest" forty or eighty years, and during these years of rest the corrupting leaven was at work which brought a new servitude upon them. There is not even a coupling of that rest with the name of the judge, unless in ch. iii. 11, "And the land had rest forty years; and Othniel the son of Kenaz died;" where the connection of the two statements is very loose, and the death of Othniel has as much at least to do with the following statement about the relapse into idolatry, which in all likelihood occurred before the forty years of rest were succeeded by another bondage. Hence the objection to Ehud judging the people eighty years is seen to be unfounded, although the Septuagint tells us that he judged Israel till he died. Neither need there have been any difficulty on account of the circumstance that no time is assigned to Shamgar. He came after Ehud, ch. iv. 31; but during the eighty years of rest, which was not interrupted by any servitude, though he had a struggle with the Philistines. One other remark is, that these three first servitudes brought Israel into contact with the nations who were to be its chief scourges in succeeding times. The Mesopotamians of the first servitude, indeed, retired into the background, until, in the last days of the monarchy, they carried the people into captivity; but the Moabites, and their associates the Ammonites and Amalekites, were much the same as the Midianites, Amalekites, and children of the East, in Gideon's days, as Midian and Moab were at an earlier time associated in the days of Moses and Balaam; and the Philistines, with whom Shamgar had apparently but a skirmish, rose continually in power, co-operating with the Ammonites in the fifth servitude, and able without assistance to bring upon Israel the sixth servitude, which was the longest of all. It is plain that these three first servitudes greatly broke the power and spirit of the Israelites. Their subjection to Jabin the Canaanite was especially sinful and disgraceful; and the people were mightily oppressed by him, ch. iv. 3, while he had disarmed them, and perhaps seduced them extensively into idolatrous unity with his own people, ch. v. 8. To meet this emergency we observe two peculiarities—the one that God bestowed the gift of prophecy upon Deborah, the first instance recorded since the death of Moses, at least two centuries and a half previous; the other, that the people had recourse to this woman for deliverance. She was judging Israel (the participle in the original marks that it was going on) before the bondage was actually broken.

The second period presents several important contrasts to the first. There is only one servitude at the commencement of it, and this the briefest of all—for seven years. But it was very grinding, being inflicted by the neighbouring nations of the east and south; spreading systematically from beyond Jordan to the south-western extremity at Gaza; destroying regularly both the tillage and the pasturage of the Israelites; and driving them from their ordinary habitations to take refuge in mountains and caves. The number of that army with which Gideon had to fight was 135,000. The prophetess and psalmist Deborah must have had a blessed influence upon the people of her own generation and that which succeeded. And there were other spiritual agencies besides her own; for the only other prophet mentioned in the book was he who was sent to reprove the people before Gideon was raised up, ch. vi. 8; whose designation (as given in the margin)—"a *man*, a prophet"—is by no means destitute of emphasis, considering how the Angel of the Lord speaks in the same chapter and elsewhere in the book. The very fact that God was raising up inspired persons during those forty-seven years which close the first period and commence the second, marks it out as a memorable era of great striving on the part of God, as well as great sinning on the part of the people, who had in some localities openly established the worship of Baal. And the stirring of their minds, both by calamity and by the work of God's messengers, is plain from what is related of Gideon's family and personal history, and from the response he met with when he blew the trumpet. But the chastisements of Israel now assumed a different shape: no longer servitude to foreigners, but tyranny on the part of one of their own number. Even Gideon himself had not been absolutely clear of blame, though on the whole his heart was eminently right with God. For there was his ephod in his city, "and all Israel went thither a whoring after it; which thing became a snare unto Gideon, and to his house," ch. viii. 27. He himself escaped the worst of the snare; but "as soon as Gideon was dead, then the children of Israel turned again, and went a whoring after Baalim, and made Baal-berith their god," ver. 33, and all his sons were murdered; except one who escaped, and one who instigated or perpetrated the crime, and who was left by God to be a scourge to the people worse than any foreign despot, before he himself received the due reward of his deeds. Probably we may trace a change in the style of the administration from the commencement of this period; since now we read, ch. viii. 28, that "the country was in quietness," or had rest, "forty years in the days of Gideon." This suggests, if it does not actually assert, that his office and his life and the rest of the land ended at the same time, of which there is no hint in the case of his predecessors. And the disposition of the people towards a more permanent form of government is apparent from their request to Gideon, that he would rule over them, and make that rule hereditary in his family. Though he refused this, from a conviction deeply felt and strongly expressed by him, that the Lord alone should be their king, he ruled without the title; and his son Abimelech easily seized both the office and the title, and with a standing army may have rendered himself extremely powerful; as we read of his taking cities by storm, and destroying them.[1] Three years brought his reign to an end; but, without any interregnum—compare the return to consular government on the overthrow of the decemvirate at Rome—the government by judges seems to have been restored under Tola and Jair. Here were no *foreign* enemies; yet Tola rose "to defend Israel," or rather, as in the margin, "to save it;" for the evils of Abimelech's reign were probably as bad politically as a servitude, and morally and religiously they might be worse. But fifty-five years under two good judges may have gone far to restore Israel. The picture of Jair's thirty sons on their thirty ass-colts is quite worthy of the patriarchal times; and his gift of a city

[1] Abimelech should not be reckoned among the judges of Israel, but among the scourges, holding the people in servitude, and to a domestic enemy, much as in the case of Jabin, king of Hazor. Certainly the verb and the noun "judge" are never applied to him and his administration.

to each, whilst to the whole district the name of Havoth-Jair was assigned, ch. x. 4, obviously carried an allusion to the happy victorious days of the conquest under Moses, Nu. xxxii. 41; compare perhaps David's reference to past mercies in the original conquest and settlement of the land, appropriated as a ground of faith and hope in reference to his own times, Ps. lvii.

But that second period lasted scarcely half as long as the first; and the narrative of a new manifestation of the Son of God, and a new descent of the Spirit of God, suggests that, in spite of outward appearances, the real life of Israel as God's people was only half as strong in the second period as in the first; while again this third period approximates to being half as long as the second. Each infusion of grace gave a new impulse to the spiritual life of the nation; but on each occasion that impulse acted only half as long as the one which preceded it, clearly indicating the sinking of the strength which resided in Israel. This third period, like the second, contains only one servitude. But it is long—for eighteen years. It is inflicted by two agencies combined; for the Philistines appear as the assistants of the Ammonites—a case like that in Is. ix. 12, "The Syrians before, and the Philistines behind, and they shall devour Israel with open mouth." The double agency in chastising is suitable after the complicated sinning, ch. x. 6. And, in short, the aggravations of the case were such, that in language vastly stronger than that of ch. ii. 1, &c., or ch. vi. 8, &c., the Lord reproached them, and refused to save them. At length, when he gave them a judge, he permitted a treasonable spirit to manifest itself in the leading tribe of Ephraim; so that Jephthah was compelled to execute such vengeance on them, ch. xii. 1-6, as at an early period had been executed, for like offences, on the tribe of Benjamin and the city of Jabesh-Gilead, ch. xx. 12, 13, &c., xxi. 8-10. This fearful judgment within the tribes themselves is also to be looked at as a chastisement not less severe than foreign servitude, as was remarked of Abimelech's despotism during the second period. And as in that period two judges followed in immediate succession, though there had been no external enemy; so here there were three in addition to Jephthah. But the entire term of these four administrations was only thirty-one years.

The fourth period calls for no lengthened remarks, though it is different from all the rest. It is the shortest of the whole. Again, there is but one servitude, as in the two previous periods; but those servitudes have been increasing alarmingly in length and in proximity far beyond the increase of the three which fall within the first period. Nay, this fourth period is entirely one of servitude: for though there is a judge, Samson, the greatest in his personal exploits, and separated to his work from before his birth; yet we have no account of the nation, or of any part of it, deliberately acknowledging and following him. He only "began to deliver," rather to save, "Israel out of the hand of the Philistines," ch. xiii. 5; "and he judged Israel in the days of the Philistines, twenty years," ch. xv. 20—that is, during the time that their dominion lasted. Samson was in fact an individual who represented the entire people of Israel—their calling, their privileges, their achievements, their moral weakness. The combination of all this is seen emphatically in their history during the time of the judges. And in spite of the continual presence of God their king, and the repeated awakenings and revivals on the part of his Son and his Spirit, the end of the history presents Israel to us feebler than the beginning, though no doubt educated and enriched by so much varied experience in the divine life.

It was thus that the transition became necessary to an earthly kingdom; not that it was better in itself, but it was better for the carnal people, and it was made to subserve important purposes in the administration of the covenant of grace. The history of the transition period is given in the books of Samuel, with which we have not here to do. Yet a few sentences may express all that is necessary in order to complete the history of the judges, of whom there were two more, Eli and Samuel. The people were deeply depressed at the time of Samson's death; and yet his prowess all through life had been breaking the yoke of bondage, and the finishing stroke was given by him as he died. They had no living deliverer, therefore, whom they could acknowledge as their judge. They must look on recovered independence as a gift immediately from God's own hand; and God's high-priest was the man on whom they united to be their governor. Perhaps another motive might combine with this. By putting themselves under the high-priest, they might hope to draw nearer to God, and to escape renewed chastisements for neglect of his law and service; or otherwise, taking refuge with God, they might hope to terrify their oppressors the Philistines, as they afterwards carried down the ark into the battle with them. Eli did judge Israel for forty years, and we have no reason for supposing that this was not a time of rest from outward enemies. But the root of the evil continued to be untouched; and the very expedient of uniting the offices of judge and priest in one person, threw light upon the terrible hopelessness of the disease. The priesthood itself was incurably corrupt; the aged high-priest and his two sons, who acted under him, died on that same day on which Israel was smitten and the ark of God was taken, as had been announced to Eli by a threatening prophet, 1 Sa. ii. 27-36; iv. 17, 18. And a period of utter anarchy and helpless exposure to all enemies ensued for twenty years, 1 Sa. vii. 2, which some have called a seventh servitude—a second Philistine servitude, but for which a better name is that found in the book of Judges itself, ch. xviii. 30, "the captivity of the land." The worship of God was violently interrupted; Shiloh was made a desolation, Ps. lxxviii. 59-64; Je. vii. 12-14; and the ark went into captivity among the Philistines, when the land of Israel ceased to be the Lord's land, the glory of all lands. That the people themselves were considerably broken up and scattered at this time, so that it was a political as well as a spiritual captivity, is probable from the language of that seventy-eighth psalm, as well as from the language of another which David put into the hands of the people, after God had restored the ark to the position which had been lost, 1 Ch. xvi. 34, 35, "O give thanks unto the Lord, for he is good: for his mercy endureth for ever. And say ye, Save us, O God of our salvation, and gather us together, and deliver us from the heathen, that we may give thanks to thy holy name, and glory in thy praise." If this do not refer to a scattering at Eli's death, we are at a loss to know to what it can refer. In agreement with this there is, in the Septuagint and Vulgate, a title to the ninety-sixth psalm, which was also used by David on that occasion, "A psalm of David, when the house was built after

the captivity," which title, as well as the inspired language in Chronicles, would be understood of the Babylonish captivity only on the supposition of a monstrous blunder.

Amid very many things in the condition of the government, the priesthood, the sanctuary, and the people, which are parallel on occasion of this earlier and little noticed "captivity of the land," and that great captivity in Nebuchadnezzar's time, to which parallel Jeremiah calls attention, ch. vii., one important element of good was the activity of prophetic inspiration, so that on both occasions prophets denounced the evils, and prophets became the great re-constructors of society. Prophecy had been met with in the times of the judges, in one generation at least, ch. iv. 4, v.; vi. 8. But now the gift of prophecy appeared in richer abundance: Samuel's mother was a psalmist like Deborah, 1 Sa. ii. 1, &c.; a prophet, who is not named, denounced God's curse upon the priesthood and people, ch. ii. 27-36; and above all, Samuel himself was called by God, to whom he had been dedicated from before his birth, "and all Israel, from Dan even to Beersheba, knew that Samuel was established to be a prophet of the Lord. And the Lord appeared again in Shiloh: for the Lord revealed himself to Samuel in Shiloh by the word of the Lord," ch. iii. 20, 21, and this after a period in which "the word of the Lord was precious," and "there was no open vision." In several respects Samuel, the Nazarite from his birth, must have reminded the people of Samson, only that his piety and services were of an unspeakably higher tone and character. And during these twenty years of anarchy and captivity, in which "the whole house of Israel lamented after the Lord," they must have felt that they were passing through an experience like their fathers, and that they were being shut up to Samuel as the Lord's instrument for saving them. A priest and judge combined in one had failed: but they were delivered by their last hope, a prophet and judge in one, who, in the remarkable age of confusion and restoration in which he lived, was also called to be a priest in some degree, and thus gathered into his own hands the threefold theocratic authority which in ordinary times was kept strictly apart and distributed. But of the details of his official life we have scarcely anything, nor any intimation of the length of time during which it continued. Only when he grew old, he made his sons judges along with him, 1 Sa. viii. 1, 2. However, the people, who had wished such a hereditary office in the family of Gideon, refused it in the family of Samuel, as, in fact, his sons were unworthy of it. But the hereditary notion being thus anew presented to them, it was not difficult for their minds to cling once more to the desire for an earthly king. And God directed Samuel to gratify their wishes, though not without warning them of the carnality of their minds, the unreasonableness of their expectations, and the bitter disappointment that was awaiting them.

Chronology.—There is a great difficulty in adjusting the chronology to the data furnished by Scripture; but in the table given in the previous section we have presented specimens of three computations, according to three leading systems, one longer, the other two shorter, yet abbreviating the time on two different principles. The data in Scripture are these three:—1. The statement, 1 Ki. vi. 1, that Solomon began to build the temple in the fourth year of his reign, and "the four hundred and eightieth year after the children of Israel were come out of the land of Egypt." 2. The statement by Paul, Ac. xiii. 17-21, "The God of this people of Israel chose our fathers, and exalted the people when they dwelt as strangers in the land of Egypt, and with an high arm brought he them out of it. And about the time of forty years suffered he their manners in the wilderness. And when he had destroyed seven nations in the land of Canaan, he divided their land to them by lot. And after that, he gave unto them judges, about the space of four hundred and fifty years, until Samuel the prophet. And afterwards they desired a king: and God gave unto them Saul . . . by the space of forty years," &c. 3. There are the details in this book of Judges which appear to give 390 years from the beginning of the first servitude till the end of the sixth, or the death of Samson. It is plain to any one who looks at the figures, that these three computations are irreconcilable; and the question arises, to which of them is a treatment to be applied that shall bring out a result different from what appears at first sight?

Ewald applies a favourite method to this, as to some other portions of the history of Israel. He finds a mythological element in it, a series of twelve heroes, whose labours the book records, as indeed he has a passion for discovering the number twelve throughout the early Hebrew histories and genealogies. He also argues, from some of the tables of descent in the Chronicles, that there were twelve generations from Moses to David's and Solomon's time; and since 40 years occurs repeatedly in the history of these judges and the servitudes (in Ehud's case, 80, or twice 40), he supposes that 40 years was then the allowance for a generation, at one time a generation being under oppression, and at another time a generation being at rest. Thus he makes up $12 \times 40 = 480$ years from the exodus to the building of the temple; though in this second calculation he includes Moses and Joshua as two of the twelve heroes, not very consistently. This hypothesis has been elaborated with certain differences of detail, and with refinements about judges of whom there were many traditions, to whom these round numbers were assigned, and of others with a more accurate historical term of years, but of whom there was not much more to relate (!), in Bertheau's *Commentary on Judges.* But this is a mere hypothesis. It is irreverent in its treatment of the word of God. It needs to do violence to the record in order to arrive at the number of twelve judges on which it is based, since the book gives thirteen, and Eli and Samuel ought to be inserted, if not Joshua, in this list of "heroes." And though the frequency with which the number 40 occurs in periods of ruling, from Moses down to king Jehoash, may suggest the thought of a special overruling providence, it cannot shake any sensible person's belief in the historical accuracy, when he observes that three kings in succession reigned each 40 years—Saul, David, and Solomon, in the very age in which literature flourished most and contemporary annals were abundant. So afterwards king Joash reigned 40 years, and Asa and Jeroboam II. each 41.

The Jews, again, have a simpler problem, because they assign no weight to the New Testament. They therefore naturally take their stand upon the *sum* 480 years, and they endeavour to readjust the *details* to suit this. Without going into other matters beyond the book of Judges, it will be observed from the table that they include the servitudes in the years during which the land had rest and the judges ruled. This

is a monstrous perversion of common sense; and, besides, the solitary case of Samson, in whose days the land is not said to have had any rest, but who, on the contrary, "judged Israel in the days of the Philistines twenty years," ch. xv. 20, has this emphasis put upon it, to show how anomalous it was. In fact, the Masoretic authorities came to a difficulty in the case of the previous servitude, which lasted 18 years, and therefore could not be included under Jephthah's administration, which lasted only 7. But there had been probably an attempt to do something in this case also; for Eusebius gives us the earliest specimen of the short computation in his *Chronicon*, written about A.D. 325, and there he is said to make the Ammonite servitude last 3 years, and Jephthah's administration also 3, that is, 6 in all, the time assigned to his judging Israel in the sacred history. Though this Jewish scheme had defenders among the Christian chronologers of the seventeenth century, it is probably now abandoned.

Another scheme is adopted on the margin of our English Bible, according to which some of the judges were contemporary with others, each of them ruling over a certain part of the tribes, not over all Israel; and of course suppositions may be made as long as the ingenuity of the person guessing is not exhausted—all having the same virtue of keeping within the number of 480 years, and all being alike entirely arbitrary. The least objectionable of these with which we are acquainted is that of Keil, to which Hengstenberg has given in his adherence, both following to some extent the suggestions of the illustrious Vitringa. They grant that the narrative proceeds in straightforward chronological order till the death of Jair, ch. x. 5, for 301 years. From that point they reckon that there are two parallel streams of history, so that the oppression by the Philistines and Ammonites, mentioned in ver. 7, is not one conjoint act, but two independent calamities, though occurring simultaneously; the Ammonites oppressing the eastern tribes for 18 years, and then deliverance coming by Jephthah, at the same time that the Philistines oppressed the western tribes during 40 years, in part of which they were held in check by Samson. Moreover, they understand this Philistine oppression in Samson's days, mentioned in ch. xiii. 1, to be identical with that from which Samuel delivered the people, 1 Sa. vii. 3-13; for otherwise, they say, the servitude mentioned in the book of Judges wants a definite termination, and the servitude mentioned in first Samuel wants a beginning. Finally, this great servitude to the Philistines for 40 years was gradually being broken during the last half of it by Samson, who thus "began to deliver Israel;" and the first half of it was at the same time the last half of Eli's term of office. By this arrangement the account of 480 years from the exodus to the building of the temple, would stand as follows:—The administration of Moses lasted 40 years. The division of lands in Canaan did not commence till 7 years after his death, Jos. xiv. 7, 10. Then Saul and David reigned each 40 years, and the temple began to be built in the fourth year of Solomon. Besides, there are two periods between the extreme points, whose duration is not determined in the Bible: the one the length of Joshua's administration and that of the elders, his companions, from the commencement of the division of lands to the commencement of the first servitude; the other the length of Samuel's administration. But at the very least, from 480 we must cut off 130 years, as shown in the margin, leaving 350. Of these, 301 elapsed till Jair's death, and 40 during the Philistine servitude. This leaves 9 years to be distributed among Joshua, the elders, and Samuel, an incongruously short period, when we consider that Eli was "very old" at the time of Samuel's extreme youth, not to say infancy, and that Samuel himself was "old" before he associated his sons in office with himself, 1 Sa. ii. 22; viii. 1. His only plan of escape from this will be noticed afterwards.

Moses, . . .	40
To the division of lands,	7
Kings, . . .	83
	130

This scheme is therefore not workable, even if its suppositions could be conceded. Of these the only one for which something may be said, is that the Philistine oppression in the days of Samson was contemporaneous with the Ammonite oppression in the days of Jephthah. But there is nothing in the book of Judges to warrant the supposition that the national unity was completely broken up, so that there were ever two independent judges ruling different parts of Israel: such a schism first appeared in the days of Ishbosheth and Jeroboam, and then our attention is strongly called to it. The Ammonite oppression is distinctly stated to have extended far beyond the eastern tribes, into Judah and Benjamin and Ephraim, all being included in that "Israel which they oppressed." And there is nothing in the history which suggests the restriction of Jephthah's jurisdiction to the east of Jordan. On the contrary, Mizpeh of Gilead, ch. xi. 29, seems to be distinguished from Mizpeh, simply so called, where he took up his house, ver. 34, where he uttered all his words before the Lord, ver. 11, and where the children of Israel had assembled themselves together and encamped, ch. x. 17; and it will be difficult to assign a reason for thinking that this was not the Mizpeh in Benjamin, where at other times the people of the Lord were used to meet in those days, ch. xx. 1; 1 Sa. vii. 5, 6; x. 17. Jephthah's successors, whose rule must also be made contemporary with the Philistine oppression during 40 years, had no special connection whatever with the eastern tribes. Ibzan belonged to Bethlehem, and was buried there; Elon stood in the same relation to the tribe of Zebulon, and Abdon to Pirathon, in the land of Ephraim. So far as we know, these are fair specimens of the connections which the judges had with the different localities of the land of Israel; and there is no ground for restricting the rule of one of them more than of another to a part of the land. We are pretty sure that this was *not* the case with Deborah and Barak, nor with Gideon, nor, certainly, with Samuel—Why imagine it with any of the rest? What time could be suggested less likely for such a revolution in the constitution of Israel, than the close of 55 years of peaceful government under two successive judges, in whose administration there was so little to record for the instruction of posterity? Or if there had been a threatening of such disintegration of the commonwealth, would it not be prevented by the nomination of the high-priest Eli to the office of judge? Yet that other supposition of Eli's last 20 years falling under the first 20 of the Philistines, compels us to suppose that his first 20 were contemporaneous with Jair's government, down to whose death Keil admits that there is no trace of division: hence he is driven to the desperate resource of denying that Eli was a judge at all, except in the sense in which every high-priest might be called by this name. But had Eli been only

a judge during the Philistine servitude, we should expect this to be stated, as in Samson's case. Neither is it easily credible that four judges, Jephthah, Ibzan, Elon, and Abdon, should rule the eastern tribes in uninterrupted succession, without attempting to drive out the Philistines, and support Samson in his marvellous struggle. Or, if there be nice accuracy in Keil's dates, would the eastern tribes keep up a disastrous schism by electing a judge in opposition to Samuel the year after his glorious victory over the Philistines, and his investiture with the office of judge? and would the person chosen to rival Samuel belong to the same territorial division, the tribe of Ephraim, and be buried there a few miles from the spot where Samuel resided and judged the people? And it is utterly incredible that Jephthah should engage in such a bloody civil war with Ephraim as he did, at the very time that the Philistines were unmolested in their rule over Israel; whereas his conduct is in the main justifiable, though probably too severe, if he was the judge appointed by God over the people of Israel whom he had saved. It is utterly incongruous to imagine that the children of Israel "lamented after the Lord," the very twenty years of Samson's judging Israel by his unsupported efforts, during the whole of which the people looked on with indifference or positive hostility. And finally, the identification of the Philistine oppression in Judges and first Samuel is altogether without warrant. The servitude mentioned in Judges came to an end by Samson's heroic death: he thus achieved the liberation of his country, for which he had striven in vain during his life. The people naturally turned to the high-priest Eli, and made him their judge in this remarkable conjuncture, as has been already explained. And the period of anarchy, which was terminated by Samuel's victory over the Philistines, had commenced when the Philistines gained their great victory over Israel, on which occasion Eli died. By a process of extreme compression, Keil is forced to crowd into the same 40 years the last half of Eli's office, the whole of Samson's, and the 20 years of "all Israel" lamenting after the Lord, which preceded Samuel's victory. The only one of these three events which Scripture places in this period is Samson's administration; and it is improbable that on the one hand he would have fallen into such grievous sins as he did, and that on the other hand the people would have so ill supported him, if that period had been one of generally prevailing penitence under the ministry of Samuel. In a sentence, Keil sacrifices the order of history in the book of Judges, and leaves it without the natural termination which we have presented in the analysis of the book, while he transforms a period of anarchy into a regular servitude to the Philistines, in order to crush the events within the available portion of the 480 years, which, after all, cannot be done: granting all his suppositions, 9 years cannot be the time of Samuel's rule and that of Joshua and the elders, after the division of the land of Canaan.

Moses,	40
Judges,	450
Kings,	83
	573

And finally, the scheme stands in marked contradiction to Paul's chronology, which at the very least implies 573 years, as in the margin, and probably a considerably longer time.

To escape from this difficulty recourse has been had to a various reading in the book of Acts, as if Paul said, "when he had destroyed seven nations in the land of Canaan, he divided their land to them by lot, in about 450 years; and after that he gave them judges until Samuel the prophet." This reading has the support of our four oldest manuscripts and of the Vulgate, and it has been adopted by Lachmann. But the various readings of the passage are in such a form as suggests that there had been tampering with the text by the scribes, plainly for the very reason that they felt the chronological difficulty; and no one would have altered the text into the present form, for which there is the authority of the versions generally, and of the fathers who quote it, so as to create a difficulty for themselves. And the sense is very unsatisfactory, the 450 years being then understood to run from the birth of Isaac to the division of the land, a computation for which no reason can be given, and which ill agrees with the other statements of time in the context, where there is surely a chronological sequence. Of course it would also compel us to suppose that 430 years were not spent in the land of Egypt, but only half as much; an opinion certainly prevalent from an early period in the Christian church, owing to a reading of the Septuagint, but which is doubtful, to say the least, while it is now most commonly abandoned by both critics and chronologists, including Keil himself.

In this extremity there seems no remedy but that last resort, the conjecture of a corruption. Thenius, one of the latest commentators on 1 Kings vi. 1, agrees with the majority of living Hebrew scholars, in upholding the integrity of the number 480 years. Apparently he attaches no weight to the apostle's testimony, except as a testimony to the amount of years deducible from the detailed history of the judges; but as he feels that the 480 years do not harmonize with these details, and that combinations like Keil's are more arbitrary and violent than any supposition of a clerical error, he cuts down some of the long periods towards the beginning of the history, since he thinks that we have round and exaggerated numbers until the time of Abimelech. But it is a milder remedy to suppose an error in the one number 480 than in these repeated instances, as he does. And besides, Keil preserves the period of 300 years in which Jephthah said the Ammonites had not tried to recover the land from Israel, ch. xi. 26, which Thenius is forced to reduce to 266 years. He says, indeed, that Jephthah's was a statement which one was entitled to make by a little boastful exaggeration; but this defence only betrays his ignorance of Jephthah's spirit, and of the duty of God's servants. The right view unquestionably is, that Jephthah would understate rather than overstate his case, which was abundantly strong after every imaginable deduction.

If critical conjecture be unavoidable here, as we believe it to be (Bunsen has no hesitation in cutting down the period of the judges to 187 years), the choice must lie between the 480 years in Kings and the 450 in Acts. Keil indeed indulges in the conjecture that Saul's reign was much less than 40 years, perhaps only half as much, and thus he finds room for Samuel's administration. But this is to give up his case: if the 40 be a corrupt number, why not the 480? Assuming then that the error lies either in Kings or in Acts, some of our older writers followed the suggestions of Luther and Beza, and thought the error might be in the latter: but it might more easily creep into the Hebrew Scriptures than into the Greek; and the longer period is demanded by the implicit testimony of the book of Judges itself. There are some slight

indications either of 480 being an erroneous writing for a larger number, or of the whole clause "in the four hundred and eightieth year after the children of Israel were come out of the land of Egypt" being a marginal note which had crept into the text. For the first trace of a reference to it is in the *Chronicon* of Eusebius, written about A.D. 325, while in other works of his he expressly draws out a chronology on the longer basis, as had been done by all the earlier Christian chronologers from the time of Theophilus, A.D. 180, without a hint of any difficulty such as this testimony would obviously have created. Next, the text is quoted by Origen (flourished A.D. 230) without this clause. And further, Josephus was entirely ignorant of it, for in his history he also refers to this text very plainly, and yet his chronology contradicts the short reckoning. There are, indeed, some difficulties about the chronology of Josephus, furnishing evidence either that there are clerical errors in his numbers, or that he fluctuated considerably in his calculations, owing to the absence of any explicit statement in the Old Testament, except what is deducible from the details of this book of Judges. That such fluctuations did exist we know, because some early fathers (erroneously) supposed that Samson judged Israel 20 years more, from a comparison of ch. xv. 20 and xvi. 31, and made the term of servitudes and administration by judges to be 410 years instead of 390; and some overlooked the 20 years of anarchy, or included Samuel's administration within the 40 years of Saul. But the differences in Josephus range from 592 years (Antiquities, vii. 3, 2; viii. 3, 1; and x. 8, 5) to 612 (Apion, ii. 2; Antiquities, xx. 9, 1, perhaps too ix. 14, 1, if this do not rather make 632), and to 621, which Dr. Hales deduces from him (Jewish War, vi. 10, 1). All of these are, however, obviously based upon the same principle as the 450 years of Judges (strictly so called) in Acts, and furnish evidence that this was the received calculation among the Jews about the time of our Lord, and that it obtained deliberate sanction from the apostle Paul. The details as given by Josephus himself amount to 609; and with the insertion of the 20 years' anarchy, and the subtraction of 1 year added unauthorizedly for Shamgar, his reckoning of the whole period from the exodus to the building of the temple would be as follows, and may perhaps be adopted by us as the nearest approximation to exact truth. Alongside of it we place the somewhat shorter chronology of Clement of Alexandria (flourished A.D. 191), as gathered by Clinton from his details, whose allowance of only 20 years to Saul is attributable to a various reading in the Septuagint, and whose sum of 575 may have been favoured by its *apparent* nearness to the numbers mentioned in Acts, though Josephus *really* comes closer to the reckoning there:—

	Clement.		Josephus.	
Moses,	40		40	
Joshua,	27		25	43
The Elders,	...		18	
The servitudes and times of deliverance in the book of Judges,	396		390	450
Eli,	40		40	
Captivity or Anarchy,	...		20	
Samuel alone,	9			12
Saul with Samuel, 18	20		18	40
Saul alone, 2			22	
David,	40			40
Solomon, till the building of the temple began,	3			3
	575			628

Lastly, on this subject it may be added that the older critics were justly suspicious of all attempts at tampering with the text of Scripture, and would rather resort to any explanation, however forced, than multiply those conjectures in which many of their successors have prodigally indulged. Accordingly, while some Christian critics adopted the Masoretic scheme of *including* the servitudes within the administration of the judges, so as to save the credit of this number, 480 years; others, like Perizonius, aimed at the same object by the equally inadmissible scheme of *leaving* the years of servitude *out of account* altogether, as if these periods of subjection to a heathen yoke were not worthy to be mentioned in the annals of God's people, who "were never in bondage to any man." These servitudes lasted 111 years; and thus they obtained in all $480+111=591$ years, that is substantially the 592 of Josephus' shortest reckoning. This cannot be accepted as a legitimate method of calculating: yet it would not surprise us should a notion of this sort have led to the Jewish reckoning of 480 years, which when once set down as a marginal gloss, might readily pass into the body of the text.

Unity.—The attempt has been made to cut this book up into shreds, more or less minute, according to the taste of the critic. In general, however, there is an inclination to admit the unity of the main body of the history. We think that the analysis of it which we have given establishes that unity beyond all question, especially when the natural chronological order is left undisfigured by attempts to reconcile it with the shortened Masoretic period of 480 years from Moses to Solomon. We see the working of the theocracy from the time that that generation died out which had been trained to faith and obedience in the wilderness, and had experienced the truth and goodness of God as they took possession of the land of Canaan, down to that generation which was so sunken as to leave Samson, the last judge who had not the additional support of the high-priesthood or the prophetical office, to struggle single-handed with the enemy; and here the narrative is concluded by the *death of Samson*, which was God's means of accomplishing what the *lives of previous judges* had failed to accomplish. The secret influences which had been at work all the time of the judges, eating out the heart of religion and patriotism, are then exemplified in the details of the last five chapters. These might have been placed at the commencement, in their chronological position, for the early date is undoubted: since Phinehas the son of Eleazar was high-priest during the time of the civil war with Benjamin, ch. xx. 28; and there are not wanting good reasons for suspecting that the Levite who became priest at Dan was the grandson, not of Manasseh, but of Moses, ch. xviii. 30. But if these long accounts had been introduced in their chronological place, they would have interrupted the close connection which the writer plainly wished to render prominent between his general statement of the course of rebellion and recovery by saviours whom God raised up, ch. ii. 11-19, on the one hand, and, on the other, the evidence of this in the particulars which immediately follow. The unity of the book and the credibility of its statements here confirm one another. It is according to the general principles of administration by God in his church, that repeated declensions should, on the whole and at the end, leave the guilty community lower than it was at first, in spite of revivals which retarded the mischief in some measure: as

it is also in accordance with his way of dealing, that the marvellous works of Samson should come in towards the end of that downward course, to prove that the Lord was still the salvation of Israel, if any remnant, however small, were trusting in him. And the infusion of new grace and strength, from time of time, by the special interposition of his Son and his Spirit, is analogous to his work all through the period of the Old Testament economy. If we may cling to that ancient interpretation of the obscure name Bedan, in Samuel's parting speech to the people, 1 Sa. xii. 6-11, that it is Samson (namely Ben-dan, "he of the tribe of Dan," which is as likely as the later suppositions that it is a corruption for Barak or Abdon), we should have a striking confirmation of the unity of the book, and of the division into periods which we have presented. Samuel speaks like that old prophet in the critical period just before Gideon arose, "It is the Lord that advanced Moses and Aaron, and that brought your fathers up out of the land of Egypt. And when they forgat the Lord their God, he sold them into the hand of Sisera captain of the host of Hazor, and into the hand of the Philistines, and into the hand of the king of Moab; and they fought against them." All these belong to the first period, and deliverance was given by Deborah and Barak, by Shamgar and by Ehud: Othniel's is not mentioned, as having to do with a distant nation, from whom Israel did not suffer any more for centuries after Samuel's time, and far beyond the horizon of Israelitish history at the time when he was speaking. "And they cried unto the Lord, and said, We have sinned, because we have forsaken the Lord, and have served Baalim and Ashtaroth: but now deliver us out of the hand of our enemies, and we will serve thee. And the Lord sent Jerubbaal, and Bedan, and Jephthah, and Samuel, and delivered you out of the hand of your enemies on every side, and ye dwelled safe." All the enemies of the first period, except Othniel's, have been referred to, because that first period was an epitome and representation of all that followed. But only one judge is named for each succeeding period, since each of them had only a single servitude, and the three persons are named whom the Spirit of God raised up, Jerubbaal or Gideon, Bedan or Samson, and Jephthah; while Samuel cannot but add his own name, as that of the man who was filled with the Spirit, and raised up in a succeeding period to do a work for which others would have been insufficient. This argument, however, we do not press, because there really is no certainty as to Bedan.

The attacks upon the unity of the book are rested on very trifling grounds. The chief one is the existence of this appendix, though it is not difficult to see the two great reasons for this part of the book assuming such a form: the one, that the historical development according to plan was not to be interrupted; the other, that the two events which it narrates are to be looked on less as single events then as permanent influences. The permanence of the worship at Dan is expressly mentioned, ch. xviii. 30, 31, and "the captivity of the land" for the twenty years before Samuel assumed office, is traced to it with tolerable distinctness. The permanence of the moral evil which came out at Gibeah is not so plainly intimated; on the contrary it might have been supposed to be eradicated by the vengeance taken on Benjamin. Yet the evil to be found in the whole tribes is indicated by their share in the terrible chastisement; and there is a hint of the continuance of some equally potent mischievous influence, in the similar slaughter of the tribe of Ephraim by Jephthah. And the prophet Hosea in so many words informs us that the days of Gibeah never ceased in Israel, and that the root of the evil had not been taken away, Ho. ix. 9; x. 9. There have been indeed some very unsuccessful efforts to establish a difference of the words in use and the style of composition in the appendix and in the body of the book; but there has been little appearance of success in the undertaking. And even these objectors have frequently admitted a resemblance and unity between the appendix and the introduction, on account of which some of them have gone so far as to say that both these may belong to a later editor, who prefixed and annexed his new materials to a previously existing work, the history of the judges strictly so called. Such hypotheses are not worthy of refutation; and in truth "the book of Judges," in their view of it, would be a miserable fragment, without conclusion, and, still stranger, without beginning, a worthy subject for investigation by sceptical critics. The attempts to discover contradictions in the book have also signally failed.

Date of composition, authorship, &c.—On these subjects we can say very little; though a certain class of writers have run riot in speculations on sources, written as well as traditional, and on the blending of materials by the editors. On such ground we shall not tread. Yet on the one hand the date of composition could not be earlier than the end of that servitude to the Philistines which is understood to have terminated at the death of Samson. And on the other hand, there is ground for thinking that it must have been written before David took Jerusalem and expelled the Jebusites, at the beginning of his reign over all Israel, 2 Sa. v. 6; for it is said, "And the children of Benjamin did not drive out the Jebusites that inhabited Jerusalem; but the Jebusites dwell with the children of Benjamin in Jerusalem unto this day," ch. i. 21. Moreover, Tyre is not mentioned, while Zidon is named as the city of those parts which was likely to oppress the Israelites or to protect the Canaanite remnants, ch. x. 12; xviii. 7; an argument arises from this fact for the antiquity of the book, similar to one in favour of the antiquity of the book of Joshua. So also, Asher is blamed for not driving out the people of Zidon, ch. i. 31, which refers to a state of feeling that must have been altered when the people of Tyre and Zidon became allies of David and Solomon. Yet it is likely that the kingdom was set up, and that the benefits of settled government were being felt, owing to the repeated statement, "In those days, when there was no king in Israel," ch. xviii. 1; xix. 1, which occurs with the addition that "every man did that which was right in his own eyes," ch. xvii. 6; xxi. 25. From these marks it is likely that the book was written in the reign of Saul, or the early part of David's. But we cannot attach any great confidence to the opinion of the Talmudists that Samuel was the author. He may have been; and excellent scholars down to our own time think that he was. However, it is enough to know that in the schools of the prophets which Samuel organized, there were likely to be many instruments well fitted, under the guidance of God's Spirit, to write this history of their nation, in that modified sense in which it may be called a history, as we explained at the beginning of this article.

Ewald, Stähelin, and other critics of the present day, have assigned the book to the age of Asa and Jehoshaphat, in accordance with an elaborate theory, which embraces the whole literary history of the Israelites, and attributes very much both of the historical writing and of the Psalms to that period. But we reject the theory as arbitrary, unfounded, and against evidence, to a large extent the conscious or unconscious product of the unsound views which they have unhappily taken of the Word of God; while we gladly acknowledge that they assume much higher ground than the old infidels did, who were profoundly ignorant of the whole subject. The solitary proof text in the book of Judges to which they appeal in evidence of late composition, is ch. xviii. 30, 31, "And the children of Dan set up the graven image; and Jonathan, the son of Gershom, the son of Manasseh, he and his sons were priests to the tribe of Dan, until the day of the captivity of the land. And they set them up Micah's graven image, which he made, all the time that the house of God was in Shiloh." This would carry the composition down as late as the time of the captivity of the two tribes in Babylon, or at least of the ten tribes in Assyria, unless it could have reference to those local devastations which are recorded in 1 Ki. xv. 20; 2 Ki. xv. 29; and as there are not many critics who have assigned the book as a whole to the age of the captivity, they make these two abatements, that the body of the work is of an earlier origin than the appendix, and that even the appendix may have been written earlier, though it continued to be retouched till later times. But in reply to this line of argument it is said, and we believe with justice, that the two verses explain one other, and show that "until the day of the captivity of the land" is intended to mark the limit of the period, "all the time that the house of God was in Shiloh;" as in this article the "captivity of the land" has been identified with the twenty years after Eli's death, especially the seven months that the ark was in the hands of the Philistines. Bleek feels this so strongly that he speaks with approval of Houbigant's conjectural reading, "the captivity of the *ark*." And this interpretation is confirmed by the consideration that David and Solomon would certainly never have tolerated such a rival schismatical worship at Dan, at the very period in which they were gathering the people, from Dan to Beersheba, to worship the Lord in Jerusalem, to which they carried up the ark, and in which they built the temple. Neither is any weight to be attributed to the geographical description of Shiloh in ch. xxi. 12, 19, as if it indicated that the author must have been a foreigner: such an inference is a mere fancy.

[Information on the book of Judges in general is well summed up in Keil's *Introduction* (*Einleitung in das alte Testament*) and —mixed with rationalist views often very painfully—in De Wette, Bleek, and Dr. Davidson; also much will be found in the old large commentaries; and some suggestive thoughts, with the usual amount of learning, caprice, and dogmatism, in Ewald's history (*Geschichte des Volkes Israel*), vol. ii. p. 464-562. For two recent German commentaries, painstaking and scholar-like, we are indebted to Studer (2d edition—only the title altered from the edition of 1835—1842), and Bertheau (1845); the latter includes also Ruth, and forms a part of the *Kurzgefasstes Exegetisches Handbuch*, which has been in course of publication for some years, and is now completed. But the views expressed by these writers are often very reprehensible, and entirely arbitrary. On the other hand, the orthodox commentary edited by Keil and Delitzsch is now so far advanced as to embrace Judges, Keil himself being the commentator. Information upon the chronology may be found in Hales' *Analysis of Chronology*, vols. i. ii., and in Clinton's *Fasti Hellenici*, i. 301, &c.; also in Kuinoel's *Commentary on Acts xiii.*, from whom Meyer has copied pretty closely. Some excellent views of the general character of the book, and its position in the Old Testament scriptures, are to be found in Hengstenberg on the Pentateuch (Clark's translation of the *Beyträge*), vol. ii. p. 1-121, the *Dissertation on the Pentateuch and the Time of the Judges*.] [G. C. M. D.]

JUDGMENT-HALL. This, in our English Bible, is the common, though not the uniform, rendering of the Greek πραιτώριον, *prætorium*. It is so rendered in Jn. xviii. 28, 33; xix. 9; Ac. xxiii. 35; but in Mat. xxvii. 27, Mar. xv. 16, "common-hall" is the expression employed; and in Phi. i. 13, the term "palace" is employed. There appears to be some diversity in the New Testament use of the original word, to which nothing altogether similar is found in classical writers. Its original meaning was that of the general's tent in a camp; but by and by it came also to signify the house or palace of the governor of a province. Herod, though bearing the name, and possessing many of the prerogatives of a king, yet being still subject to the Romans, consequently stood in a certain relation to the governors of Roman provinces, and his palace in Jerusalem might not unnaturally be called a prætorium, especially after the time that it came to be occupied by the Roman governors, who, in process of time, took the place of the Herods. Pilate was the provincial governor of Judea at the time of our Lord's death; and the house he occupied, which was in all probability the palace of Herod (though some doubt this), was fitly enough designated the prætorium. It was one of the apartments of that in which our Lord appeared before him, was accused, examined, and condemned. The provincial residence at Cæsarea might, in like manner, be called by the same name, though originally a palace in the stricter sense (that is, as built and occupied by Herod); because, by the time Paul appeared there before Felix and Festus, the palace had passed into the hands of the governor for the time being. As applied, however, to some domicile in Rome, in Phi. i. 13, it could scarcely be the palace, as designating the residence of the emperor, that was meant, but either the prætorian camp, or, as is more probable, the barracks of that detachment of the prætorian guard which was in immediate attendance on the emperor (see Conybeare and Howson ch. xxvi.) But nothing quite certain can be determined on the subject. It is clear, however, from the salutation sent by Paul from those of Cæsar's household, Phi. iv. 22, that the prætorium he had access to did somehow bring him into contact with persons who held positions in the domestic establishment of the emperor. So that the statement in the English Bible, that the bonds of Paul had become manifest in all the palace, if not formally correct, conveys a sense which is in substantial conformity with the truth of things.

JUDITH [the fem. form of JUDÆUS, *Jewess*.] 1. One of the wives of Esau, the daughter of Beeri the Hittite, who bore also the name of Aholibamah, Ge. xxvi. 34; xxxvi. 2. Judith appears to have been the original name; and in her case it must have been employed, not in the later acquired sense of *Jewess*, but in the original sense of "the praised one." (See for the change of name under AHOLIBAMAH.)

2. JUDITH. The only other person in ancient Hebrew story bearing this name beside the preceding, is the person, whether fabulous or real, whose history and exploits are celebrated in the apocryphal book JUDITH.

According to the account there given, she was a descendant of Simeon, ch. ix. 2, and first the wife, then the widow, of Manasses, who belonged to her own tribe, ch. viii. 2. She was distinguished for beauty, wisdom, and address, on account of which she became the admiration of all who knew her. But her heroic devotion to her country in a time of peril, and her determination to rid it by stratagem from the hand of its adversaries, issuing in speedy and triumphant success, absorbed in a manner all other grounds of merit, and rendered her the glory of her age. The period in which the story is laid is not very precisely indicated, but is expressly said to have been after the children of Israel had "newly returned from the captivity, and all the people of Judea were lately gathered together," ch. iv. 3. About this time a Nebuchodonosor is said to have reigned in great power and splendour in Nineveh, while also Arphaxad reigned over the Medes in Ecbatane. He made war upon Arphaxad, took his capital city, and slew him with the sword. Then, turning his regards toward the west, he commanded his general, Holofernes, to go forth with an immense army, and subdue all under his sway. Success everywhere crowned his arms till he came to the hill country of Judea, where he found the passages shut against him, and the mountain tops fortified. Astonished at this resistance by a comparatively small people, Holofernes, after various preliminary inquiries and movements, determined to subdue them, and for that purpose took possession of many of the heights, and encamped before Bethulia, in a valley with a copious fountain. The city was by and by reduced to the greatest straits, and was on the point of being surrendered by its governor, when Judith conceived and boldly undertook a plan of rescue. Without disclosing the nature of her plan, but promising, with the help of God, to deliver the city in five days, she was allowed to leave Bethulia, taking with her a maid and a quantity of provisions. Appearing before Holofernes, he and his attendants were captivated with her beauty; and as she professed to have left Bethulia because she saw the cause was hopeless—the people who would have been invincible if they had remained faithful to God, having, by their profanation of sacred things and other sins, provoked him to prepare destruction for them—she met with a welcome reception, and readily obtained what she sought—permission to abide in the camp, and to go out every night for prayer and purification to the fountain, till the hour of vengeance should come. When that time came, she promised to conduct Holofernes into the city, and afterwards into Jerusalem itself. After the lapse of a day or two, Holofernes, being taken with the charms of Judith, makes a splendid entertainment in her honour, drunk to excess in wine, and being at last left with her alone in the tent, she seized her opportunity, when he had sunk into a profound sleep, to strike off his head with his falchion. Bearing off the head, she and her maid went forth professedly for the usual purposes of devotion, but in reality with the design of stealing away into Bethulia, where she soon appeared and displayed in triumph the head of Holofernes. The people, seeing the advantage that had been gained for them by a woman's prowess, took courage, and fell next day on the Assyrians, who, on account of what had befallen their general, were seized with a panic, and fled from the country disconcerted and routed. The Jewish people, along with Judith, assembled in Jerusalem to give thanks for their wonderful deliverance; and Judith, recognized by all as the glory of her age, returns to Bethulia, where she spent the remainder of her days, and died at the advanced age of 105.

Such is a brief outline of the story, which bears on it throughout the impress of fable. Roman Catholic writers, who accept the Apocrypha as Scripture, have endeavoured to fix on particular periods, when they think the events narrated may, without violation of the known circumstances of the time, have taken place; but without much success, or even any proper agreement among themselves. They have commonly thrown themselves back upon the times preceding the Babylonish captivity, and have supposed, some the Nebuchadnezzar of Scripture, others Merodach-Baladan, others again Esarhaddon, &c., to be the Nebuchodonosor who is represented as reigning in Nineveh. But the narrative itself, which so explicitly refers to the return from Babylon, and represents the state of things in Judea as it only existed subsequent to that event, is utterly irreconcilable with any such hypotheses. Even Jahn, a Catholic, and also Movers, admit the difficulties to be insuperable in the way of any adequate historical explanation, and regard it as an historical romance. There is no evidence of such a kingdom of Nineveh, with a domain so extensive at once toward the east and the west of Asia, having ever existed, either before or after the captivity in Babylon; and subsequent to the latter event, which is unquestionably the era contemplated in the story, there is conclusive evidence of the relations of Assyria and the surrounding countries having become entirely different. The story, which, in other respects also, is full of improbabilities, must therefore be assigned to the category of fable.

It is not quite easy, even on the supposition of its fabulous character, to assign adequate reasons for its composition. Some have understood it to be an allegorical representation of the Jewish people, widowed as to earthly resources, yet, by favour with God and man, prevailing over the powers of the world. Were it so, this would not relieve the fable from grave moral objections. An intelligent Jew, well read in the Hebrew Scriptures, could not have thought of setting up a Judith as a proper embodiment of female heroism and virtue. Her plan of procedure is marred throughout with hypocrisy and deceit; she even prays to God that he would prosper her deceit, ch. ix. 12, and praises the cruelty of Simeon in slaying the Shechemites, as if his deed bore on it the sanction of Heaven, though Jacob, the father of Simeon, had consigned it in the name of God to eternal reprobation. The spirit of vengeance, resolute in its aim, unscrupulous in the means taken to accomplish it, is the pervading animus of the story—a spirit certainly opposed to the general teaching of Old as well as New Testament scripture, and incapable of being embodied in a heroic story, except by one who had much more regard for the political, than the moral and religious, elements in Judaism. The composition of the book is therefore most fitly assigned to a period shortly before the Christian era, when political aims in the minds of many became too predominant. The prior existence of an Aramaic original has often been questioned, but is now generally believed by critics (for example by De Wette, Fritzsche, Vaihinger), chiefly on the ground of some apparent mistranslations from it in the Greek. But the Greek is the only form in which the story has been transmitted to later times.

JU'LIA, a Christian female at Rome, to whom St. Paul sent a salutation, Ro. xvi. 15. She is mentioned along with Philologus, to whom she is very generally supposed to have stood in some near relationship, though of what sort we have no means of ascertaining.

JU'LIUS, the centurion of "Augustus' band," who had the charge of conducting Paul to Rome from Cæsarea, and by whom the sacred prisoner was treated courteously, Ac. xxvii. 1, 3. Why the band with which he was connected should have borne the name of Augustus, is not known. Wieseler, Meyer, and others, suppose it to have been so called from having either done some special service to the emperor, or served as a body-guard. But this can only be set down as conjecture.

JU'NIA, or, as it should rather be, JUNIAS, a Christian residing at Rome, when St. Paul's epistle to the church there was written, and whom he salutes, along with Andronicus, as "his kinsmen and fellow-prisoners, who are of note among the apostles," Ro. xiv. 7. But the relationship is not more closely indicated.

JUNIPER. The lowly plant, allied to the cypress family, to which this name is given, and which, with its procumbent branches and aromatic "berries," occurs so abundantly on the rocky soil and sandy heath of our own country, is also represented in the East. But there is now no doubt that the רֹתֶם (*rohthem*) of 1 Ki. xix. 4, 5; Job xxx. 4, and Ps. cxx. 4, is the *Genista monosperma*, a white-blossomed broom, abundant in Spain, Barbary, Syria, and the desert of Sinai, known in our shrubberies as Spanish broom, and amongst the Arabs still retaining its scriptural name *ritt'm*. "It was under this tree that Elijah sat down to take shelter from the heat, and more than once did we do the same; for some of these shrubs are bushy and tall, perhaps eight or ten feet high. They formed a shadow sometimes from the heat, sometimes from the wind, and sometimes from the rain, both for man and beast. It was about the best shadow the desert could afford, save when we could get under some great rock or shaggy palm" (Bonar's Sinai, p. 196). To this day the Bedawîn of that region make charcoal of the wood, and a capital charcoal it is, glowing intensely, and illustrating Ps. cxx. 4. Even without the carbonizing process, few things burn more brilliantly or with a more vehement heat, than this kind of brushwood—the dried twigs and larger stems of the broom. It is more difficult to understand how its harsh and bitter roots could be eaten. As the very depth of poverty, Job describes people as cutting up mallows by the bushes and rohthem-roots for their food, ch. xxx. 4. We fear that Dr. W. M. Thomson's ingenious conjecture that the mallows were the food, and the broom-roots the fuel employed to cook them, is scarcely admissible (The Land and the Book, part iv. ch. 40); the language of Job, rightly rendered by Dr. S. Lee, "whose bread is the broom-root," shows that these roots were eaten. Compared with such fare, the fern-roots eaten by the New Zealanders are nutritious; and the cakes of saw-dust formerly devoured by the Norwegians in times of famine, may be deemed a "pleasant bread;" and it sets in the strongest light the misery of these poor outcasts, that they were fain to appease the fierceness of hunger by a substitute for food so worthless and distasteful.

Approaching the borders of Palestine by the Wady-el-Kürn, Dr. Robinson especially notices this broom, which, as he rightly remarks, must be the same plant which the Vulgate, Luther, and the English version have erroneously rendered a "juniper." "This is the largest and most conspicuous shrub of these deserts, growing thickly in the water-courses and valleys. Our Arabs always selected the place of encampment (if possible) in a spot where it grew, in order to be sheltered by it at night from the wind; and during the day, when they often went on in advance of the camels, we found them not unfrequently sitting or sleeping under a bush of *retem*, to protect them from the sun. It was in this very desert, a day's journey from Beersheba, that the prophet Elijah lay down and slept beneath the same shrub" (Biblical Researches, i. 203). [J. H.]

JU'PITER [the Latin form of the Greek Ζεύς], the supreme god in the Greek and Roman mythology—father, as he was very often styled, of gods and men; usually represented as seated on an ivory throne, with a sceptre in his left hand and a thunderbolt in his right. Reference is made to him only once in Scripture; namely, in connection with the visit of Paul and Barnabas to Lystra, Ac. xiv. 12. Taking them for celestial beings, on account of the cure wrought on the poor cripple, the people of Lystra called Barnabas Jupiter (being the more dignified in appearance and the less talkative of the two), and Paul Mercury. In Jewish history, the attempt of Antiochus Epiphanes to supplant the worship of Jehovah by that of Jupiter Olympius, was one main cause of the dreadful sufferings and heroic struggles related in the books of the Maccabees.

JUSTIFY, JUSTIFICATION. Two words of very frequent occurrence in Scripture, and undoubtedly used in connection with matters of greatest moment. We shall first endeavour to establish the precise import of the words; then state briefly the doctrinal truth usually expressed by them; and finally, indicate the chief errors, evasions, or objections by which attempts have been made, whether by Protestant or by Catholic theologians, to qualify or reject the truth.

1. *Meaning of the words.*—[Heb. צָדַק, הִצְדִּיק, Gr. δικαιόω]. The Romanists insist on the etymological sense (*justum facere*) of *making* just or righteous, with the view of supporting their doctrine that the thing intended is an infusion, and not an imputation, of righteousness—a moral and not a legal change, or a change of character and not of condition (Bellarmin, De Justif.) But the argument from etymology proves nothing. Or if it prove anything, it proves too much; for with equal reason we might maintain that glorifying and magnifying God are to be understood of actually making him great and glorious, instead of simply declaring that he is so. The appeal must be made to the meaning or use of the original terms. They are used in a legal or forensic sense; and denote the act by which the judge, sitting in the forum or place of judgment, pronounces that the party arraigned is innocent. Hence justification is opposed to condemnation, and is therefore no more an infusion of righteousness, than condemnation is an infusion of wickedness. The following passages set the matter at rest, in so far as the Old Testament is concerned: "If there be a controversy among men, and they come into judgment that the judges may judge them, they shall *justify* the righteous, and *condemn* the wicked," De. xxv. 1. "He that *justifieth* the wicked, and he that *condemneth* the just, even they both are abomination to the Lord," Pr.

xvii. 15. "Woe unto them which justify the wicked for reward, and take away the righteousness of the righteous from him," Is. v. 22, 23. "Enter not into judgment with thy servant, O Lord; for in thy sight shall no man living be justified," Ps. cxliii. 2. We have cited these passages at length, because it is of the utmost importance to ascertain precisely the proper use of the word. We have only to add that the word occurs upwards of forty times in the Old Testament, but not once in any conjugation in the sense of *making righteous* or *being made righteous*. Attempts, indeed, have been made by Bellarmin, Grotius (Introductory Annot. in Epist. ad Romanos), and others, to fix on a very few passages that sense, Is. liii. 11; Da. viii. 14; xii. 2, 3. An examination of the passages, however, will convince the inquirer that they form no exception to the general rule or use. In the first of them Christ is said to justify many, and to justify by the *knowledge of himself* as the means of justification; that is, "involving faith and a self-appropriation of the Messiah's righteousness." It is vain to give to the word *justify* here the sense of converting to the true religion (Gesenius); because the forensic sense is clear from the entire context, in which the Messiah appears, not as a teacher, but as a priest and sacrifice; and also from the parallel expression, "*their iniquities he will bear*" (J. A. Alexander in loco). In the second passage, instead of an intimation that the sanctuary shall be *cleansed* (Eng. trans.) we have, if we maintain the uniform sense of the Hebrew word, an intimation that the sanctuary should then be *vindicated, i.e.* from the long opprobium to which it had been subjected (Calvin); and we leave any one to judge which is the more just and appropriate sense. The third and last passage refers simply to ministerial or instrumental justification. Ministers and others may be said to *justify* their converts (Eng. trans., turn many to righteousness) in the strict legal sense of that term, inasmuch as they are instrumental in bringing them to God who justifies. There is no need in any one of the passages for the introduction of the moral sense to the exclusion of the legal or forensic. But even if these alleged exceptions could be maintained, and others by more successful scrutiny were added to the number, the prevailing sense or use of the word would after all be very little affected by it. For a masterly examination of the original terms, which seems to have left nothing further to be desired or expected, see O'Brien, *Nature and Effects of Faith*, note L, p. 387.

Precisely the same sense is attached to the Greek word δικαιόω in the New Testament. It never signifies to *make pure*. It is a juridical word, and has κατακρίνω (*condemn*) for its opposite. "It is God that *justifieth*, who is he that *condemneth?* Ro. viii. 33, 34. "Judgment was by one to *condemnation;* but the free gift is of many offences, unto *justification*," Ro. v. 16. The publican "went down to his house justified rather than" the Pharisee, Lu. xviii. 14. And where there is no doctrinal reference, and the word is used quite in a general way, the legal or declarative sense is sufficiently obvious, as when it is said, "Wisdom is justified (vindicated) of her children," Mat. xi. 19. See also Mat. xii. 37; Lu. vii. 29; Ro. ii. 13.

In contending for the forensic sense of the terms, it may be necessary to offer a caution against pressing the analogy too much between the procedure of human tribunals and the justification of a sinner by God. There are many points of dissimilarity, and inattention to these has been a fruitful source of error. In justification at the bar of an earthly judge the element of *pardon* has no place, because it can be needed only by one who has been condemned. The man who has been justified scorns it. But in the justification of a sinner by God it forms an essential element. At the same time it is necessarily associated with acceptance and honour, whereas pardon at the hands of man is almost as necessarily dissociated from these. Even *acquittal* at the bar of man does not always carry acceptance and honour with it; because through deficient evidence or imperfection in human laws and administration one may be acquitted on whom, nevertheless, very grave suspicions rest. Justification at the bar of man is matter of right. The innocent claims it as his due. At the bar of God it is matter of free grace. The subject of it has no claim of right whatever. In the one case the justifying righteousness is necessarily personal, in the other it is imputed; and so on throughout many more differences that might be stated. The analogy holds in the great fact of a judicial sentence or declaration of innocence.

2. *Scripture doctrine of justification.*—The doctrine is very fully stated and expounded by Paul in his epistles, particularly in the epistles to the Romans and Galatians. In the epistle to the Romans the apostle lays the foundation of his argument, by establishing the guilt both of Jew and Gentile. Every mouth is stopped, and the whole world is brought in guilty before God. And as the law cannot justify those whom it condemns, it is concluded that "by the deeds of the law there shall no flesh be justified in God's sight," ch. iii. 20. Justification implies a righteousness or conformity to law; on which alone it can proceed, and of which man has been proved destitute. "But," continues the apostle, "now (under the gospel) the righteousness of God without the law is manifested—even the righteousness which is by faith of Jesus Christ unto all and upon all them that believe," ch. iii. 21, 22. We cannot go with the apostle throughout his lengthened argument, extending over so great a part of this epistle. But the doctrine cannot be fully apprehended, save by those who will be at pains to follow the great master step by step in his discussion. In view of the entire discourse of Paul here and elsewhere, as well of the statements of Scripture generally, we remark that justification is—a judicial act of God, Ro. viii. 33, 34, springing from free grace, ch. iii. 24, by which the sinner or the ungodly, ch. iv. 5, is declared innocent; that is, not only acquitted on the charge of having transgressed the law, but accepted also as if he had perfectly obeyed it, and therefore entitled to eternal life, ch. iv. 6-8; v. 18. This act proceeds not on the ground of works in any sense whatever, ch. iii. 20; iv. 5; Ga. ii. 16; iii. 10, 14; but on the ground of Christ's righteousness imputed to us of God, Ro. v. 6; viii. 3, 4; 2 Co. v. 21; 1 Co. i. 30; Je. xxiii. 6. The instrument or means by which we apprehend this righteousness is faith. Hence we are said to be justified *by* faith and *through* faith, Ro. iii. 28; iv. 5; Ga. ii. 16; iii. 8.

It is not consistent with the design of this work to enter into the province of theological discussion, otherwise the doctrinal statement given above might be largely illustrated and defended. (*See* IMPUTATION, FAITH.)

The view now given of the Scripture sense of justi-

fication is confirmed by the adoption of that sense, and its prominent exhibition in all the more stirring and important periods of the church's history. That it was so especially at the Reformation is well known, when Luther made it in a manner the heart of his preaching, and announced it as "the article of a standing or a falling church." But the doctrine was by no means a novelty of that particular time.

The teaching of the fathers was in exact accordance with that which we have stated as the doctrine of Paul. The most illustrious of them have left behind the clearest and fullest testimony on the subject. "God gave his own Son," says Justin Martyr, "a ransom for us—the Holy One for the transgressors; the innocent for the wicked; the righteous for the unrighteous. . . . . For what else could cover our sins but his righteousness? In whom could we transgressors and ungodly be justified, but only in the Son of God? O sweet exchange! O unsearchable contrivance! that the transgressions of many should be hidden in one righteous person, and the righteousness of one should justify many transgressors!" (Epist. ad Diog.) To the same effect, in his commentary on 2 Co. v. 21, Chrysostom—"What word, what speech is this? what mind can comprehend or express it? For he saith he made him who was righteous to be made a sinner, that he might make sinners righteous. Nay this is not what he says, but something greater. He does not say he made him a sinner, but sin; that we might be made, not righteous but righteousness, and that the righteousness of God" (cap. v. Hom. ii.). These testimonies might be multiplied to almost any extent. (See Suicer's Thesaurus.)

The doctrine of the Reformers has found a prominent and abiding place in the articles and confessions of the Reformed churches. The eleventh article of the Church of England declares that justification by faith only is "a most wholesome doctrine, and very full of comfort." The twelfth article speaks of good works as "the necessary fruits of true faith;" but expressly adds regarding them that "they manifestly cannot combine with it in the work of our justification; for, springing from it, they follow *after justification.*" The homily to which reference is made in the eleventh article is most emphatic in its statement of the truth—"St. Paul declareth nothing upon the behalf of man concerning his justification, but only a true and lively faith. And yet that faith doth not shut out repentance, hope, love, dread, and the fear of God in every man that is justified; but it shutteth them out from the office of justifying. So that although they be all present in him that is justified, they justify not altogether." The Westminster Confession is equally explicit—"Those whom God effectually calleth, he also freely justifieth; not by infusing righteousness into them, but by pardoning their sins, and by accounting and accepting their persons as righteous. . . . . Faith receiving and resting on Christ and his righteousness is the *alone instrument of justification;* yet is it *not alone in the person justified,* but is ever accompanied with all other saving graces; and is no dead faith, but worketh by love" (ch. xi. 1, 2). So the Helvetic Confession (adopted by the church at Geneva in 1536, and in 1566 by the churches in Switzerland at large), and the Reformed confessions generally; for a full account of which in connection with this doctrine, see the work of Dr. O'Brien already referred to (p. 462).

3. *Erroneous views or evasions of the Pauline or Scripture doctrine.*—The offensive element in this doctrine is the total exclusion of works; and various theories have been put forth to reconcile the Scripture statements with the idea of merit in man. The words employed about the doctrine, viz. *justification, works, faith,* have all been subjected to ingenious handling. The forensic sense of justification has been assailed; works have been limited so as to include only the ceremonies of the law; and faith has been restricted to *fidelity,* or again extended so as to embrace the whole round of evangelical obedience. In the following brief summary of errors or evasive theories, we shall follow the order suggested by the above remarks, and therefore shall direct attention—

First, To theories founded on false views of the word *justification.* There is an error, indeed, which, though it does not spring so much from a mistaken idea of the meaning of the word, as from a mistake regarding the *time* of justification, we shall take the liberty of noticing here, in default of a more appropriate place. It holds justification to be an act immanent in the divine mind. It is his eternal purpose to justify. But this manifestly confounds the decree of God with the execution of it, and so contradicts the Scripture, which very clearly distinguishes these in relation to this very matter, Ro. viii. 30, and moreover, constantly represents justification as taking place immediately on faith.

The grand error, based on a mistake regarding the meaning of the term, is that which supposes a first and second justification. The first justification, according to the Church of Rome, is *the infusion of righteousness by the Spirit of God;* and the second is the reward conferred at the day of judgment, because of good works done under the influence of this infusion (Concil. Trident. sess. vi. c. vii.-xvi.) We have only space to remark on this theory that it confounds justification with sanctification, which are carefully distinguished in Scripture, Ro. vi.; 1 Co. i. 30, and which in themselves are as distinguishable as cause and effect, act and work, judicial sentence and spiritual change, &c. It assigns an unwarranted meaning to the word justify. It substitutes for the simple doctrine of Scripture the human figment of a first and second justification, according to which the sinner works out righteousness for himself, and is justified, not now, but only at the close of his probation, provided it terminate successfully; whereas Scripture justification is "without works," "excludes boasting," and is the privilege of the believer *now,* with all its blessed concomitants of peace, and joy, and hope: "Being justified by faith, we *have* peace, . . . much more then being *now* justified by his blood, we shall be saved from wrath through him," Ro. v. 1-9; Jn. v. 24; Ro. viii. 1. Some Protestant divines have also maintained the idea of a first and second justification, with this difference, however, that the first is merely the admission of the Gentiles into the church of God, or of the unconverted into Christian fellowship; and the second, their being put in possession of eternal life, after having qualified themselves for it by a due improvement of their Christian privileges (Key to Apostolic Writings, in Taylor's Commentary on Romans). This modification of the error in question is of course liable to the objections already stated; and we need only add that to confound the justification of which Paul speaks, and of which he speaks so great things, marking it particularly as the exclusive and lofty privilege of faith, with something that is common to all hearers of the gospel, or members

of the visible church, is an outrage on common sense, which it cannot be necessary seriously to refute.

Another theory based on a mistake regarding the meaning and extent of justification, is that which confines it to the mere extension of pardon. It is difficult to account for the adoption, on the part of so many divines, of an idea which falls so far short of justification, unless on the principle of its leaving larger room for works. If to justify be to pronounce innocent or righteous in respect of law, as we have shown it to be, then justification must regard the law in its whole extent as a system of duties to be discharged, as well as of prohibitions to be respected. It must suppose us not only relieved from the charge of guilt, but invested with positive righteousness, and received in all respects as if we had actually and personally obeyed. Accordingly, when we look into the Bible, we find that justification comprehends both the non-imputation of sin and the imputation of righteousness, Ro. iv. 6, 7. These are not to be regarded as one and the same thing, but as distinct, though inseparable, privileges of the believer. On any other view, the sinner, though pardoned, would still be left in a state of probation, and required to work out righteousness in the way of personal *obedience;* and his ultimate justification must turn on works, and be left in a state of uncertainty till the end of his career on earth, in opposition to the entire current of Scripture, as shown above. The condition of the justified man would be very different from that which Paul asserts it to be when he speaks of him as being made righteous through the obedience of Christ, and as having a title, because of his being justified, to the heirship of the hope of eternal life, Ro. v. 19; 2 Co. v. 21; Tit. iii. 7.

Little need be said on the second form of evasion, which limits works to works of the ceremonial law, as if these only were excluded in the matter of justification. That the Jews placed great dependence on circumcision and the ceremonies of the Mosaic law, there can be no doubt, and that Paul designed to bring them off from this dependence is just as little to be doubted. But the question is, "whether when he denies justification by works of law he is to be understood only of the ceremonial law, or whether the moral law be not also implied and intended" (Edwards' Five Discourses on Justification). Leaving the reader to consult the long and elaborate argument of the great theologian who thus states the question, it is enough for our purpose that the law of which Paul speaks, in the epistle to the Romans, is that under which *Gentiles* as well as Jews are brought in guilty before God; is that which is violated by the fearful list of *moral* offences with which the epistle opens; is that by which is the "knowledge of sin;" is that which says, "Thou shalt not covet," and which is declared to be "holy, just, and good."

We come, thirdly, to the evasions which spring from misunderstanding or perversion of *faith.* We say nothing of the notion that faith stands for *fidelity,* nor of some other perversions of the word, but limit ourselves to that which extends faith so as to embrace the whole round of Christian duty (suo ambitu omnia Christianæ pietatis opera amplecti). Faith is evangelical obedience, and by that we are justified. This theory is usually accompanied with the explanation, that perfect obedience is not required; that the effect of Christ's death has been to bring in a new remedial law, which will be satisfied with sincere, instead of perfect, obedience. But of this law there is no trace in the Bible. The design and effect of Christ's coming was "not to destroy, but to fulfil the law." Instead of lowering its demands, he exhibited the law in a spirituality and purity unknown before, Mat. v. His work is described as "magnifying the law, and making it honourable." The definition of faith which lies at the foundation of this error is altogether faulty, for though it be true that faith is the spring or principle of repentance, love, and evangelical obedience, it is not to be confounded with these things, so as to exalt them into a province they were never designed to occupy, and thus under another name to introduce justification by works. On the remedial law, see Edwards (Ibid.)

Objections.—We must deal very briefly with these. It is alleged that inasmuch as faith is an act of the mind, it is just as much a work as anything else, so that even on the principle of justification by faith alone works are not excluded. This is the excess of refining —whatever faith be, it is certainly not a work of merit. The apostle asserts that "it is of faith that it might be by grace," and surely there can be no merit in that which is simply reception of the righteousness of another, any more than there is merit in the hand of the destitute receiving alms, or of the drowning man grasping the arm that is held out to save him. Faith justifies no otherwise than as it unites us to Jesus; and its peculiar adaptation seems to lie in the simple circumstance that it secures an active and willing reception of salvation on the part of man, and contains at the same time an utter abnegation of merit. There is no other grace of which the same thing can be said. Faith is, indeed, said to be "counted for righteousness." But the meaning is not that the *faith itself* was reckoned righteousness, for justification is always said to be *by* faith or *through* faith, never *for* it. The sense seems to be correctly given by those expositors who explain that Abraham's faith was regarded by God *in order to* (εἰς) his justification. It was not as "one who works," but as a believer, that God regarded Abraham in his justification (Hodge).

We do no more than allude to the common objection that the doctrine is hostile to the interests of holiness. Certainly the faith which justifies is the root of all holiness; and the apostle is at pains to show that justification and sanctification, though distinct, are inseparably connected, Ro. vi.

We conclude with some remarks on the objection that the apostle James, ch. ii. 14-26, advocates justification by works in the most express terms. The true key to this difficult passage, and true theory of reconciliation between Paul and James, seems to lie in the different point of view from which the two apostles regard the subject. Paul is dealing in his epistles with those who insisted on justification by works, James with such as dispensed with works altogether, even in the believer's life, and clung to a dead inoperative faith. Accordingly, he introduces one of this class *saying* or pretending he had faith, while at the same time he was destitute of works; and he asks, "Can *this* faith (ἡ πίστις) save him?" Further, he likens this pretended faith to lip-love, and asserts of it that it is equally unproductive, Ja. ii. 14-17. Yea, he likens it to the faith of devils, which produces no other effect than trembling, ver. 19. It is true, he asserts that "Abraham was *justified by works,*" and that a "man is justified by works and not by faith only," ver. 21, 24. But the meaning obviously is (taking the language in connec-

tion with the previous discourse), that Abraham, and all of like faith with him, are justified by a faith which is productive of good works, and *contains them in itself as their principle or element.* This is evident from the proof he alleges, Ge. xv. 6, "The scripture was fulfilled which saith, Abraham BELIEVED God, and it was imputed to him for righteousness," Ja. ii. 23. This act of faith on the part of Abraham was twenty years previous to the act of obedience mentioned by the apostle. Therefore the faith alone was that which was imputed for righteousness. But the subsequent act or work of obedience—the offering up of Isaac—proved that the faith by which Abraham long before had been justified was an operative faith. The question regarded the kind of faith which justified, and in this way James settles it. His doctrine is not that works justify, and that faith does not; nor yet that faith and works combine in the matter; but that the faith which justifies is a working, living faith, and must so prove itself whenever occasion demands. Unless this be the true sense of the passage, we should, as one has justly remarked, "have as much difficulty in reconciling James to himself, as some have had in reconciling Paul to him; for he adduces the same example, and quotes the same scripture, in illustration of this point that Paul did." This view, we think, is to be preferred to that which supposes Paul to treat of justification before God and James of justification before men. They both treat of one and the same thing, viz. gospel justification, but with a different object in view; and both together teach us that while justification is by faith alone without works, the faith which justifies abideth not alone, but is followed by all acts of holy obedience. [R. F.]

JUSTUS occurs twice as the name of believers in apostolic times, Ac. xviii. 7; Col. iv. 11, of whom nothing very particular is known, besides being the surname of the Joseph who was called Barsabas. (*See* JOSEPH BARSABAS.)

JUTTAH, or **JÛTAH** [*stretched out*]. A city in the "hill country" of the tribe of Judah, enumerated in the same category with Maon, Carmel, and Ziph. It was assigned to the priests, and, as such, is mentioned in *one* of the two catalogues of priestly cities, Jos. xxi. 16, but not in the other, 1 Ch. vi. 59, according to the present Hebrew text. In the earlier list, we find Juttah inserted between Ain and Bethshemesh: in the later, it is lost altogether (the omission being easily explained by an error of the copyist, occasioned by the frequent recurrence of the words rendered "with her suburbs"); while for Ain (עין) we have Ashan (עשן). This apparent discrepancy aptly exemplifies not only the necessity of collating parallel passages, but also the extreme value of what some may regard as needless repetitions. It is highly improbable that in such duplicate records *both* will be faulty in the same place; each, therefore, is useful in correcting the mistakes of the other. Here, *e.g.* Chronicles is indebted to Joshua for the restoration of the clause, "and Juttah with her suburbs:" Joshua, on the other hand, is under equal obligations to Chronicles for supplying the means of rectifying Ain, which clearly ought to be Ashan; as is proved, irrespectively of other considerations, by comparison with the Septuagint, which reads Ἀσά in Joshua, as well as Ἀσάν in Chronicles.

The selection of Juttah as a city of the priests, suggests the idea of its having already been a place of importance, which is seemingly confirmed by early and numerous allusions to it in the inscriptions on the Egyptian monuments. There it appears to be described under the names *Tah*, *Tah-n*, and *Tah-n-nu*, as a fortress of the Anakim near Arba or Hebron; and it is not a little remarkable that another Egyptian document, the Septuagint, expresses the word in almost the selfsame manner, Ἰτάν and Τανύ (Jour. Sac. Lit. April and July, 1852, p. 73, 316, 317).

There can be little doubt that Reland, Michaelis, and others, are correct in supposing Juttah to be the place referred to in Lu. i. 39, and improperly translated in the Authorized Version "a city of Juda." The absence of the article is fatal to its being regarded as the name of a *district*,[1] as is also the use of the word Juda at all, which had long been superseded by Judæa as a territorial designation. St. Luke employs the latter term twice in this very chapter (see ver. 5, and especially ver. 65, "the hill country of *Judæa*"), as well as elsewhere; and this is the invariable practice of all the New Testament writers, including St. Matthew himself, notwithstanding his Hebrew predilections.[2]

It is not absolutely necessary, however, to conclude that *Juda* is an error of transcription for *Jutha* or *Jutta* (both of which readings are found in the MSS.), although such may well have been the case; especially when it is considered that the original name yet survives in the modern village of *Yuṭṭa* (with ruins), discovered by Dr. Robinson near M'aîn, Kurmul, and Tell Zîf (Bib. Res. ii. 190, 195, 628). Still, it is well known that the linguals *teth* and *daleth* constantly interchange; and such a modification would be far less considerable than has actually taken place in the neighbouring cities of Eshtemoa and Moladah, now respectively corrupted into Semû'a and Milh.

Juttah may therefore fairly claim, in addition to its military and sacerdotal eminence in the olden time, the honour of becoming, at a later period, the residence of Zacharias and Elisabeth, and the birthplace of the harbinger of our Lord. [E. W.]

[1] Comp. Mat. x. 23; Lu. i. 26; iv. 31; Jn. iv. 5 (where a country or province is intended); with Lu. ii. 4; xxiv. 49; Ac. xi. 5; xvi. 14; xxvii. 8; 2 Pe. ii. 6 (where a particular city is denoted).

[2] The only apparent exception is Mat. ii. 6; but that is simply a *quotation* from the Hebrew Scriptures, as is evident from the fact that the Evangelist uses the word Judæa no less than three times in the immediate context.

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